



ACTA DE EVALUACIÓN DE LA TESIS DOCTORAL

Año académico 2016/17

DOCTORANDO: MARINESCU, ANA MARÍA

PROGRAMA DE DOCTORADO: D341 DOCTORADO EN LENGUAS MODERNAS, LITERATURA Y TRADUCCIÓN  
DEPARTAMENTO DE: FILOLOGÍA MODERNA  
TITULACIÓN DE DOCTOR EN: DOCTOR/A POR LA UNIVERSIDAD DE ALCALÁ

En el día de hoy 09/06/17, reunido el tribunal de evaluación nombrado por la Comisión de Estudios Oficiales de Posgrado y Doctorado de la Universidad y constituido por los miembros que suscriben la presente Acta, el aspirante defendió su Tesis Doctoral, elaborada bajo la dirección de **CRISTINA TEJEDOR MARTÍNEZ**.

Sobre el siguiente tema: *PROVERBS AT WORK: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY ACCORDING TO THE SEMANTIC RELATION OF OPPOSITENESS INSIDE ENGLISH, SPANISH AND ROMANIAN PROVERBS*

Finalizada la defensa y discusión de la tesis, el tribunal acordó otorgar la CALIFICACIÓN GLOBAL<sup>6</sup> de (no apto, aprobado, notable y sobresaliente): SOBRESALIENTE

Alcalá de Henares, 9 de JUNIO de 2017

EL PRESIDENTE

  
Fdo.: Isabel de G. Cort

EL SECRETARIO

  
Fdo.: M. DOLORES FERNANDEZ DE LA TORRE MADUENO

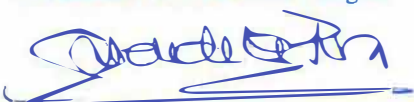
EL VOCAL

  
Fdo.: Antonioillo Brades

Con fecha 29 de junio de 2017 la Comisión Delegada de la Comisión de Estudios Oficiales de Posgrado, a la vista de los votos emitidos de manera anónima por el tribunal que ha juzgado la tesis, resuelve:

- ☒ Conceder la Mención de "Cum Laude"  
☐ No conceder la Mención de "Cum Laude"

La Secretaria de la Comisión Delegada



FIRMA DEL ALUMNO,

  
Fdo.: ANA-MARIA MARINESCU

<sup>6</sup> La calificación podrá ser "no apto" "aprobado" "notable" y "sobresaliente". El tribunal podrá otorgar la mención de "cum laude" si la calificación global es de sobresaliente y se emite en tal sentido el voto secreto positivo por unanimidad.

INCIDENCIAS / OBSERVACIONES:

El presente informe se elabora en cumplimiento de lo establecido en el artículo 10 de la Ley 1712 de 2014, que modifica el artículo 10 de la Ley 1712 de 2014, en materia de acceso a la información pública.

Se adjunta el documento solicitado.



Universidad  
de Alcalá

COMISIÓN DE ESTUDIOS OFICIALES  
DE POSGRADO Y DOCTORADO

En aplicación del art. 14.7 del RD. 99/2011 y el art. 14 del Reglamento de Elaboración, Autorización y Defensa de la Tesis Doctoral, la Comisión Delegada de la Comisión de Estudios Oficiales de Posgrado y Doctorado, en sesión pública de fecha 29 de junio, procedió al escrutinio de los votos emitidos por los miembros del tribunal de la tesis defendida por MARINESCU, ANA MARÍA, el día 9 de junio de 2017, titulada *PROVERBS AT WORK: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY ACCORDING TO THE SEMANTIC RELATION OF OPPOSITENESS INSIDE ENGLISH, SPANISH AND ROMANIAN PROVERBS*, para determinar, si a la misma, se le concede la mención "cum laude", arrojando como resultado el voto favorable de todos los miembros del tribunal.

Por lo tanto, la Comisión de Estudios Oficiales de Posgrado resuelve otorgar a dicha tesis la

***MENCIÓN "CUM LAUDE"***

Alcalá de Henares, 11 julio de 2017  
EL PRESIDENTE DE LA COMISIÓN DE ESTUDIOS  
OFICIALES DE POSGRADO Y DOCTORADO



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Juan Ramón Velasco Pérez

Copia por e-mail a:

Doctorando: MARINESCU, ANA MARÍA

Secretario del Tribunal: M<sup>a</sup> DOLORES FERNÁNDEZ DE LA TORRE MADUEÑO.

Directora de Tesis: CRISTINA TEJEDOR MARTÍNEZ



# Universidad de Alcalá

**Programa de Doctorado en lenguas modernas, literatura y traducción**

## **PROVERBS AT WORK:**

**A CONTRASTIVE STUDY ACCORDING TO THE  
SEMANTIC RELATION OF OPPOSITENESS INSIDE  
ENGLISH, SPANISH AND ROMANIAN PROVERBS**

**Tesis Doctoral presentada por  
ANA-MARIA MARINESCU**

**Directora:**

**Dra. Dña. CRISTINA TEJEDOR MARTÍNEZ**

**Alcalá de Henares**

**2017**

**Jesús García Laborda, Profesor Titular de Universidad y Director del Departamento de Filología Moderna de la Universidad de Alcalá,**

INFORMA:

Que la Tesis Doctoral realizada por D<sup>a</sup>. Ana María Marinescu, titulada PROVERBS AT WORK: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY ACCORDING TO THE SEMANTIC RELATION OF OPPOSITENESS INSIDE ENGLISH, SPANISH AND ROMANIAN PROVERBS, dirigida por la Dra. D<sup>a</sup>. Cristina Tejedor Martínez reúne los requisitos metodológicos y el rigor científico que deben exigirse a un trabajo de investigación de estas características y que, por tanto, puede ser presentada y defendida públicamente.

Y para que así conste donde convenga a la interesada, se firma el presente informe en la ciudad de Alcalá de Henares, a dieciséis de febrero de dos mil diecisiete.



**Cristina Tejedor Martínez, Profesora Titular del Departamento de Filología Moderna  
de la Universidad de Alcalá,**

**CERTIFICA**

Que la Tesis Doctoral realizada por D<sup>a</sup>. Ana María Marinescu, titulada **PROVERBS AT  
WORK: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY ACCORDING TO THE SEMANTIC RELATION OF  
OPPOSITENESS INSIDE ENGLISH, SPANISH AND ROMANIAN PROVERBS**, ha sido  
realizada bajo mi dirección y cumple todos los requisitos legales para proceder a su  
defensa.

Para que así conste a los efectos oportunos, firmo el presente documento en la ciudad  
de Alcalá de Henares a quince de febrero de dos mil diecisiete.



*Părinților mei,*

*care mi-au fost profesori și mentori în viață, care au crezut mereu în mine și și-au dorit ca elevul să își depășească profesorul. Tatălui meu, profesor de istorie, un înger care mă veghează din Ceruri și care mi-a dat numeroase lecții de educație civică. Mamei mele, un înger pe Pământ, care mi-a fost profesoară de limba și literatura română și care, chiar și de la distanță, este mereu lângă mine, dându-mi forța de a merge mai departe.*

*A mis padres,*

*Que han sido mis profesores y mis mentores, que siempre han creído en mí deseando que la alumna superara a su profesor. A mi padre, profesor de historia, un ángel que me guía desde el Cielo, de quien aprendí numerosas lecciones de educación cívica. A mi madre, un ángel en la Tierra, que fue mi profesora de lengua y literatura rumana y que, a pesar de la distancia, está siempre a mi lado dándome fuerzas para seguir adelante.*

## AGRADECIMIENTOS

En la vida de cada estudiante existe al menos un profesor que deja una huella profunda en su formación profesional o en su desarrollo personal. Pensemos, por ejemplo, en William Forrester, el profesor de literatura de la película *Descubriendo a Forrester* (*Finding Forrester*)<sup>1</sup> o en el sociólogo Morrie Schwartz, protagonista de la novela *Martes con mi viejo profesor* (*Tuesdays with Morrie*)<sup>2</sup> de Mitch Albom, que enseñan a sus alumnos verdaderas lecciones de vida.

Hay profesores que enseñan y les importa un pedito de violinista lo que piensen de ellos sus alumnos. El temario es rey. Estos profesores son poderosos. Dominan sus aulas con una personalidad respaldada por la gran amenaza: la del bolígrafo rojo que escribe en el boletín de notas el temido suspenso. Lo que dan a entender a sus alumnos es: "Soy vuestro profesor, no vuestro orientador, ni vuestro confidente, ni vuestro padre. Enseño una asignatura: la tomáis o la dejáis." (Mc Court, 2006: 173)

dice el mismo autor, el protagonista de la novela. Afortunadamente, al polo opuesto, hay profesores que traspasan esta barrera y se acercan a sus alumnos no sólo a través de la materia que enseñan. Tienen ese don de ser formadores, de instruir de otra forma, de llegar más allá de sus discípulos, manteniendo siempre la postura y respetando al estudiante, como si del fuego se tratara, ni acercarse mucho para no quemarse, ni estar muy lejos para no enfriarse.

En mi vida tres fueron las Profesoras que dejaron sus huellas bien marcadas en mí como estudiante y como persona. Primero fue mi madre, **Dña. Florica Marinescu**, mi profesora de rumano durante cuatro años de secundaria. ¡Qué grandes fueron mi sorpresa y admiración al ver como la mujer que conocía desde casa se transformaba en el aula, delante de todos mis compañeros y de mí, por supuesto, al hablarnos de algunos u otros autores rumanos, al entrar en la piel de los personajes de los que nos conferenciaba con tanto ímpetu y devoción. Mi madre fue profesora por vocación y tengo de ella ese recuerdo tan bonito del

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<sup>1</sup>Se trata de una película del año 2000 dirigida por Gus Van Sant y protagonizada por Sean Connery.

<sup>2</sup>La historia de la novela biográfica fue adaptada por Thomas Rickman en una película de televisión dirigida por Mick Jackson, la cual fue presentada en 1999, y protagonizada por Hank Azaria.



que habla también Mihail Sadoveanu<sup>3</sup> en su cuento *Domnu' Trandafir*<sup>4</sup> (Sadoveanu, 1966: 25-26):

Era él, el Señor<sup>5</sup>, Sr. Trandafir, mi maestro. No veía desde hace mucho al Sr. Trandafir. Pensaba que tenía que haberse jubilado, debía de haber envejecido. Pero yo lo veía igual que antes: alto, fuerte, con su bigote negro siempre cortado, sonriendo bondadosamente, a veces frunciendo el ceño, transmitiéndonos un gran respeto. (...) Cuando explicaba estábamos todo oído. Nuestro Señor<sup>6</sup> nos enseñó oraciones, nos enseñó canciones que, a pesar de no llegar a entenderlas del todo, eran muy bonitas para nuestra infancia y para nuestras almas; nos enseñó a creer también en otras cosas, como nuestro pasado y nuestro trabajo y diligencia, cosas de los que muchos se burlaban en aquel entonces; nos enseñó muchas cosas más que no recordamos, pero que se quedaron clavadas en nuestros corazones como buenas semillas que más tarde dieron sus frutos...<sup>7</sup>

Más tarde, cuando pasé al instituto, conocí a **Dña. Alina Dulgheru** que fue mi profesora particular de lengua inglesa. Fue ella quien me ayudó a prepararme para el acceso a la Universidad, y, al mismo tiempo, fue ella la profesora que supo acariciar también mi alma, no solo mi mente. Me hubiera gustado muchísimo enseñarle este trabajo, pero desgraciadamente ya no puede ser porque se ha ido de este mundo aunque, igual que Morrie, será inmortal para al menos uno de sus alumnos.

La etapa de la Universidad tampoco quedó sin La Profesora. Fue en España donde encontré a la tercera profesora de mi alma, porque ellos – 'los profesores del alma' - , aunque *rara avises*, no entienden de pasaportes, edades o nacionalidades; están en todo el mundo, unidos por el mismo talento de hacer vibrar, consciente o inconscientemente, esa cuerda sensible de sus alumnos. **Dña. Cristina Tejedor Martínez** forma parte de mi lista de profesoras más queridas por conseguir transmitirme no solamente conocimientos de inglés, pero también útiles consejos de vida. El amor que sentía por los diccionarios, que eran mis amigos en el aprendizaje de los idiomas, creció aún más al conocerla. E inculcar el amor por la materia que estás enseñando tiene un gran mérito que no cualquier profesor logra.

Have you ever really had a teacher? One who saw you as a raw but precious thing, a jewel that, with wisdom, could be polished to a proud shine? If you are lucky enough to find your way to such teachers, you will always find your way back. Sometimes it is only in your head. Sometimes it is right alongside their beds. The last class of my old professor's life took place once a week, in his home, by a window in his study where he could watch a small hibiscus plant shed its pink flowers. The class met on

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<sup>3</sup> (1880-1961) Novelista, periodista y político rumano, uno de los más importantes escritores rumanos de la primera mitad del siglo XX, conocido sobre todo por sus novelas históricas.

<sup>4</sup> En rumano, *trandafir* significa *rosa*, por lo tanto el maestro se llama sugestivamente Sr. Rosa.

<sup>5</sup> En Rumania se utiliza muy frecuentemente el apelativo de Señor(a) para dirigirse a los maestros(as).

<sup>6</sup> Aquí con el significado de *Maestro*.

<sup>7</sup> Traducción del rumano.

Tuesdays. No books were required. The subject was the meaning of life. It was taught from experience. The teaching goes on. (Albom, 2006: 209-210).

En relación a la pregunta que hace Albom sobre si realmente he tenido un profesor, yo sí puedo contestar positivamente. Es más, puedo afirmar que soy más que afortunada porque no solo he conocido a uno, sino a varios: tres Profesoras, tres mujeres extraordinarias a las que quiero darles las gracias por cruzarse en mi camino y por aportar tanto en mi formación.

También quiero agradecer a mis amigos más cercanos y a mi pareja Liviu por su apoyo constante e incondicional, por su paciencia y por creer en mí.

A cada uno de ellos, muchas gracias de todo corazón.



## RESUMEN

Siempre hemos percibido el mundo como un conjunto de contrastes en el que el libre albedrío nos da la opción de elegir entre lo que uno considera bueno frente a lo malo, bonito frente a lo feo, correcto frente a lo incorrecto, lícito frente a lo ilícito, etc. Todos estos conceptos opuestos conviven gobernados por la teoría Yin e Yang, tal y como la describe Bergler<sup>8</sup> (2015: 522):

Binele și răul sunt fețe ale aceleiași monede. Ele nu pot exista una fără cealaltă. În Yin și Yang, nici măcar nu există o despărțire totală. Întotdeauna e un pic de negru în fiecare alb. Nu există viață fără moarte și începem să murim în clipa în care ne naștem. Nu există zi fără noapte. Nici sănătate fără boală, sau bucurie fără tristețe. Recunoaștem lucrurile bune, în lume și în viață, doar pentru că avem răul cu care să le comparăm. E o luptă continuă a contrariilor, dar și o unitate a lor. (...) Tocmai această opoziție totală, care lasă loc unei infinități de griuri, face lumea să fie atât de minunată. E o luptă continuă între bine și rău<sup>9</sup>.

El amor por los refranes viene del amor por la tradición y el folklore, por buscar lo auténtico de un pueblo, por amar el origen y las tradiciones – amor que ha ido creciendo a lo largo del proceso migratorio. Cuando uno abandona su pueblo, su ciudad o su país natal, empieza a valorar mucho más lo que deja atrás y desarrolla una especie de sexto sentido por lo bonito del país de acogida. Es inevitable observar, aprender, investigar, comparar y apreciar, de esta manera, la belleza de un pueblo, la riqueza, la sabiduría, y las similitudes que hay con otros pueblos.

Siempre nos han fascinado los refranes porque dicen tanto con tan pocas palabras y, al oírlos de la boca de gente auténtica y sabia de la que uno tiene que aprender, hace que

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<sup>8</sup> Igor Bergler (nacido en 1970) es un autor rumano, director y crítico de cine, presentador de televisión, y especialista en marketing. Doctor en Economía, es el autor de uno de los más vendidos libros rumanos de los últimos 20 años: *Biblia pierdută (La Biblia perdida)*.

<sup>9</sup> Traducción del rumano: “El bien y el mal son las dos caras de la misma moneda. No pueden existir la una sin la otra. En Yin e Yang, ni siquiera hay una separación total. Siempre hay un poco de negro en cada blanco. No hay vida sin muerte y comenzamos a morir en el mismo momento de nuestro nacimiento. No hay día sin noche. Ni salud sin enfermedad o alegría sin tristeza. Reconocemos las cosas buenas, en el mundo y en la vida, solo porque tenemos el mal con el que compararlas. Hay una lucha continua de los opuestos, pero también una unidad de ellos. (...) Precisamente esta oposición total, que deja lugar a una infinidad de grises, hace el mundo tan maravilloso. Es una lucha continua entre el bien y el mal.”

adquieran un valor añadido. Ellos son, para nosotros, como un grande corazón en un cuerpo pequeño, fragmentos esculpidos de la estatua de un pueblo.

La idea de unir los dos temas arriba mencionados - los opuestos y los proverbios - nació del deseo de encontrar nuevos métodos para el aprendizaje del vocabulario. Como dice Rivers (1983: 127-128),

Vocabulary cannot be taught. It can be presented, explained, included in all kinds of activities, and experienced in all manner of associations (...) but ultimately it is learned by the individual. As language teachers, we must arouse interest in words and a certain excitement in personal development in this area (...). We can help our students by giving them ideas on how to learn (...).

Teniendo en cuenta estas palabras, podemos considerar los proverbios una herramienta del profesor para la adquisición de nuevo léxico, acercando al mismo tiempo el alumno a la cultura y al folklore del pueblo cuyo idioma se aprende. Normalmente los proverbios son cortos, melodiosos y fáciles de entender, lo que hace que a los estudiantes les resulten atractivos, curiosos, bonitos y hasta graciosos. Lo notamos en el interés por los refranes mostrado por los alumnos del curso de español que impartimos en el Centro Hispano-Rumano de Coslada (Madrid) desde el año 2008 hasta el 2013. Es más, la importancia de los proverbios en la lengua es indiscutible dada su variada posible aplicación: aparte de la enseñanza de lenguas y culturas, desde la literatura, como herramienta en los discursos políticos, hasta en la psicología y la psiquiatría (se usan en experimentos con personas esquizofrénicas o tests de inteligencia<sup>10</sup>). Como asegura Mieder (en Wolkomir, 1992), "They're everywhere – from Carl Sandburg's poetry to art, psychology, politics, and advertisements for cars and cameras. Proverbs show us something about how we think."

En cuanto a la importancia de los opuestos en este campo *sine qua non* en el estudio de una lengua, que es el vocabulario, como apunta Lyons (1977: 271), "It is (...) a fact, of which the linguist must take cognizance, that binary opposition is one of the most important principles governing the structure of languages, and the most evident manifestation of this principle, as far as the vocabulary is concerned, is antonymy."

Por lo tanto, resultó desafiante elaborar una receta con estos ingredientes: palabras opuestas, proverbios, inglés, español y rumano para transformarlos en un riquísimo plato trilingüe y multicultural.

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<sup>10</sup> Ver *Stanford-Binet o Wechsler's Test of Adult Intelligence* en Gibbs (2001: 178).

El trabajo consiste en tres partes, siendo la primera y la segunda la base teórica para la tercera. En la primera parte, que trata de la antonimia y los antónimos<sup>11</sup>, hemos intentado establecer distintos tipos de palabras opuestas en inglés. La segunda parte la dedicamos a los proverbios, mientras que la tercera es una combinación de los elementos de las dos primeras, es decir, las palabras opuestas y los proverbios. Teniendo en cuenta la clasificación de palabras opuestas establecida en la primera parte, proverbios ingleses con sus equivalentes en español y rumano, han sido agrupados en la tercera parte según los tipos de antónimos que contienen.

El objetivo de este análisis contrastivo ha sido contestar a las siguientes preguntas: ¿Los equivalentes en español y rumano de los proverbios analizados incluyen también palabras opuestas? En caso afirmativo, las parejas de palabras opuestas que aparecen en los proverbios en español y rumano, ¿pertenecen al mismo grupo de antónimos que las del proverbio inglés? A simple vista, habíamos detectado casos de este tipo, con equivalencias de las palabras opuestas incluidas en proverbios en los tres idiomas que hacen el objeto de nuestro estudio. Si este fenómeno puede considerarse ‘normal’ en cuanto al español y al rumano, siendo las dos lenguas románicas, nos pareció curioso el hecho de haber una correspondencia con el inglés, puesto que se trata de un idioma germánico, sin ninguna proximidad geográfica con los dos anteriores.

Para poder contestar a las preguntas planteadas, partiendo de la base teórica establecida en las dos primeras partes del trabajo, hemos hecho un estudio contrastivo incluyendo proverbios en los tres idiomas comparados. El primer paso ha sido elegir de las fuentes de nuestro corpus (que incluye más de 3.200 proverbios en inglés), los proverbios que contenían distintos tipos de palabras opuestas. Una vez hecha la selección, los 471 proverbios ingleses elegidos han sido clasificados en seis grupos correspondientes a las seis categorías de palabras opuestas establecidas en la primera parte (Capítulo 3.4.). A continuación, los proverbios han sido agrupados en sub-categorías bajo parejas de conceptos opuestos. El siguiente paso ha sido buscar para el proverbio en inglés (con sus correspondientes versiones en inglés) sus equivalentes en español y rumano, cosa que no siempre ha sido posible. A raíz de esta parte de la investigación, nos ha resultado, para nuestro análisis, un total de 1.532 proverbios, suma

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<sup>11</sup> Hay que mencionar que en nuestro trabajo el término *antónimo* ha sido a veces empleado genéricamente para denominar cualquiera de los tipos de palabras opuestas, no solamente las que algunos lingüistas llaman *gradables*, *contraries* o *polar antonyms* (Kreidler, 1998: 101; Lyons, 1995: 128). Hemos intentado, en todo lo posible, evitar cualquier confusión de este tipo. Por eso, los términos *oppositeness* y *opposites* se han utilizado con mucha frecuencia para no confundirse con el grupo de los antónimos presentado en el Capítulo 3.4.1.

que proviene de 579 proverbios en inglés, 631 proverbios en español y 322 proverbios en rumano, incluidos y analizados en el presente estudio. Después de que los grupos de proverbios hayan sido determinados, hemos hecho el análisis de las parejas de palabras opuestas contenidas por los refranes en cuestión. Cada ‘familia’ de proverbios (el proverbio en inglés con sus correspondientes en español y rumano) ha sido acompañada de comentarios referentes no solo a las palabras opuestas, sino también a la relación de parentesco establecida entre los miembros de la misma unidad familiar. Cuando el proverbio homólogo rumano presentaba ciertas peculiaridades, para su mejor entendimiento, hemos considerado necesario incluir su traducción *mot à mot* al inglés. El *modus operandi* y las fuentes del corpus aparecen detallados en la tercera parte de nuestro trabajo.

También queremos subrayar que, al no existir una delimitación muy estricta entre los proverbios y los refranes, en cuanto a las paremias que hemos incluido en nuestro estudio no hemos tenido en cuenta esta distinción porque, como afirman Baños y Guardiola (2001: 13), "La diferenciación entre frases proverbiales y refranes no siempre es sencilla y, en caso de duda, hemos preferido pecar por exceso y no por defecto". Por este motivo, las paremias incluidas en nuestro análisis pueden ser tanto proverbios como refranes, siendo los últimos menos representativos que los primeros.

Debido a la ambigüedad de la relación de antonimia existente entre los opuestos contenidos por los proverbios, no hemos podido clasificar todas las paremias seleccionadas en la primera fase de la parte práctica del trabajo. Setenta<sup>12</sup> proverbios de este tipo han sido incluidos en el apartado 2.7. *Proverbs Including Unclassifiable Opposites*.

Los resultados de nuestro análisis contrastivo vienen a contestar a nuestras hipótesis. No solamente hemos visto que la mayoría de los equivalentes en español y rumano de los proverbios ingleses analizados incluye también palabras opuestas, sino que las relaciones de oposición establecidas entre las palabras opuestas contenidas por el proverbio de cada idioma son iguales, casi iguales o incluso idénticas. Hemos detectado 116 (24,63%) casos en los que las relaciones de oposición encontradas en los tres idiomas son iguales, casi iguales o idénticas; 167 (35,46%) casos en los que la relación de igualdad, casi igualdad o identidad se ha establecido solamente entre las relaciones de oposición encontradas en el proverbio inglés con su equivalente en español; 34 (7,22%) casos en los que la relación de igualdad, casi

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<sup>12</sup> Estos 70 proverbios no están incluidos en el total de 1.532 arriba mencionado. Si los sumamos, el total de proverbios incluidos en nuestro estudio es de 1.602.

igualdad o identidad se ha establecido solamente entre las relaciones de oposición encontradas en el proverbio inglés con su equivalente en rumano; Y por último, lo menos representado, tenemos el grupo de los 4 (0,85%) casos en los que la relación de igualdad, casi igualdad o identidad se ha establecido solamente entre las relaciones de oposición encontradas en los equivalentes en español y rumano del proverbio inglés.

Para resumir, de los 471 grupos<sup>13</sup> de proverbios analizados, 321 (68,15%) están gobernados por al menos una relación de igualdad, casi igualdad o identidad entre las oposiciones existentes en los proverbios del grupo. Esta relación, como hemos visto antes, aparece en distintas combinaciones, es decir o en los tres idiomas que hacen el objeto de nuestro estudio, o bien solo en dos de ellos. El resto de los 150 (31,85%) grupos de proverbios analizados se caracteriza por el hecho de que la relación de oposición encontrada en el proverbio clave inglés es diferente a las oposiciones de los equivalentes en español y rumano (cuando estos existen). Esta discrepancia se debe a varias causas: no se han encontrado proverbios equivalentes ni en español ni en rumano (95 casos); no se han encontrado proverbios equivalentes en español, pero sí en rumano (43 casos); no se han encontrado proverbios equivalentes en rumano, pero sí en español (158 casos); el proverbio homólogo español no contiene ninguna relación de oposición (25 casos); el proverbio análogo rumano no contiene ninguna relación de oposición (42 casos); tanto el proverbio equivalente español como el rumano se caracterizan por la ausencia de una relación de oposición (11 casos).

Como señalábamos anteriormente, contrastar los tres idiomas elegidos puede parecer un poco sorprendente a primera vista, por la asociación de dos lenguas románicas que aparentemente no tienen nada que ver con una germánica. El alto porcentaje (68,15%) de los grupos de proverbios analizados viene a contradecir esta teoría. Un argumento similar encontramos en el *Prefacio* del diccionario de Carbonell Basset (2005: 11), formulado por John Simpson cuando se muestra sorprendido por el hecho de que el proverbio 'It takes all sorts to make a world' proviene de una traducción al inglés de *Don Quijote*, del siglo XVII:

I'm not sure why I wasn't expecting this: after all, English (at least since the Norman Conquest) shares much of its proverb heritage with the countries of continental Europe. (...) this European heritage of proverbs is strong. Many exist in parallel in a number of European languages, as the records of these languages show. Proverbs often arise as a response to the trials and tribulations of human existence, and the European experience meant that a proverb that was relevant to Spaniards, or to the French, may well be equally relevant to the English.

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<sup>13</sup> Por 'grupo de proverbios' entendemos un proverbio inglés clave (el que incluye al menos una pareja de palabras opuestas) con sus equivalentes en español y rumano, y sus posibles variantes en inglés.



Una vez presentados los resultados del estudio contrastivo, hemos considerado oportuno incluir un *Apéndice* titulado *Metarrefranero* que ha sido dividido en tres partes (una para cada lengua de las que hacen el objeto de nuestro trabajo) que contiene paremias que son definiciones de proverbios.

La *Bibliografía* ha sido estructurada en cuatro partes: diccionarios, obras citadas, otras obras consultadas y fuentes online. Sin restarle importancia a ninguna de las obras examinadas puesto que, como afirmaba Plinio el Joven (*Epistulae*, III, 5<sup>14</sup>), "Nullum esse librum tam malum, ut non aliqua parte prodesset"<sup>15</sup>, nos gustaría nombrar varios autores rumanos (lingüistas, paremiólogos, folcloristas, etc.): Richard Sîrbu y Gheorghe Bârlea, para la parte dedicada a las palabras opuestas, Cezar Tabarcea y Constantin Negreanu, en cuanto a la sección que trata de los proverbios, Teodor Flonta y Virgil Lefter, para la parte práctica - cuyos obras nos revelaron la belleza del mundo de la lengua y nos facilitaron la elaboración de la receta que mencionábamos al principio de este resumen.

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<sup>14</sup> Fuente: <[http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Pliny\\_the\\_Younger](http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Pliny_the_Younger)>.

<sup>15</sup> Traducción del latín: 'No hay libro tan malo que no aproveche en alguna parte'.

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## LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SYMBOL/ABBREVIATION	MEANING/USE
-	Used between opposite terms that are written in italics, e.g. <i>good-bad</i>
≠	‘different from’
↔	‘equivalent to’
~	‘the negation of’
≈	‘almost equivalent to’
=	‘equal to’
≡	‘equivalent to’
⊃	‘implies’
⊄	‘does not imply’
∅	‘zero’
adj.	adjective
BBC	BBC English – Romanian Dictionary
DAPR	Diccionario de aforismos, proverbios y refranes. Con la interpretación para su empleo correcto y la equivalencia en siete idiomas (portugués, francés, italiano, inglés, alemán, latín y catalán)
e.g.	‘for example’
Eng.	‘English’
EOL	Online Etymology Dictionary
et. al.	From Latin <i>et alii</i> , meaning ‘and others’

<b>EWED</b>	Encarta World English Dictionary
<b>Fr.</b>	‘French’
<b>i.e.</b>	‘that is’
<b>Lat.</b>	‘Latin’
<b>LDOCE</b>	Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English
<b>lit. transl.</b>	‘literally translated’
<b>n.</b>	noun
<b>OED</b>	Oxford English Dictionary
<b>op. cit.</b>	‘cited work’
<b>Rom.</b>	‘Romanian’
<b>Sp.</b>	‘Spanish’
<b>v.</b>	verb
<b>W</b>	‘exclusive disjunction’



*"L'intelletto universale è,  
l'intima, più reale e propria facoltà  
e parte potenziale de l'anima del mondo."<sup>16</sup>  
(Giordano Bruno - Italian Dialogues)*

## INTRODUCTION

I have always perceived the world as *un mundo de contrastes*, thinking of peace when heard of war, seeing things either black or white, feeling up or down; a mixture of opposites in which the free will gives us the option to choose between what we consider to be good instead of evil, beautiful instead of ugly, right instead of wrong, legal instead of illegal, etc. All of these opposite concepts coexist just like in the Yin and Yang theory, as Bergler<sup>17</sup> (2015: 522) describes so well:

Binele și răul sunt fețe ale aceleiași monede. Ele nu pot exista una fără cealaltă. În Yin și Yang, nici măcar nu există o despărțire totală. Întotdeauna e un pic de negru în fiecare alb. Nu există viață fără moarte și începem să murim în clipa în care ne naștem. Nu există zi fără noapte. Nici sănătate fără boală, sau bucurie fără tristețe. Recunoaștem lucrurile bune, în lume și în viață, doar pentru că avem răul cu care să le comparăm. E o luptă continuă a contrariilor, dar și o unitate a lor. (...) Tocmai această opoziție totală, care lasă loc unei infinități de griuri, face lumea să fie atât de minunată. E o luptă continuă între bine și rău<sup>18</sup>.

My passion for proverbs springs from the love for tradition and folklore, from seeking the authenticity of a people, from the worship of roots and custom – love that grew stronger and stronger during the migratory process. When someone leaves his/her village, town or the country where (s)he was born, (s)he begins to recognize the worth of what was left behind.

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<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Duduleanu-Pelendava (1995: IX). Translated from Romanian (the quotation is the original Italian version): "The universal intellect is the intimate, most real, peculiar and powerful part of the soul of the world."

<sup>17</sup> Igor Bergler (born in 1970) is a Romanian writer, film director, television host, film critic and marketing specialist. PH.D. in Economics, he is the author of one of the most famous Romanian best-sellers in the last 20 years: *Biblia pierdută* (*The Lost Bible*).

<sup>18</sup> Translation from Romanian: "Good and evil are faces of the same coin. One cannot exist without the other. In Yin and Yang, there is not even a clear-cut border. There is always a bit of black in every white. There is no life without death and we start dying in the very moment we are born. There is no day without night. Nor health without disease, nor joy without annoy. We recognize the good things in the world and in our life just because we have got the evil to compare them to. There is a permanent fight of the contraries, but there is also a unity of them. (...) It is this complete oppositeness that gives place to an infinity of greys, which makes world so wonderful. It is a constant fight between good and evil."

(S)he develops a sort of a sixth sense which allows her/him to immediately appreciate the beauty of the host country. Thus, it is inevitable to observe, to learn, to research, to compare and to estimate the splendor of a people, its wisdom, wealth and its similarities with other countries.

As far as I am concerned, I have always been fascinated by proverbs because of their form – they are like a big soul in a small body, they transmit such a great message with few words. Moreover, when they are used by authentic and wise people, one gets really charmed by proverbs' beauty. They are, for me, like fragments of a sculpture - the statue of (the wisdom of) a people.

From my point of view, this work may be considered 'an excuse' of bringing together the above two topics in which I am interested. From a pragmatic point of view, proverbs and antonyms are 'the excuse', better said, the context, and the tool for an easier learning of new words.

Vocabulary cannot be taught. It can be presented, explained, included in all kinds of activities, and experienced in all manner of associations (...) but ultimately it is learned by the individual. As language teachers, we must arouse interest in words and a certain excitement in personal development in this area (...). We can help our students by giving them ideas on how to learn (...) (Rivers, 1983: 127-128).

Taking into account Rivers' words above, I think that proverbs can be used as a practical instrument for vocabulary acquisition and for bringing the learner closer to a people's way of thinking and culture. This is due to their shortness, brevity and to the fact that usually it is very easy to understand their message. My experience as a teacher of Spanish to Romanian immigrant students at the *Centro Hispano-Rumano* (Coslada, Madrid), from 2008 to 2013, made me realize the interest of students for proverbs and their astonishment with the similarity between the two Romance languages. That is why I found it very interesting and challenging to combine these three ingredients: opposites, proverbs and languages in order to elaborate the recipe of a multicultural and trilingual 'dish'.

The present work attempts a synchronic treatment of several aspects of the two main topics already mentioned, namely:

- antonymy, insisting on: the relationship between logic and linguistics regarding oppositeness, antonyms typology, the morpho-lexical aspect of antonyms (antonyms made up with negative prefixes), a delimitation between the 'proper' antonyms and the other types of

opposites, the interrelation between oppositeness and the other two main semasiological categories, i.e. polysemy and synonymy.

- proverbs, approaching topics as the following: defining proverbs through consecrated paroemiologists' points of view and also through metaphors, trying to make a clear distinction between proverbs and other paremia, proverbs typology from different perspectives (thematic, structural and logical-semiotic, morphological and stylistic), proverbs subgenres, their importance and range of application, and also proverbs' kinship with the semantic relations of synonymy and antonymy.

Both themes are illustrated by examples mainly from the English language, sometimes from other Romance languages - since English makes the object of our investigation, even though contrasted to Spanish and Romanian. The given examples are meant to enrich the image of the distinctive features of the relation of oppositeness and of proverbs, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to underline the types of opposite words and proverbs in English and, by extrapolation, to Spanish and Romanian.

As many linguists point out (e.g. Bucă, Marin & Ivan Evseev: 1976), in spite of being noticed even since antiquity by Greek philosophers, antonymy was at first less studied than synonymy. Even though, when linguists started showing more interest towards antonyms, lexicographers did not record them in special dictionaries; they included antonyms in the same books, namely dictionaries of synonyms and antonyms. Recent works demonstrated that antonymy is one of the main axis around which the lexical system of language gravitates. At the same time, antonymy has stylistic and expressive connotations that are undoubtedly as important as those of synonymy or polysemy.

It is well-known that the structure of vocabulary at its different levels, its organization and the semantic relations between words are better understood if analyzed taking into account the contextual and stylistic factors. As Ducrot-Todorov (quoted in Bidu-Vrânceanu, 1984: 10) states, "we cannot understand a sign without making it join the global game of the language". That is why this work deals with the semantic relation of antonymy and the study of antonyms in a particular field, namely paroemiology, and the proverb context. This is important not as much for the description of the language but also for how these terms - antonyms - are used in spoken and written language. Opposite terms cannot be perceived just as mere static schemes within the abstract language system. That is why it is important to study them in context, where, as Sîrbu (quoted in Bidu-Vrânceanu, 1984: 139) points out,

"their semantic oppositeness acquires the status of a linguistic category". Proverbs, as well as literary texts, provide such contexts in which opposites can be placed and analyzed in order to teach and understand antonymy better. Moreover, due to some of their characteristics, we can even say that proverbs may have an advantage over literary texts. On the one hand, proverbs are easy to understand because of their short form; on the other hand, let us not forget their social, cultural and educative role in foreign language acquisition, since they reflect the culture and wisdom of a people.

The work has been structured in three main parts. The first and the second parts represent the theoretical basis for the third one, which has a practical standpoint and a personal view. Parts one and two contain five chapters each. In the first part, which deals with antonymy and antonyms, better said, oppositeness and opposites, different types of opposites in English language are established. The second part deals with proverbs and the third part combines the two topics, opposites and proverbs. Taking into account opposites' classification established in *Part One*, English proverbs with their Spanish and Romanian equivalents have been grouped in the third part of this work according to the types of opposite words they include.

The aim of the contrastive analysis which represents the basis of the third part of our study is to answer the following questions: Do the Spanish and Romanian equivalent proverbs corresponding to an English head proverb which contains a pair of opposite terms, also include a pair of opposites? If the answer to this first question is an affirmative one, the next issue is: Do the opposite terms present in the Spanish and Romanian equivalent proverbs belong to the same group of opposites as the ones found in the English head proverb? At a first reading we observed such equivalences in the three languages, in spite of their 'strange' kinship, namely all of them being Indo-European languages, with no geographical proximity, English being a Germanic one, while Spanish and Romanian being Romance languages. What we intended was to discover in what measure the similarities of the oppositeness relations found in the three languages overshadow or, on the contrary, are eclipsed by the differences of the same relations of oppositeness. From this perspective the study acquires also a practical value, since it observes the linguistic projection of antonymy in three different languages having as a starting point the same model and being influenced by the same extra linguistic, logical, ontological and linguistic factors.

As already mentioned, *Part One*, entitled *Antonyms*, contains five chapters. We would like to specify here that in our work the term *antonym* is sometimes used generically when referring to any type of opposite word, not only of the special category of what some linguists call *gradable*, *contraries* or *polar antonyms* (Kreidler, 1998: 101; Lyons, 1995: 128)<sup>19</sup>. We tried to avoid this misunderstanding as much as possible; that is why the terms 'oppositeness' and 'opposites' are often used not to be confounded with the specific class presented on Chapter 3.4.1.

Chapter I, *Antonyms and Antonymy. Opposites and Oppositeness*, presents on the one hand, the relation of oppositeness between words viewed by different philosophers and linguists, from Aristotle to our days.

An observation is required: *antonymy* may be now used as the standard technical term for all the contrastive sense relations but also, in relation to opposition, it is used in the more restrictive sense of *gradable* opposites, e.g. *hot-cold*, *big-small*, *good-bad*, which are all gradable relative to each other with reference to a norm. The term *antonymy* is found in many authors and dictionaries classify as antonyms pairs of lexemes which, as we shall see, are related in various ways, e.g. *high-low*, *buy-sell*, *male-female*, *arrive-depart*, *left-right*, *front-back*, etc.

On the other hand, this first chapter also introduces the reader in the world of oppositeness, finding out some of the main characteristics of antonymy, such as: semantic resemblance, dialectic character, binarity, symmetry, reciprocal entailment, productivity, universality, etc.

Chapter II, *Oppositeness and the Science of Logic*, focuses on the main problem raised by oppositeness, i.e. the essence of the antonymic oppositeness of meaning and its close relation to the contrary and contradictory notions that the science of logic operates with. Oppositeness may be said to be a linguistic phenomenon with deep logical and psychological implications.

Several criteria, proposed by Sîrbu (1977: 62-88), are used to define the essence of oppositeness with the final aim of presenting in the following chapter the typology of opposites in the English language. This chapter proves that the essence of oppositeness can be

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<sup>19</sup> See the classification of opposite words in Chapter III (3.4.).



better understood if the terms of antonymous pairs are referred to from three levels of analysis: linguistic, ontological and psychological (psycholinguistic).

Chapter III, *The Typology of Opposites*, contains a detailed description of the English system of antonymous pairs. The classification of opposites is made from the points of view that Sirbu (1977: 125-157) uses to establish a typology of Romanian antonyms. So, the classification of the English opposites is made according to four perspectives: the lexical-grammatical perspective, the morphological-lexical perspective, the thematic perspective, and the semantic perspective. With no intention of resting importance from the first three perspectives in the typology survey, we may say that the last perception (the semantic one) is a significant element in our study, because based on this point of view, the English proverbs with their Spanish and Romanian equivalents are classified in *Part Three*.

We considered appropriate to include in this chapter the classification of opposites made by Steven Jones (2002: 45-104) since he is one of the contemporary linguists who brings an air of freshness to the topic, with an original and complete study of antonymy. Moreover, his antonym sequence (detailed under section 3.5.A.) view is an important aspect, taken into account in our contrastive analysis.

Chapter IV, *Oppositeness and Other Semantic Relations between Words*, refers to the relations existing between different types of English opposites and polysemantic words on the one hand, and synonymous words on the other hand. Since our study is based on the relation of oppositeness between words, the other relations implied, i.e. synonymy, polysemy, are not treated in detail. Just the definitions of synonymous and polysemous words have been mentioned.

A particular type of oppositeness, enantiosis, has also been included in this chapter (under section 4.1.1). This is due to the fact that, although defined as a figure of speech, enantiosis involves polysemic words, being thus considered a "polysemous antonymy" (Martín Fernández, 2002: 67) and denominated "internal antonymy" (Bârlea, 1999: 202 and Sirbu, 1977: 127).

Chapter V, *Antonyms at Work*, investigates the functional features of opposites in context as well as their stylistic function. Inside context, antonymic relations are influenced by a series of extra linguistic and linguistic factors correlated both horizontally and vertically according to semantic, phonetic, morphological, syntactical, etc. elements. Stylistic factors

have their influence on antonyms converting them into basic elements of different figures of speech, many of them possible exclusively to antonymic oppositeness. In this chapter several figures of speech in which opposite words appear are presented: antithesis, oxymoron, climax, irony, paradox, litotes, meiosis, metaphor, etc.

*Part Two*, denominated *Proverbs* because of the topic it focuses on, also contains five chapters, some of them related to the chapters of the *Part One*.

Chapter I, *Defining Proverbs*, deals with the difficult task of delimiting the territory enclosed by proverbs. Making an incursion through definitions given by different dictionaries and linguists of various nationalities (among them, English, Spanish and Romanian linguists, of course), passing through metaphors defining proverbs (section 1.1.1.), and then presenting some of their most important features (brevity, orality, anonymity, etc.), this chapter ends its attempt with a terminology taxonomy. Though it is almost impossible to build precise fences between proverbs and other paremia, we tried to draw some lines in order to establish certain borders and avoid confusion between proverbs and sayings, *proverbios* and *refranes*, and proverbs and other folk narratives, such as maxim, sententia, adage, aphorism, apophthegm, riddle and fable.

Chapter II, *A Brief View on the History of Proverbs*, places a special emphasis on the importance of proverbs and their origins, making an incursion from the Bible, through English, Spanish and Romanian literature, famous authors and collections of proverbs, to contemporary well-known paroemiographers, such as Wolfgang Mieder, Julia Sevilla Muñoz or Teodor Flonta.

Chapter III, *The Typology of Proverbs*, similar to the Chapter III of *Part One*, presents different classes of proverbs from the following perspectives: thematic, structural and logical-semiotic, morphological and stylistic. A special stress has been given here (under section 3.5.) the proverbs subgenres *Wellerism*, the *refrán perrogrullesco*, and proverbial phrases such as ‘To hit the nail on the head’, ‘To kick the bucket’, ‘To cross the bridge when we come to it’, ‘As drunk as a skunk’, ‘As mad as a hatter’, ‘Dead as a doornail’, etc.

Chapter IV, *Proverbs’ Importance. Range of Application*, underlines the importance of proverbs by presenting their wide range of application in different fields, such as literature, painting, mass media, advertising, education and medicine. At the same time examples of the

(dis)/(mis)/(ab)/(over)use of proverbs are presented, pointing out the great power of proverbs and how they can have distinct functions which vary according to the context they are used in.

Chapter V, *Proverbs and the Semantic Relations of Synonymy and Antonymy*, deals, on the one hand, with the paroemiological synonymy, namely that relation of synonymy established between two or more proverbs, e.g. 'Little strokes fell great oaks' <=> 'Many a little makes a mickle'; and, on the other hand, with paroemiological antonymy, i.e. the semantic relationship of oppositeness/contradiction established between proverbs taking into account the thematic messages they express, e.g. 'Look before you leap' - 'He who hesitates is lost'.

*Part Three*, entitled *English Proverbs Including Opposites with Their Spanish and Romanian Equivalent*s, is a mixture of the first two parts. It contains a practical application of the theoretical ideas presented in the previous parts. Opposites are those correlative words between which a relation of semantic oppositeness is established. They exist in the linguistic consciousness of the speakers in the form of pairs of words having a standardized value and they regularly appear in contexts in direct opposition having similar distributional characteristics. The context in which opposites have been studied is limited to proverbs, more exactly to English proverbs with their equivalents in Spanish and Romanian languages.

The starting point was selecting from the sources of our corpus (including more than 3.200 English proverbs) those English proverbs containing different kinds of opposite terms. Then, the selected proverbs were classified according to the types of opposites they integrated, into six main groups based on the semantic perspective presented on Chapter 3.4. of *Part One*. Once the main groups were established, proverbs were gathered in sub-classes under opposite concepts. Then, for each English head proverb we tried to find in our corpus at least a Spanish and a Romanian equivalent. This was not always possible; in this case we indicated this fact. When the group of proverbs (meaning the English head proverbs with its equivalents) was complete, we analysed the pairs of opposites found in each item. Comments upon the similarities and the differences observed not only between the opposite pairs, but also between the proverbs of the same group were made when considered appropriate. Sometimes, when the Romanian equivalent proverb presented certain peculiarities, we thought necessary to provide its literal translation into English in order to point out its particularity or for a better understanding of its meaning, of our comments, etc. The modus

operandi and the sources of our corpus are explained in detail in *Part Three*, under the corresponding sections.

As seen in Chapter I of *Part Two*, a radical distinction between *proverbios* and *refranes* is merely impossible, as it results from the numerous Spanish collections of *proverbios* and *refranes*. That is why we advise the reader that the proverbs included in our work were not selected taking into account this distinction because, as Baños & Guardiola (2001: 13) state, "La diferenciación entre frases proverbiales y refranes no siempre es sencilla y, en caso de duda, hemos preferido pecar por exceso y no por defecto". Thus, the Spanish equivalent proverbs analyzed in our contrastive study may be *proverbios* as well as *refranes*, being the latter less representative than the first.

Not all the proverbs selected from our corpus could have been classified because of the ambiguity of the oppositeness of the antonymous pairs they contain. Seventy such paremiae have been listed under the 2.7. *Proverbs Including Unclassifiable Opposites* section.

*Part Three* ends with the analysis of the results from our study which gives us the answers to our hypothetical questions.

Our final general conclusions are compiled under the corresponding *Conclusions* section, followed by an *Appendix* called *Metarrefranero*, divided into three sections (one for each of our three languages), listing international proverbs defining proverbs.

Finally, the *Bibliography* includes four sections: dictionaries, cited works, other consulted works and online sources. Far from resting some of the consulted books' merits or importance because, as Pliny the Younger (*Epistulae*, III, 5<sup>20</sup>) used to say, "Nullum esse librum tam malum, ut non aliqua parte prodesset" ('No book was so bad but that some good might be got out of it'), we would like to mention here some Romanian authors (linguists, paremiologists, folklorists, etc.): Richard Sîrbu and Gheorghe Bârlea for the part dealing with antonyms, Cezar Tabarcea and Constantin Negreanu for the section related to proverbs, Teodor Flonta and Virgil Lefter for the practical part, whose works revealed us the beautiful world of language and eased our pretty difficult task of compiling a trilingual proverb-study helping us to find adequate and suitable equivalents.

The present study has, above all, a practical goal, trying to illustrate/to capture how oppositeness is expressed contrastively in three languages. The context is the same, namely

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<sup>20</sup> Available from <[http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Pliny\\_the\\_Younger](http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Pliny_the_Younger)>.

the paroemiological field. English proverbs with their Spanish and Romanian equivalents are the scene on which pairs of opposites play their linguistic role, under the direction of extralinguistic, logical, psychological and ontological factors. We would be more than pleased if this trilingual dialogue could offer a small contribution to the study of proverbs, especially of the Romanian ones.

Finally, we would like to express our optimism that, in spite of the risk of the use of proverbs to be shipwrecked and the difficulty, but not the impossibility, to create new proverbs, this great world social, cultural and linguistic heritage will be preserved and always given its well-deserved place and respect.

**PART ONE**  
**~ ANTONYMS ~**



## CHAPTER I

### ANTONYMS AND ANTONYMY. OPPOSITES AND OPPOSITENESS

*"How are you doing" I would ask.  
"Ask me how I am feeling?" he answered.  
"Okay, how are you feeling?" [...]  
"I am very happy and very sad."  
"How can you be both at the same time?" I asked  
in all seriousness, a girl of nine or ten.  
"Because both require each others' company.  
they live in the same house. Didn't you know?"  
(Terry Tempest Williams - *The Village Watchman*)<sup>21</sup>*

#### 1.1. OVERVIEW ON THE STUDY OF ANTONYMS AND ANTONYMY

*Antonymy* is a linguistic phenomenon with deep logical and psychological implications. In contrast to hyponymy, antonymy is a binary relationship in that it can characterize the relationship between only two words at a time. Trier (quoted in Lyons, 1977: 270) opens one of his major works with the statement that "Every word that is pronounced calls forth its opposite (...) in the consciousness of the speaker and hearer."

*Antonyms* (Mid. 19<sup>th</sup> century. From French *antonyme*, from Greek *anti-* 'against, opposite' + *onuma* 'name' [EWED]) are those correlative words between which a relation of semantic oppositeness is established. They exist in the form of pairs of words having a

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<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Murphy (2003: 3).



standard value, and they regularly appear in contexts in direct opposition, having similar distributive characteristics.

According to some linguists, e.g. Sîrbu (1977: 17), also Jones (2002: 9), the term *antonym* was used for the first time by Charles J. Smith, the author of the first English dictionary of synonyms and antonyms – *A Complete Collection of Synonyms and Antonyms*, published in 1867<sup>22</sup>. Apparently, the term *antonym* is older than this date, being mentioned for the first time by Paul Ackermann in his *Dictionnaire des antonymes ou contremots* published in Paris in 1842 (Barlea, 1999: 23, 30).

The interest in words with opposite meaning has appeared ever since antiquity, in the time of philosophers' preoccupations for descriptive semantics. Thus, Aristotle makes reference to this type of words in several of his works. In *Topics*, he reflects on some words oppositeness, such as *white-black*, *beautiful-ugly*. He also speaks about those cases when a word has opposites only in one meaning: "So ... spiritual *love* has *hatred* as its opposite, while the physical act has no opposite. It is clear that *to love* is a homonymous term." (quoted in Sîrbu, 1977: 9).

In his *Metaphysics*, the Greek philosopher (quoted in Sîrbu, 1977: 9-10) points out the difference between *contrariety* (when the *tertium* is not excluded) and *contradiction* (when the *tertium* is excluded).

Talking about metaphor, in *Rhetoric* (III), he says that oppositions are more accessible to the understanding that is why the oppositeness between two notions is more obvious when these stand together (Sîrbu, 1977:10).

Cicero is one of the Latin writers who points out antonyms value. There are several paragraphs in which antonyms are called *contraria*: *De oratore*, 166; *De inventione*, 2, 165; *Topica*, 47 (Bârlea, 1999: 23). In *Topica*, 47-49 we may find an antonyms classification very similar to the logical-semantic modern ones:

- *adversa*, e.g. Lat. *sapientia-stultitia*;
- *privantia*, e.g. Lat. *dignitas-indignitas*; *humanitas-inhumanitas*;
- *valde contraria*, e.g. Lat. *multa-pauca*; *longum-breve*; *duplum-simplum*.

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<sup>22</sup> The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) gives the same reference of the word, but the year referred to is 1870. In the *Online Etymology Dictionary* (EOL) we also find the 1867 year as the reference date.

Reflections on oppositeness can also be found in Plato's works. For example, in *Protagoras*, Plato, in his intention to prove Protagoras that virtue is only one, that it is reduced to science, so it can be learned, presents his principle that a thing can have only one opposite. The dialogue between Socrates and Protagoras shows antonymy as a symmetric oppositeness:

'But tell me', I said, 'does the beautiful exist?'  
'Yes', he said. – 'Does anything else oppose to it except the ugliness?'  
'No, it doesn't.' – 'What about the good, does it exist?'  
'Yes, it does.'  
'Does anything else oppose to it except the bad?'  
'No,...'  
'So', I said, 'isn't it true that each thing has only one opposite and no even one more?' He agreed with that. (Quoted in Sîrbu, 1977: 11)

Democritus also speaks about contraries, stating that sometimes the *much* may seem *few* or that the *filling* (*non-emptiness*) and the *emptiness* exist anyhow and anywhere, the first symbolizing the *Existence*, the latter the *Non-existence* (Sîrbu, 1977: 11).

There are other antique philosophers who take into consideration the relation of oppositeness between words. Some of them mention the *Par* and the *Odd* (the Pythagoreans), others the *Warm* and the *Cold* (Parmenides), others the *Narrowness* and the *Infinite* (the Platonism), others the *Love* and the *Hatred* (Empedocles).

Even before Christ a certain interest on contrary words can be found in the Hindu philosophy and doctrine. The following fragment from *Upanishad* can be read as a motto in Adam Schaff's *Introduction to Semantics*:

If language did not exist, neither *good* nor *bad*, neither *truth* nor *lie*, neither *satisfaction* nor *deception* would be known.  
Language makes the understanding of all of these possible.  
Ponder over language. (Quoted in Sîrbu, 1977: 12)

The *Bible* also acquires a special importance when talking about antonyms. In the very beginning of the *Genesis* we find opposite words such as: *light-darkness* and *day-night*: "God saw that the light was good, and he separated the light from the darkness. God called the light 'day', and the darkness he called 'night'. And there was evening, and there was morning—the first day" (Genesis, 1: 3). There are numerous studies of semantics that make reference to the *Bible* and its richness in this respect. For example: Thiselton's *Semantics and New Testament*

*Interpretation*<sup>23</sup>, Boyer's *Semantics in Biblical Interpretation*, Barr's *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, etc.

The interest in the words whose meanings are in a relation of oppositeness increased towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and especially during the 20<sup>th</sup> century when semantics gained importance in linguistics. There were often mentioned linguistic phenomena, indicating the close relation that exists between words opposed in meaning, such as *analogous induction* or *semantic attraction*. In this respect, Gustav Stern, in his *Meaning and Change of Meaning* (1931) points out the fact that in Old English the adjective *micel* 'big' transformed its *i* in *y* – *mycel*, under the influence of the opposite word *lytel* 'little' in the same way as *female*<Fr. *femelle* was formed under the influence of its opposite *mâle* (Sîrbu, 1977: 17).

The French linguist Ferdinand de Saussure plays also a major role in linguistic evolution. His student Charles Bally, in his *Treatise of French Stylistics* makes reference to *les contraires logiques* 'logical opposites'. He states that, in our conscience, abstract notions come in pairs, each member of a pair being related, in one way or another, to its opposite representation. He distinguishes two types of logical opposites:

- *logical opposites*, including opposite notions which are reciprocally excluded, e.g. *warm -cold, wealth -poverty*
- *opposites in an extinguished sense*, referring to correlative notions, e.g. *right-left, theory-practice, master-mistress*. In this category he also includes those pairs which admit logical intermediaries, e.g. *beginning-middle-end, past-present-future*. (Sîrbu, 1977: 19)

An observation is required: not all linguists make the distinction between the global notion of antonymy and the '*par excellence*' antonymy. According to Radford (1999: 199), "oppositeness of meaning is a pervasive semantic relation in the lexicons of human languages and it comes in several varieties."

Robert Martin (1973: 37) underlines the difficulty in giving a precise definition of antonymy.

Pourtant, la notion d'antonymie pour limpide qu'elle paraisse dans un approche intuitive, n'est pas exempte de toute embûche pour qui cherche à en donner une définition précise. La nature de l'antonymie et les mécanismes qui la font naître sont

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<sup>23</sup> Available from <<http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/>>.

loin d'être entièrement élucidés, et les quelques réflexions qui suivent ont seulement pour but d'en montrer les difficultés et, peut-être, de poser quelques jalons.<sup>24</sup>

Still, he defines antonymy as "une relation entre deux signifiés (au sens le plus large), décrite par la notion triviale de <<contraire>>", a relation comparable with synonymy, hyponymy, metonymy or metaphor (Martin, 1973: 37).

Martin distinguishes two types of antonymy, according to exclusive disjunction ("disjonction exclusive"<sup>25</sup>, example 1) and logical incompatibility ("incompatibilité logique", example number 2):

E.g. (1) John is *married*.

John is a *bachelor*.

John is either married or a bachelor, he cannot be both at the same time.

(2) This paperwork is *good*.

This paperwork is *bad*.

If a paperwork is good, it cannot be bad; if it is bad, it is not good, but it could be mediocre, that is not good nor bad.

The same variety of definitions of antonymy is reflected by Carmen Varo Varo (2002: 24-32) who gathers together a series of opinions of important linguists, pointing out the broad conception of opposite words. Thus, Marouzeau<sup>26</sup> defines antonyms as "Terme de sens contraire à un autre" (e.g. Fr. *grand-petit*, *sortir-entrer*); Lázaro Carreter (1953) speaks about "Significación contraria de dos vocablos, llamados antónimos: *frío-calor*, *alto-bajo*"; Pei<sup>27</sup> refers to antonyms as "Palabras que significan los contrario de otras", while Hartmann and Stork (1972: 15) name them "One of two or more words with opposite meanings", e.g. *hot-cold*, *hope-despair*. Marchese and Forradellas (1986: 31) define antonym as "Unidad léxica que, frente a otra, tiene un sentido contrario: grande-pequeño".

Once we have seen the variety of definitions, we can only agree with Jones's (2002: 9) statement that "Antonymy is a phenomenon better suited to exemplification than definition". Still, the same author (2002: 179) gives a new definition of antonyms hoping to be useful for

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<sup>24</sup> Eng.: However, in order to clarify that it appears in an intuitive approach, the notion antonymy is not exempt from the difficulties of finding a precise definition. The nature of antonymy and its mechanisms are far from being fully understood, and the thoughts that follow are only intended to show the difficulties and, perhaps, to mark a step forward.

<sup>25</sup> The same concept of "disjonction exclusive" ('W') is used by Kleiber (1979: 278) who represents it with the following formulae:  $p \text{ W } q$ ;  $p \equiv \sim q$ ;  $\sim p \equiv q$ , where 'p' = married; 'q' = bachelor; '≡' = equivalent to...; '∼' = the negation of...

<sup>26</sup> Cited in Varo Varo (2002: 23)

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

future "antonymists"<sup>28</sup>: "Antonyms are pairs of words which contrast along a given semantic scale and frequently function in a coordinated and ancillary fashion such that they become lexically enshrined as 'opposites'."

On the contrary, Palmer (1981: 94) states that "antonymy is a regular and very natural feature of language and can be defined fairly precisely".

Since Lyons (1977: 279), there are more and more linguists who mark the line between the proper antonymy and the other kinds of oppositeness. Thus, Lyons distinguishes four types of oppositeness of meaning (Carter, 1988: 24):

- *complementarity*, which refers to a strict bilateral implication:

E.g. My brother is *married* → My brother is not a *bachelor*.

and

My brother is not *married* → My brother is a *bachelor*.

- *antonymy*, which refers to a unilateral implication, being closely related to *gradual antonymy*:

E.g. My father is *young* → My father is not *old*.

but not

My father is not *old* → My father is *young*.

- *converseness*, which refers to a reversible relationship such as *parent-child*, *husband-wife*.
- *directionality*, where some sort of direction is involved, e.g. *up-down*, *come-go*, *arrive-depart*.

The prototypical antonyms are pairs of adjectives that describe opposite notions: *large-small*, *wide-narrow*, *hot-cold*, *open-close*, *married-single*, *alive-dead*, etc. But antonymy is not restricted to adjectives. *Always* and *never* form an antonymous pair of adverbs because they have mutually exclusive referents. The verbs *love* and *hate* can also be viewed as

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<sup>28</sup> Term Jones coins by analogy with the term 'synonymists' used by Ullman (quoted in Jones, 2002: 187) to refer to students of synonymy.

antonyms because they refer to mutually exclusive emotions. Antonymy is thus a binary relationship between terms with complementary meanings.

Intuitively, it is possible to appreciate a difference between the antonymous pairs *large-small* and *single-married*. The adjectives of the first pair denote notions that are relatively subjective. Most of us would agree that humpback whales are large mammals and that mice are small mammals, but whether German shepherds are small or large dogs depends on one's perspective. The owner of a Great Dane may find them on the small side. Furthermore, adjectives like *large* and *small* have superlative and comparative forms: humpback whales are the *largest* of the mammals; German shepherds are *larger* than Chihuahuas but *smaller* than Great Danes. These types of antonyms are called *gradable* pairs.

In comparison to *large-small*, *single-married* are mutually exclusive and complementary. A person cannot be single and married at the same time. With respect to marital status, a person cannot be described with a term that does not have either *single* or *married* as a hyponym; thus, *single* and *married* generally cannot be used in a comparative or superlative sense (someone being legally 'more single' than another single person is impossible). This pair is an example of *nongradable* antonymy, also called *complementarity*.

There are thus two main types of antonymy: gradable and non-gradable (Frawley, 1992: 28; Yule, 1996: 118). If terms A and B are *gradable* antonyms, and if A can be used to describe a particular referent, then B cannot be used to describe the same referent, and vice versa. If A and B are *nongradable* antonyms, the same condition applies along with an additional condition: if A cannot describe a referent, then that referent must be described by B, and vice versa. So, *male* and *female*, *married* and *single*, *alive* and *dead* can be viewed as nongradable antonyms, while *hot* and *cold*, *love* and *hate*, *always* and *never* are gradable. Typically, for gradable antonyms, there will be words to describe intermediate stages: *sometimes*, *seldom*, *occasionally*, *often* are gradations between *always* and *never*.

The distinction between gradable and nongradable antonyms is sometimes blurred by language users. In English, for example, it is reasonable to assume that whatever is alive is not dead and whatever is dead is not alive, and thus, that the adjectives *dead* and *alive* form a nongradable pair. However, there are expressions like *half-dead* (Lat. *semivivus*, *semianimis*, Rom. *pe jumătate mort*), *barely alive* (Rom. *aproape mort*), *more dead than alive* (Rom. *mai mult mort decât viu*, also Latin *neque vivus neque mortuus* 'neither alive nor dead') which suggest that, in some contexts, *alive* and *dead* convey a third, intermediate value and thus they

can be described as gradable antonyms. According to Bertocchi (2003: 113) this phenomenon gives birth to a paradox. The distinction between the two types of antonymy is nevertheless useful in that it describes an important distinction between two types of word relationship. Frawley (1992: 53) considers that these expressions (*half dead* and *barely alive*) do not refer to intermediate stages between *life* and *death*, unlike, for example, the words *tepid* and *warm* which denote midpoints on a temperature scale. The cited expressions refer to the 'alive half' of the life-death dichotomy.

Words that are involved in an antonymous relationship often do not have equal status with respect to markedness. Murphy (2003: 184) considers markedness "a major source of distributional assymetry in antonymic relations". For example, when inquiring about the weight of an object, you say 'How heavy is it?' and not 'How light is it?' unless you already know that the object is light. Notice also that the noun *weight*, which describes both relative heaviness and relative lightness, is associated with *heavy* rather than with *light* (as in 'carry a lot of weight' and 'throw one's weight around'). Of the antonymous pair *heavy-light*, *heavy* is more neutral than *light* and is thus less marked. In the same way, *tall* is less marked than *short*, and *married* less marked than *single*; we say 'marital status', not 'singleness status' (Finegan, 1994: 169-170).

Lehrer (quoted in Murphy, 2003: 184-185) reaches the conclusion that 80% of common gradable antonym pairs have a markedness distinction. The author mentions eight of the most common ways in which neutralization occurs in the case of antonymic adjectives:

1. The unmarked member is neutralized in questions, e.g. How *tall/#short* is he?
2. The unmarked member is neutralized in nominalizations, e.g. *warmth-#coolth*.
3. Only the unmarked member appears in measure phrases, e.g. three feet *tall/#short*.
4. If one member consists of an affix added to the antonym, the affix form is marked, e.g. *happy-unhappy*.
5. Only the unmarked member occurs with ratios, e.g. twice as *old/#young*.
6. The unmarked member is evaluatively positive - the marked, evaluatively negative, e.g. *good-bad*.
7. The unmarked member denotes more of a quantity, e.g. *big-little*.
8. If there are asymmetrical entailments, the unmarked member is less likely to be biased or committed, e.g. 'X is better than Y': X may be *good* or *bad*. 'X is

worse than Y': X must be *bad* (not *good*).

Cruse is one of the contemporary linguists who does the most extensive exploration of lexical relations. In his work *Meaning in Language*, he considers oppositeness as cognitively primitive, being perhaps "the only sense relation to receive lexical recognition in everyday language" (Cruse, 2000: 167). The author states that in the treatment of opposites the following points should be taken into account:

- *binarity* is a prerequisite (a set of opposites implies two members)
- *inherentness* can be considered a prototypical feature for oppositeness. If we compare pairs such as *gas-electricity*, *tea-coffee* with the pair *up-down*, we can say that in the former ones the binarity is accidental and pragmatic, whereas in the latter one the binarity is ineluctable, the oppositeness is more obvious.
- *patency* is also seen as a prototypical feature of oppositeness. In this case, Cruse compares the pair *Monday-Wednesday*, where the binarity of their relationship is not encoded in their meanings, but it has to be inferred (*Monday* and *Wednesday* are situated in opposite directions from *Tuesday*), with the pair *yesterday-tomorrow*, where their directionality relative to *today* is a salient part of their meaning.

Cruse (1986: 197) also points out the unique fascination that opposites possess, due to their simultaneous closeness and distance from one another. This paradox of simultaneous difference and similarity is explained by the fact that opposites differ along only one dimension of meaning: they are identical in respect of all other features, hence their semantic closeness; and they occupy opposing poles, hence the feeling of being maximally separated:

Opposites possess a unique fascination, and exhibit properties which may appear paradoxical. Take, for instance, the simultaneous closeness, and distance from one another, of opposites. The meanings of a pair of opposites are felt intuitively to be maximally separated. Indeed, there is a widespread idea that the power of uniting or reconciling opposites is a magical one, an attribute of the Deity, or a property of states of mind brought about by profound meditation, and so on... Philosophers and others from Heraclitus to Jung have noted the tendency of things to slip into their opposite states; and many have remarked on the thin dividing line between love and hate, genius and madness, etc.

Cruse (2000: 168-173) classifies opposite words in four groups:

- complementaries, e.g. *dead-alive*, *true-false*, *obey-disobey*, *inside-outside*, *possible-impossible*, *male-female*, *stationary-moving*, etc.



- antonyms, which are also grouped in (1) polar antonyms, e.g. *long-short*, *fast-slow*, *wide-narrow*, *heavy-light*, etc.; (2) equipollent antonyms, e.g. *hot-cold*, *bitter-sweet*, etc.; (3) overlapping antonyms, e.g. *good-bad*, etc.
- reversives (directional opposites), e.g. *up-down*, *north-south*, *top-bottom*, *into-out of*, *forwards-backwards*, etc.
- converses, e.g. *buy-sell*, *above-below*, etc.<sup>29</sup>

A similar classification is proposed by Trask (1997: 16-17) who refers to opposite words as "One of two words which, in some sense, have opposite meanings", stating that "not all pairs of antonyms are related in the same way" and grouping them as follows:

- non-gradable antonyms, e.g. *dead-alive*
- gradable antonyms, e.g. *hot-cold*
- reversives, e.g. *lower-raise*
- converse pairs, e.g. *husband-wife*.

Jackson (2000: 99-100) states that oppositeness is expressed by various types of antonym pairs. He classifies antonyms into:

- gradable antonyms, including pairs with a more/less relation, e.g. *beautiful-ugly*, *expensive-cheap*, *fast-slow*, *hot-cold*, *long-short*, *rich-poor*, *sweet-sour*, *wide-narrow*, etc.
- contradictory or complementary antonyms, which are in an either/or relation of oppositeness, e.g. *asleep-awake*, *dead-alive*, *on-off*, *permit-forbid*, *remember-forget*, *shut-open*, *true-false*, *win-lose*, etc.
- converse antonyms, including pairs of antonyms in which one term expresses the converse meaning of the other, e.g. *above-below*, *before-after*, *behind-in front of*, *buy-sell*, *give-receive*, *husband-wife*, *parent-child*, *speak-listen*, etc.

In his book *Understanding Semantics*, Löbner (2002: 93) gives the following classification of the opposite words:

- antonyms, as opposite extremes on a scale, e.g. *old-young*, *big-small*, *thick-thin*, *good-bad*, etc.
- directional opposites, as opposite directions on an axis, e.g. *in front of-behind*, *left-right*, *above-below*, etc.

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<sup>29</sup> More details about Cruse's classification are given in Chapter III.

- complementaries, as either-or alternatives within a given domain, e.g. *aunt-uncle*, *even-odd*, *voter-non-voter*, etc.
- heteronyms, as more than two alternatives within a given domain, e.g. *walk-run-fly-swim*, *eat-work-sleep-dance*, etc.
- converses, as the same with reversed roles, e.g. *employer-employee*, *wife-husband*, *buy-sell*, etc.

This section dealt with introducing the reader to one of the main topic of this work, namely antonyms and antonymy. In the rest of this chapter we will delve into the study of this linguistic phenomenon's features. A detailed classification of the types of oppositeness is included in Chapter III.

## 1.2. FEATURES OF ANTONYMY

As the mere definition of antonymy states - "Antonym is a word that means the opposite of another word" (EWED, LDOCE) - opposition is the main but not the exclusive characteristic of this semantic relation. There are other important features of antonymy, many of them shared with various semantic relations. Murphy (2003: 26) names eight of these properties: semi-semanticity - which some Romanian authors (Bucă-Evseev, 1976: 145, Moroianu, 2008: 5) name 'semantic resemblance', while the Spanish Martín Fernández uses the designation 'semantic proximity', binarity (which Bucă-Evseev, 1976: 145 refers to as 'dialectic character'), prototypicality and canonicity (also 'reciprocal entailment' or 'reciprocal attraction' as named by Bucă-Evseev, 1976: 145), productivity, variability, uncountability, predictability and universality.

• **Semantic resemblance** (Rom. *asemănarea semantică* - Bucă-Evseev, 1976: 145, also Moroianu, 2008: 5) is determined by the fact that antonyms designate qualities, actions, natural phenomena, etc. belonging to the same field from the real world. For example, we could talk of a certain kind of opposition between the meanings of the words *warmth* and *altruism*, but obviously these terms are not antonyms because they belong to totally different fields. Instead, each term establishes a relation of oppositeness with other lexical units, namely *warmth-cold*, *altruism-egoism*. Both terms of the first pair refer to temperature and designate two extreme points of the same scale of temperature. Martín Fernández (2002: 41) employs the term 'semantic proximity' (Sp. *proximidad semántica*) in order to point out this

relation. Semantic resemblance is clearly underlined by Nikolai Sergeyevich Trubetzkoy (quoted in Martín Fernández, 2002: 41):

Una oposición supone no solamente particularidades por las cuales sus miembros se distinguen entre sí, sino también particularidades que son comunes a ambos. Estas particularidades comunes pueden ser designadas como la 'base de comparación'. Dos cosas que no poseen absolutamente ninguna base de comparación, es decir, ninguna particularidad común (como, por ejemplo, un tintero y el libre albedrío) no forman una oposición.

Murphy (2003: 34) considers semantic properties of words as being the most important for semantic relations in general, therefore for antonymy in particular. Thus, she talks of semi-semanticity as a property of semantic relations, since "semantic properties of words are not the only factors at work in relating words" (2003: 26). One not strictly semantic factor for semantic relations is grammatical category. As far as antonymy is concerned, Fellbaum (quoted in Murphy, 2003: 34) demonstrated that similarity of grammatical category is not as important as semantic opposition. He found that canonical antonyms co-occur also between different parts of speech. For example, the noun *dead* forms an antonymic pair with the verb *live*. Moreover, he states that the noun-verb pair co-occurs at a much higher rate than the pair of the verbs *live-die* does.

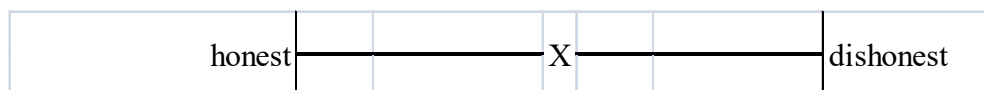
Other examples in which the relation of oppositeness is established between different parts of speech are: *Narrow* gathered, *widely* spread (adjective-adverb).

Sometimes the best *gain* is *to lose* (noun-verb).

• **Dialectic character** (Rom. *caracterul dialectic* - Bucă-Evseev, 1976: 145). Antonymous terms can be included in the same definition. For example, the pair *warmth-cold* could be defined as follows: 'temperature (high-low) of the air which makes someone feel (warm-cold)'. This definition underlines both the semantic resemblance of the words that form the antonymic pair ('temperature of the air which generates a certain state of the body'), and the semantic opposed features ('*high-low* temperature, *warm-cold* sensation').

Martín Fernández (2002: 41) refers to this feature of antonymy with the designation 'binary opposition' (Sp. *oposición binaria*), a relation established exclusively between two concrete meanings of the words that form the antonymic pair. Murphy (2003: 28-29) also mentions binarity as a property of antonymy. This author states that, in spite of the fact that larger sets of words may be semantically 'involved' in the relation of oppositeness (e.g. *small-medium-large*, *black-gray-white*), by its nature antonymy relates only pairs of words.

Bidu-Vrînceanu (1984: 115) connects the binarity of antonymy with another characteristic, namely symmetry (also Moroianu, 2008: 5). The author represents these two features with the diagram below:



Croft (2004: 165) considers binarity an undoubtedly essential feature of oppositeness but, at the same time, not sufficient on its own. He calls 'natural opposites' (2004: 164) those opposites belonging to domains construed with only two possibilities. E.g. *up-down*, *forwards-backwards* are natural opposites, since there are only two directions on a linear path; *top-bottom*, *front-back* are also natural opposites because there are only two extreme points on an axis.

But, according to Croft (see also Murphy, 2003: 29, 199), not all the domains in which a binary opposition appears have a "kind of built-in logical twoness". For example, *town-country*, often used as a pair of antonyms, need to be construed within a domain (*urban-rural*) that justifies the binarity. Another relevant example is that of the pair of opposites *male-female*. Their binarity is restricted to a domain that excludes hermaphrodites or being with no sex organs (for whatever reason).<sup>30</sup> In our study, *male-female* are treated as a pair of complementaries, with no intermediate between them (see Part I, Chapter 3.4.2.).

• **Reciprocal entailment/attraction** (Rom. *atracția reciprocă* - Bucă-Evseev, 1976: 145) is another important feature of antonymy, determined by the existence of a common semantic nucleus. For example, the lexeme *warmth* entails the existence of the lexeme *cold* which reciprocally attracts the word *warmth*. This characteristic is clearly suggested by the following quote:

<sup>30</sup> Although a delicate topic, the subject about the neutral gender has become an international recognized and accepted reality. In November 2013 Germany has become Europe's first country to allow babies with characteristics of both sexes to be registered as neither male nor female. Thus, German passports, which before this measure had listed the holder's sex as 'M' for male or 'F' for female, started to have a third designation, 'X', for intersex holders. Similar measures had already been adopted by other countries. According to <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-24767225>, Australians have had the option of selecting 'X' as their gender - meaning indeterminate, unspecified or intersex - on passport applications since 2011. A similar option was introduced for New Zealanders in 2012. In South Asia, Bangladesh has offered an 'other' gender category on passport applications since 2011. Nepal began recognising a third gender on its census forms in 2007, while Pakistan made it an option on national identity cards in 2011. India added a third gender category to voter lists in 2009.

I do not know what pain is because I have not known pleasure; I do not cry because I have never laughed. (Barbu Ș. Delavrancea<sup>31</sup>, quoted in Bucă-Evseev, 1976: 146).

Murphy (2003: 31) uses two terms for naming this property of antonymy: **prototypicality** and **canonicity**, stating that "some associations among words seem to be 'better' examples of a relation than others".

E.g. The phrase tossed around ...was "Pain is temporary, pride is forever."... I had heard it before as "Pain is temporary, pride is permanent," which I liked better ... because "permanent" is **better antonym** for "temporary."  
(<http://is.dal.ca/susanhal/results/97/imc97.html>).

Bucă and Evseev (1976: 181) refer to this characteristic also with the designation '**magnetic attraction**' ('**canonical relation**' - Murphy, 2003: 31). In order to underline this feature of antonymy, they mention (1976: 147) several types of experiments.

One experiment consisted in asking the subjects to name the words with which they associated on their minds some given lexemes. The result of the experiment showed that, if the respective lexemes had antonyms, then the majority of the subjects named, in the first place, the opposite words of those lexemes, generating thus pairs of antonyms. In this way, the word *big* was associated in approximately 60% of the answers with its antonym *small*. The rest of the answers reflected other paradigmatic (*big-huge-vast-gigantic*, etc.) or syntagmatic (*big city*, *big house*, *big boy*, etc.) relations of this word.

The lexical unit *beautiful* was associated, in 55% of the cases, with its antonym *ugly*, meanwhile the other answers were related to paradigmatic (*beautiful-splendid-wonderful-admirable*) or syntagmatic relations (*beautiful girl*, *beautiful flower*, *beautiful weather*, etc.).

Another experiment consisted in making the interviewees choose from a given list of words the opposite in meaning lexical units. The results showed that subjects succeeded very easily to form the antonymic pairs.

In the third experiment the interviewed people were requested to name the antonyms of some given words, including: *sunset*, *rich*, *hot*, *exterior*, *beautiful*, *exit*, *down*, *long*, *big*, *night*. The answers were: *sunset-sunrise*, *rich-poor*, *hot-cold*, *exterior-interior*, *beautiful-ugly*, *exit-entrance*, *down-up*, *long-short*, *big-small*, *night-day*.

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<sup>31</sup> Barbu Ștefănescu Delavrancea (1858–1918) was a Romanian writer, poet, advocate and politician.

A similar experiment, mentioned by Murphy (2003: 31) and made by Herrmann (1986), consisted in asking subjects to rate the antonymy of word pairs in a scale from one to five. Some of the results are offered in the table below in which we can see that the average scores for the pairs of antonyms are all above 4.60. This indicates the subjects agreed on the fact that these are highly antonymous pairs.

$\geq 4.90$	4.75-4.89	4.60-4.74
<i>maximize-minimize</i> (5.0)	<i>good-bad</i> (4.86)	<i>cruel-kind</i> (4.71)
<i>love-hate</i> (4.95)	<i>huge-tiny</i> (4.81)	<i>emaciated-obese</i> (4.67)
<i>night-day</i> (4.90)	<i>big-little</i> (4.76)	<i>immaculate-filthy</i> (4.62)

Table 1: Degrees of perceived antonymy (Herrmann & Chaffin, 1986 - quoted in Murphy, 2003: 31)

Reciprocal attraction of opposite words has its explanation in the fact that at the semantic level the meanings of the opposites merge due to their common features. From this point of view, we could say that each component of the antonymic pair has its own meaning and is at the same time part of the semantic content of its opposite.

• **Productivity.** This feature entails the fact that new antonymic relational links can be generated between words. That antonymy is a productive relation is clearly observable when we refer to oppositional morphology - a means by which new antonyms are created for existing words with the use of negative prefixes or suffixes (see Chapter III.2).

E.g.<sup>32</sup> Increased sophistication in analyzing biochemicals and manipulating genetic stocks also allowed bioscientists to **disendanger** species. ("Putting the 'servant' back in 'public servant'", *The Manoa Journal of Fried and Half- Fried Ideas* 4, 1994)

*Spawn* is the work of an **unheavenly** creator. (J. Seavor in *Providence Journal*, 1 august 1997).

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Murphy (2003: 27).

• **Variability** involves that property of antonyms to vary according to context. This feature can be explained by the fact that words are polysemous, thus different senses of a single word may require different antonyms<sup>33</sup>.

The examples given by Murphy (2003: 30) clearly illustrate this phenomenon: usually, the antonym of *dry* is *wet*, but if *dry* is associated with '*dry wine*', then its antonym is '*sweet (wine)*', not '\**wet (wine)*'. Murphy considers polysemy of words as being limitless; therefore, the number of possible antonyms for a word is also potentially unlimited.

• **Uncountability** implies the fact that the number of semantic relation types is not objectively determinable. According to Murphy (2003: 36), "there is no way to determine when the types have been reduced to a perfect taxonomy". As seen before in this chapter various linguists provided taxonomies of opposition that divide antonymic pairs into different numbers of groups, e.g. Löbner (2002: 93) - five groups, Lyons (1977: 279) and Cruse (2000: 168-173) - four groups, Jackson (2000: 99-100) - three groups, etc.

Murphy (2003: 36) underlines the evidence that "two words could be in more than one type of relation with each other". Again, polysemy and context play a major part in this phenomenon. This can be clearly seen if we consider the following example proposed by Murphy (2003: 36): *hot-cool*. This is a pair of antonyms when the two terms refer to temperatures, and a pair of synonyms when referring to fashion, e.g. *hot/cool dresses*.

• **Predictability** refers to that property of antonymy of being rule governed. Murphy (2003: 37-40) contradicts other linguists' theory, e.g. Gross, Fischer and Miller, according to which antonym relation is not predictable. In order to combat them, Murphy analyses the gradable antonyms *big-little* and *large-small* and reaches the conclusion that *large-little* and *big-small* would be acceptable antonyms in most contexts. She bases her statement on the following examples (2003: 39):

- a. I'd like a {large/#big/small/#little} amount of cash.
- b. Here comes a {large/big/small/little} dog.
- c. The dog let out a {#large/big/?small/little} yelp.

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<sup>33</sup> The relation between antonymy and polysemy will be dealt with in Chapter IV.1.

- d. They made a {?large/big/small/little} mistake.
- e. What a cute {#large/big/#small/little} doggie!
- f. The twins are {#large/big/small/?little} for their age.

We can see that the size adjectives differ in the numbers and types of senses they are used to express. *Large* (like *small*) measures (a) quantity and (b) gestalt size. *Little* (like *big*) can be used for (b) gestalt size, (c) synaesthetic effect, (d) to express metaphoric size, and (e) to express emotive content.

• **Universality** of antonymy implies the fact that it is a semantic relation relevant to the description of any language's lexicon. As Murphy (2003: 40) states

Semantic relations are **universal** at both general and particular levels. On the general level, the same types of relations are available to speakers of any language. On the particular level, the same concepts enter into the same semantic relations in different languages.

Word-association tests applied to speakers of different languages showed similar categories of semantic relations. For example, Raybeck and Herrmann's (1990) 'A cross-cultural examination of semantic relations', made on speakers of American English, British English, Cantonese, Croatian, Greek, Italian, Urdu, and Vietnamese; Rosenzweig's (1961) 'Comparisons of words associations responses in English, French, German, and Italian'; Szalay and Windle's (1968) 'Relative influence of linguistic versus cultural factors on free verbal associations' comparing Korean, Spanish and English languages (quoted in Murphy, 2003: 41), etc.

This study is an attempt of showing similarities of antonymy in three different languages: English, Spanish and Romanian, with references to Latin and French.





## CHAPTER II

### OPPOSITENESS AND THE SCIENCE OF LOGIC

"(...) - ¿No ves la luz?  
- No, ahora no.  
- ¿Sabes por qué?  
- Pues, porque el sol...(...)  
- No puedes verla porque para poder percibir la luz  
hace falta la oscuridad. ¿Lo ves? Las cosas sólo  
son si existe el opuesto. Y esto es así con la luz y la  
oscuridad, el día y la noche, lo masculino y lo  
femenino, la fuerza y la debilidad... (...)  
- Esto es así en el mundo exterior y, por supuesto,  
también en el mundo interior. ¿Cómo podríamos  
percibir nuestras partes más fuertes si no existieran,  
dentro de nosotros, debilidades? ¿Cómo podríamos  
ser varones o mujeres si no existieran mujeres y varones?  
Y, aún más, ¿cómo pensar que nacemos siendo cien por  
cien niños o niñas si llevamos en cada cédula de nuestro  
cuerpo un cincuenta por ciento de información de un  
sexo y un cincuenta por ciento de información del otro?  
Todas nuestras cualidades, condiciones, virtudes y defectos  
están en nosotros, emparejados con sus correspondientes  
opuestos. Quiero decir que ninguno de nosotros es sólo  
bueno, ni sólo inteligente, ni sólo valiente. Nuestra bondad,  
inteligencia y valentía coexisten con nuestra estupidez y  
con nuestra cobardía."

(Jorge Bucay - *Déjame que te cuente... Los cuentos que me enseñaron a vivir*)

Commonly, antonyms are defined as words with opposite meaning, terms which are the opposite or antithesis of another, counter terms. But in this semantic category of antonymous pairs other type of opposite pairs, such as *man-woman*, *brother-sister*, *guest-host*, *breakfast-dinner*, etc. have been included and classified alongside antonyms but not as 'pure' antonyms.

The logical approach to meaning is a first step into the investigation of meaning relations. The logical criterion refers to the understanding of antonyms through the characteristics of the notions they express. Ogden or Webster (Sîrbu, 1977: 26-27) are only two of the linguists who try to explain the semantic features of the antonyms by making reference to the oppositeness between the incompatible notions.

The science of logic operates with incompatible notions that are of two types:

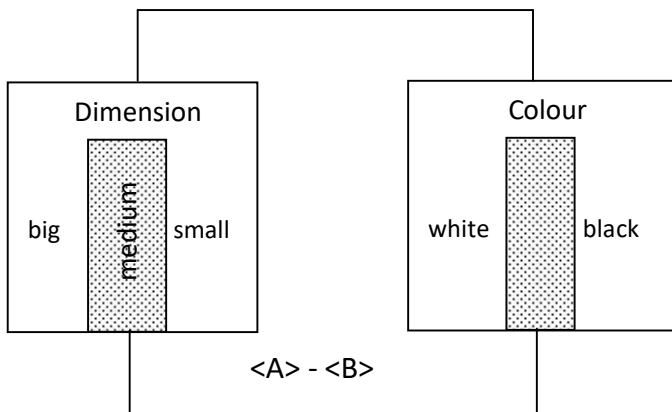
(a) *contrary* notions, representing the extreme members of a series of elements, with a possible intermediate element between them – *tertium comparationis*, e.g. *small-/medium/-*

*big, good-bad, long-short*, etc. According to Bârlea (1999: 35), *contrariety*, the logical basis of this type, is symbolized with the formula  $X \supset Y$ , but  $Y \not\supset X$ , meaning ‘X implies the negation of Y’, but ‘the negation of X does not imply Y’. Maria Iliescu (1977, quoted in Bârlea, 1999: 35) represents the same logical relation with the formula  $p \supset \sim q$ , ‘p implies the q’s inverse’.

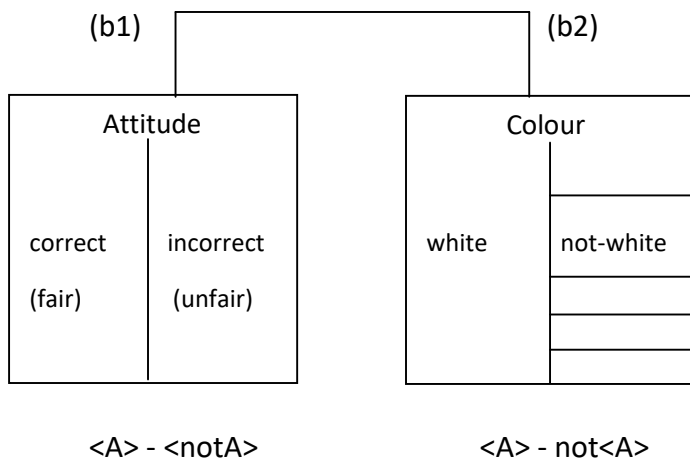
(b) *contradictory* notions, that negate each other reciprocally, without any intermediate element (Law of the Excluded Middle) – Latin *tertium non datur*, which means ‘there is no third [possibility]’: A-non ‘not’ A, e.g. *red-non red, normal-abnormal, correct-incorrect, honest-dishonest*, etc. This type of notions is based on *exclusive disjunction*, meaning ‘X implies the negation of Y’ and vice versa, ‘the negation of X implies Y’:  $X \supset Y$  or, according to Maria Iliescu:  $p = \sim q$  (Bârlea, 1999: 34).

The contrary and contradictory notions mentioned above are represented by Sîrbu (1977: 45) as follows:

(a)



(b)



We can see that notions of the type *not white* (b2) which represents a simple negation of *white*, are placed at the same level with notions of the type *incorrect* (b1). The latter are very different from the first type by the fact that they are not just simple negations of the positive notion; they also contain positive connotations, i.e. the statement of an opposite feature expressed by the primary term, that could be symbolized by the *notA* formula.

Regarding those logic notions, namely the *negative* notions it can be said that in some cases the positive notion is negated entirely ( $A - \text{not-}A$ , e.g. *white-not-white*), while in other cases only its features are negated ( $A - \text{not}A$ , e.g. *honesty-dishonesty*). A difference has to be made between the negative prefixes, expressing contrary notions and the negation *not*, expressing contradictory notions:

E.g. (a) *not* being happy (= ... is *not* happy)

(b) being *unhappy* (=...is *unhappy*)

We can notice that, in the first case (a), *not* negates the subject's quality of being happy, without adding a contrary one. In the second case (b), the prefix *un-* in *unhappy* not only negates the subject's quality of being happy, but also adds a contrary one, that of being unhappy (with an affirmative predication).

The relationship between the contrary and contradictory notions influences the language also through the possibility of replacing those antonyms formed with negative prefixes by their synonyms without prefixes (e.g. *unclear*  $\approx$  *confused*, *unmarried*  $\approx$  *single*, *discontinuous*  $\approx$  *interrupted*), as well as the possibility of these prefixed antonyms of being part of derivative series that keep the same opposite relation:

E.g. *agreement-disagreement*

(to) *agree-(to) disagree*

*agreed-disagreed*

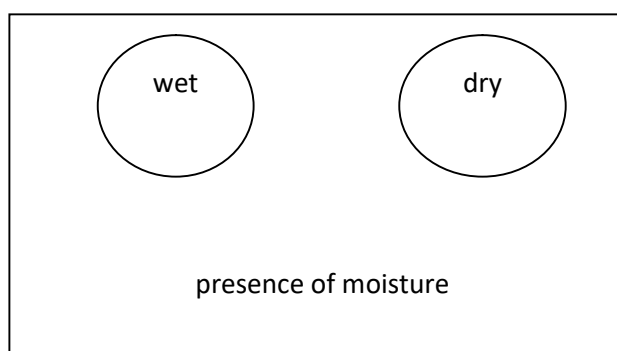
*agreeable-disagreeable*

Apresjan (Sîrbu, 1977: 28) distinguishes three semantic types of antonyms based on the negation of one of the contrary terms:

- Ant1:  $Y = \text{Ant1}(X) = X_{\text{not}}$ . In this category of antonyms in which the negation stands in front of the 'X not' terms, are included those verbs which express two reverse actions: *to go in-to go out* = 'to walk, start being in place X' – 'to walk, start not being in place X'; and causative verbs, such as: *to tie-to untie* = 'to cause A' – 'to cause not-A'.

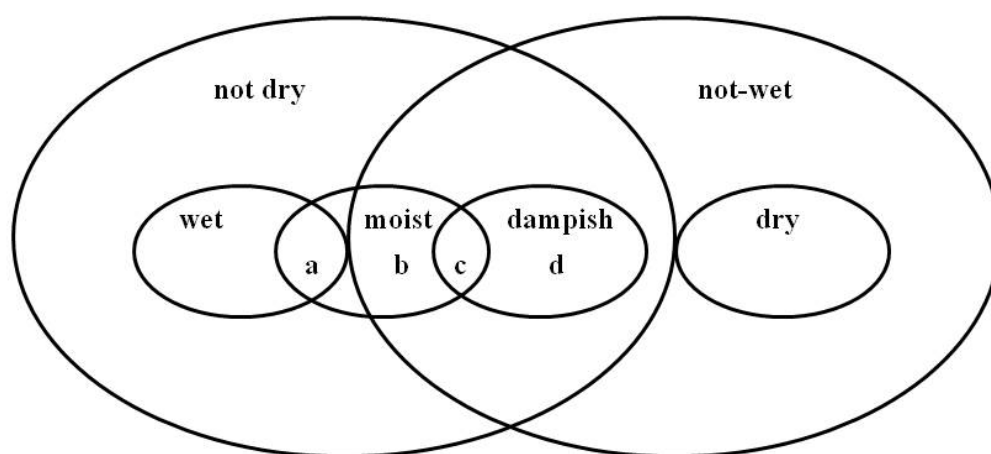
- Anti2:  $Y = \text{Anti2}(X) = \text{not}X$ . This category includes: adjectives like *alive-dead* (alive = not + dead) and verbs such as *to obey-to disobey* (to obey = to not disobey).
- Anti3: this semantic oppositeness refers to those antonyms expressed by *bigger-smaller* (than the norm) formula, e.g. antonyms denoting different kinds of measures, quality, quantity, intensity, etc.

As far as antonymy is concerned, the measure of replacement applies between A and not-A. In answer to 'Is it wet?' one can choose between 'No, it isn't wet' and 'No, it's dry'. There are of course other kinds of not-A: for example, *pernicious* is not-A with respect to *wet* but it is also irrelevant. It is not-A because *wet* and *pernicious* are not even in the same field. For one term to replace another, with or without *not*, it is obvious that they must be in a close field relationship to each other. In logic, not-A plus a field relationship is a contrary. Bolinger (1975: 212) represents the contrary opposition between *wet* and *dry*, within a field of 'presence of moisture' using the following diagram:



The effect of adding *not* is to make the areas cross. In the diagram below, proposed by Bolinger (1975: 212), it can be seen the antonymous pair *wet-dry* included within the overlapping ovals *not-dry* and *not-wet*. Along with *wet*, its synonym *moist* and a synonym of this synonym, *damp*, are shown. The reason *not-wet* and *not-dry* overlap is that it is possible for something to be both things at the same time, as in sentence (d) of the following set (the meaning (a) through (d) are located in the diagram):

- (a) It is quite *moist* – in fact, it is rather *wet*.
- (b) It's *not wet*, just *moist*.
- (c) It is somewhere around *moist* or *damp*.
- (d) It is neither *wet* nor *dry*, just *damp*.



Many linguists consider the relations established between contrary and contradictory notions to be the logical base of antonymy. Some of them limit the antonymy sphere to one of the two types of notions. Budagov<sup>34</sup> (quoted in Bucă-Evseev, 1976: 149) considers that "the only words that can have antonyms are those which, by one way or another, directly or indirectly, are related to the designation of some qualitative contrary notions". Still, the author contradicts himself by giving examples of the two categories of notions: *to love-to hate* (contrary notions), *truth-lie* (contradictory notions).

Isachenko (quoted in Bucă-Evseev, 1976: 149) believes that only those words which express contradictory notions can be submitted to a dichotomous interpretation.

The authors of Webster's dictionary – *Webster's Dictionary of Synonyms. A Dictionary of Discriminated Synonyms with Antonyms and Analogous and Contrasted Words* point out six groups of words with opposite meaning (Sîrbu, 1977: 39-40):

- (1) contradictory terms, e.g. *perfect-imperfect*, corresponding to the contradictory notions;
- (2) contrary terms, e.g. *white-black*, *superiority-inferiority*, related to the contrary notions;
- (3) correlative-complementary terms, e.g. *parents-children*, *husband-wife*, *question-answer*;
- (4) inverse terms/reciprocal opposed words, e.g. *to admit-to reject*, expressing reverse actions or qualities;
- (5) contrastive words, e.g. *poor-rich*, *dry-wet*;
- (6) free contrastive words, e.g. *sincere-hypocritical*, *vigilant-negligent*, that oppose each other only partially.

<sup>34</sup> Ruben Aleksandrovich Budagov, a Russian linguist, specialist in general and Romance linguistics and philology.

Of these six categories of opposite words only those belonging to groups (1), (2), and (4) are considered to be antonyms (according to the authors of the dictionary). They think that the meanings of antonyms have to be reciprocally negated. That is why they exclude the groups number (3), (5) and (6) from the antonyms category. They also take into account the range of application and the 'depth of meaning', the deepness of the word's significance. For example, taking into account their meaning, the opposition between *keep* and *abandon* is not perfect. The 'perfect' antonym of *keep* would be a word with the same range of application, i.e. *relinquish* ('to release', 'to let go'). According to the authors of the Webster's dictionary, *abandon* is richer in meanings than *keep*. That is why the 'perfect' opposite of *abandon* will be *reclaim* ('to recover', 'to claim back').

Regarding the logical complementarity based on *either-or* principle, Löbner (2002: 77) gives the following definition: "two terms A and B are logically **complementary** if and only if their denotations have no elements in common and together exhaust the set of possible cases".

He also comments on the fact that there is no absolute complementarity, e.g. *banana* – we cannot say *non-banana*. But the domain of persons (*member-non-member*) is very productive, e.g. *girl-boy*, *sister-brother*, *child-adult*, etc.

Cruse (2000: 168) defines complementarity with a strict logical definition, namely "F(X) entails and is entailed by not-F(Y)".

This means that 'neither Y nor X' is equivalent to 'neither Y nor not-Y', which is a contradiction. For example, 'neither *healthy* nor *sick*'  $\Leftrightarrow$  'neither *healthy* nor not-*healthy*' (contradiction, it must be either *healthy* or *sick*, there is no intermediate state between the two).

In his book *Opposition. A Linguistic and Psychological Analysis* (1934), Ogden (quoted in Sîrbu, 1977: 41) gives the following definition of antonyms: "An antonym is a word so opposed in meaning to another word, its equal in breath or range of application, that it negates or nullifies every single one of its implications." He proposes his own system of relations between antonyms:

- relations between two opposite sides of one and the same 'sequence', e.g. *right-left*;
- relations between two points of a scale, e.g. *white-black*;

- relations between two opposite definitions, e.g. *human being*, *man* = ‘a being endowed with reason’ – *animal* = ‘a being without reason’.

There are certain words such as *day-night*, *south-north*, *summer-winter* that do not correspond neither to the contrary notions nor to the contradictory ones. Still they are in a relation of oppositeness because they contain inside their semantic spheres correlative contrastive features. In this case the antonymous relation does not derive from the notions designated by these words, it is established between the contrary features of the opposite terms: *day-night* (‘maximum *light* feature/minimum *light* feature’), *summer-winter* (‘warmth/cold’), *morning-evening* (‘the beginning of the day/the end of the day’). As the relation of oppositeness is not established between the antonymous terms but between the opposite features (‘light-darkness’, ‘warmth-cold’) of them, that in logic corresponds to the contrary notions, the connection of these opposites and the contrary logic notions is an indirect one. This type of oppositeness implies certain associations produced in the speaker’s consciousness when hearing one of the correlative terms. Thus, for example, the *day* notion is correlated with the *light* notion, while the *night* notion is associated with the *darkness* notion (also with that of the colour *black*). Naturally, in the speaker’s linguistic consciousness a certain correlation based on contrast is produced.

Not all the opposite words can be explained by making reference to the contrary and contradictory logic notions. For example, the opposite pair *white-black* could be only partially explained with the logical criteria since these two terms do not correspond to a strict opposition between the extremities of a logical series represented by the generic notions of ‘colour’. From an ontological perspective *white* and *black* are not the diametrically opposed colours of the spectrum. In fact, this opposition is represented by *red* and *violet* or *infrared* and *ultraviolet*. Still, in language, in spite of the spectral data, the antonymous opposition *white-black* is very frequent.

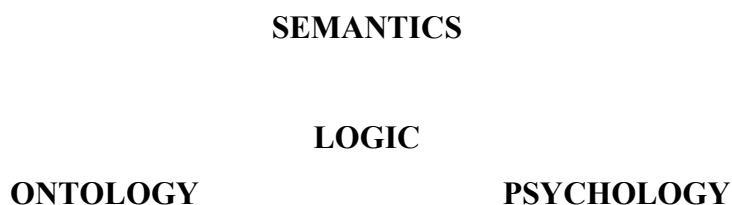
It is obvious that the science of logic is closely related to linguistics, and thus with antonymy as well, because the lexical meaning has, besides its linguistic function, connection with logical series and with objective reality. It is quite impossible to ignore these relationships of the antonyms with the contrary and contradictory notions. In many cases there is a coincidence between the logical and the linguistic sides, both the contrary and the contradictory notions being designated by antonyms.



The essence of antonymy can be better understood if the terms of the antonymous pairs are referred to four levels of analysis: logical, linguistic, ontological and psychological (psycholinguistic) and if their description is made with the help of two parameters: the axis of paradigmatic relations (that are about the choice between words, the substitution of one word for another in a particular contextual slot in a sentence) and the axis of syntagmatic relations (that refer to the mutual expectancy of words with terms of collocation, the ability of a word to predict the likelihood of another word occurring).

Bârlea (1999, 21-22) defines antonymy as "a linguistic phenomenon on the paradigmatic axis, and a speech phenomenon on the syntagmatic axis (antonymy in the context), seen from various points of view and analysed using different methods." He considers (1999: 33) the extralinguistic criteria (logical, ontological and psychological) as key factors for defining and classifying antonyms in a language, starting from the premise that a phenomenon that seems pure linguistic requires first an analysis of the logical manifestation determined by an ontological datum, by a reflection in the speakers' mind, meaning by psychological reactions.

Bârlea (1999: 286) sees the relation between these three factors and semantics as "a necessary working stage" placing ontology and psychology on the same level, below logic. Schematically, he presents this relation as follows:



## 2.1. THE LINGUISTIC CRITERION

The linguistic criterion refers to the analysis of antonyms from their range of application point of view, namely their use in language. According to this criterion, are considered antonyms only those pairs which regularly appear in a direct relation of oppositeness in antonymous contexts, and they are usually combined in the same way.

Antonyms emphasise their meanings in some typical contexts, especially in complex sentences or co-ordinated phrases: e.g. ‘*hot and cold*’; ‘*neither hot nor cold*’; ‘*not hot, nor cold*’; ‘*sometimes hot, sometimes cold*’; ‘*either hot, or cold*’; ‘*X is hot, Y is cold*’, etc.

The relation of antonymy between a pair of words is also maintained between their derivatives:

E.g. <i>cheerful-sad</i>	<i>to sell-to buy</i>
<i>cheerfulness-sadness</i>	<i>sale-buying</i>
<i>to cheer up-to become sad</i>	<i>seller-buyer</i>
<i>friend-enemy, foe</i>	
<i>friendship-enmity, hostility</i>	
<i>friendly-hostile, inimical</i>	
<i>to make friends-to show enmity</i>	

## 2.2. THE ONTOLOGICAL CRITERION

As Bârlea (1999: 43) points out, antonymy is closely related to reality by the ontological content of the opposite terms implying ‘quality’ (contraries), ‘existence’ (contradictories), ‘movement’ (directional converses). Antonymy represents the opposition between the very objects around us and between the notions through which these objects are conceived by our mind.

Both subjectivity and objectivity play an important role in reality’s materialization in speaking. They imply *comparison* and the *norm* concept. Thus, apparently measurable

objects have a variable norm according to the reality they make reference to, comparing to other objects belonging to the same category. Georges Kleiber (quoted in Bârlea, 1999: 44, 60) explains that with several eloquent examples, stating that referring to a ‘*big*’ elephant has a totally different connotation than talking of a ‘*big*’ ant; a ‘*small*’ Saint Bernard does not necessarily mean a ‘*small*’ dog. Subjectivity and objectivity can also vary depending on the person who evaluates the given situation. For example, what for one person is ‘*hot*’, ‘*cheap*’, ‘*tall*’, for another might be ‘*cold*’, ‘*expensive*’, and ‘*short*’ (objective) and what for someone is ‘*beautiful*’, ‘*good*’, ‘*fair*’, for someone else might be ‘*ugly*’, ‘*bad*’, ‘*unfair*’ (subjective).

Since objective and subjective notions have, as we have just seen, a great importance for a better understanding of antonymy according to the ontological criterion, a brief view on their characteristics should be mentioned here. Bârlea (1999: 44-45) makes a clear distinction between the two types of notions, based on the description of some of their features:

a. Objective notions	b. Subjective notions
are measurable (using an absolute or a relative measure - this being an extralinguistic fact).	are non-measurable (the evaluation is heterogeneous and equivoque).
correspond to a certain type of characteristics that, are basically unquestionable: ‘ <i>age</i> ’, ‘ <i>price</i> ’, ‘ <i>weight</i> ’, ‘ <i>warmth</i> ’, etc.	correspond to certain features that determine different points of view: “intelligence”, “beauty”, etc.
have a simple and homogenous norm, based on measurability.	do not have a medium norm.
The relativity of the measurability is expressed by a medium norm, based on social experience.	have only the norm of the speaker.
In speaking, the words expressing these notions reflect the possibility of measuring with the five senses and sometimes can also be expressed by figures.	cannot be measured with the five senses and cannot be quantified.
Syntagmatically, they admit the inverse relation (e.g. <i>long</i> = <i>not short</i> ).	The absence of a simple and homogenous norm (replaced by a long, intermediate zone) makes the inverse relation impossible (e.g. <i>not beautiful</i> ≠ <i>ugly</i> );
The comparison is explicit: (e.g. Lat. <i>Populus altior quam cerasus</i> ).	The comparison is implicit: (e.g. Lat. <i>Cornelia pulchra (mea opinione) = pulchrior quam</i> )

Table 2: Objective and subjective notions

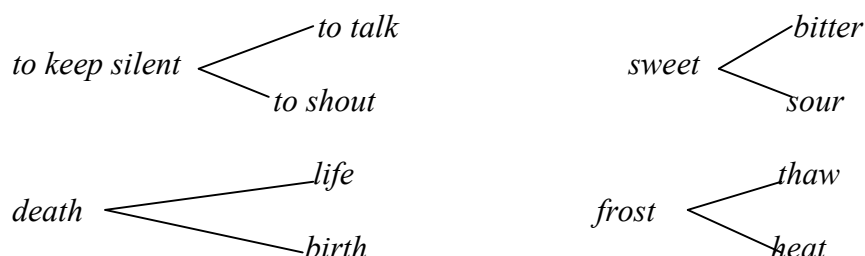
The above notions are a part of our surrounding reality with its domains which make reference to extralinguistic criteria. As Bârlea (1999: 45) states, there are words that are usually related by an antonymic relation (group b), meanwhile other words become part of dichotomised series only in certain contexts (group a).

There are antonyms that are also the reflection of the opposite things and phenomena from the objective reality. Objects are arranged in such way that they form a species according to various kinds of things differentiated one from another by their characteristics. Thus, a series of objects is obtained, the first and the last element being in a relation of oppositeness. The pair formed by the extreme terms of this antonymous series is part of the lexical system of a language determined by a certain objective reality.

According to this criterion, many linguists distinguish between:

- opposites based on the opposition of things and phenomena from the reality world:  
*day-night, life-death, sweet-bitter, to tie-to untie, light-darkness, etc.*

This category forms opposite series of a complex type:



- opposites denoting certain characteristics of the phenomena considered to be opposite only at a high abstract level: *rich-poor, truth-lie, strong-weak, big-small, good-bad, etc.*

Regarding this category, we may say that the denoted qualities are closely related to the semantic oppositeness. Thus, the meanings of *big, good, etc.* exist in a language as long as they oppose to the meanings of *small, bad, etc.*

Since the real world implies a great number of categories and subcategories, an exhaustive classification is merely impossible. Still, some linguists tried to simplify and schematize this categorization as much as possible. Bârlea proposes a schematic thematic classification of opposite words based on the notional model of Hallig and Wartburg (*Begriffssystem als Grundlage für die Lexicographie*, Berlin: 1952). This model consists of selecting several large categories of reality, divided in general accepted subcategories having oppositeness as the main principle. According to the ontological criterion, Bârlea (1999: 46-49) classifies opposite terms in two main thematic groups<sup>35</sup>:

<sup>35</sup> A more detailed classification of the opposite words from the thematic perspective is presented in the third chapter (3.3).

**A. Opposites designating notions from the Universe** including the following subcategories:

- Generalities. Nature and its phenomena
- Temporal and spatial notions
- General qualitative notions
- General quantitative notions

**B. Opposites designating notions related to the human being** with the following subclasses:

- Human states and activities
- Marital status and age
- Physical and psychical features
- Emotions and feelings
- Moral qualities
- Education degree, formation, aptitudes
- Social classes and relationships
- Notions referring to aesthetical and philosophical categories

It has to be pointed out that a classification is inevitably schematic and incomplete since reality domains are infinite; they interfere and can be re-grouped. The relation established between these notions and antonymy is, therefore, unstable. According to Bârlea (1999: 49), there are some semantic phenomena which do not interfere with antonymy, namely the logical-ontological and morphological fields without oppositeness which Geckeler calls 'lexical gaps' (Sp. *lagunas léxicas/casillas vacías* - Martín Fernández, 2002: 47): words denoting animals, plants, objects, food, clothes, professions, etc. Bârlea (1999: 49) also includes in the same category those words Ferré calls "*des contraires ... sans contraires*", that are negative terms such as *intransigent*, *fearless* which denote qualities or defects without being logically opposed to any positive terms - words with negative form but having a positive meaning, e.g. *infirmity*, Lat.: *indicatio, indifferentia*; Rom.: *infirmitate*.

Lexical antonymy may be explained by the semantic oppositeness established in the speaker's mind. Oppositeness is one of the most important operations in man's intellectual activity. One compares two objects or phenomena and draws certain conclusions about their oppositeness. This mental oppositeness is materialized in speaking by opposing the words that

denote these realities (antonyms being those words opposed by almost all the speakers of a language).

The polarity of meaning should also be mentioned here, taking into account the domain of reality and its coordinates which the opposite terms refer to:

[Taste]:	<i>sour</i>	→	←	<i>sweet</i>	→	←	<i>bitter</i>
	I. (fruits, milk, etc.)			II. a) substances b) life, memories, etc. (figuratively)			
[Existence]:	<i>life</i>	→	←	<i>death</i>	→	←	<i>birth</i>
	I. the presence/absence of the biological process. (‘between <i>life</i> and <i>death</i> ’)			II. the beginning/the end of existence (‘since <i>birth</i> till <i>death</i> ’)			
	(Sîrbu, 1977: 76)						

### 2.3. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL/PSYCHOLINGUISTIC CRITERION

The basic principle of a structural semantic approach to word meaning is that words do not exist in isolation: their meanings are defined through the sense relations they have with other words.

As it has been said before, the *white-black* pair is antonymous only in the speakers’ mind, since from the ontological point of view others are the opposed colour of the spectrum. On the other hand, some opposed terms may be explained by making reference to some complex associations that the linguistic speaker’s consciousness produces (see *day-night*).

The idea of analysing the antonymous words from the psycholinguistic perspective belongs to Charles Bally who notices that *les contraires* ‘the opposites’ appear in our consciousness as pairs, each term of a pair making reference, in one way or another, to the other one’s image (Sîrbu, 1977: 78; Bârlea, 1999: 51). Words exist not only in contexts; they also are in a sort of a system found deep down in the speakers’ consciousness and always ready to come out. It has a social character, being typical for a whole linguistic community.

The semantic relationship between words (as they appear in the speakers' mind) is, in the psycholinguistic field, represented by the interrogated people's reactions and it can be established using the *associative experiment* (Sîrbu, 1977: 78; Bârlea, 1999: 51) / *association test* (Russel and Jenkins, 1954; Carter, 1987: 18). This experiment requires the following procedure: when hearing a word – the stimulus – the subject (the interrogated person) has to spell out the first word that comes into his mind. A spontaneous reaction is generated and a relation between the stimulus word and the associative one is established. The produced reactions may be determined by a series of factors such as the person's own experience, age, knowledge, and circumstances, the social and economical context, etc. Examples of such typical responses are listed below (Deese, quoted in Carter, 1987: 18):

<u>STIMULUS</u>	<u>TYPICAL RESPONSE</u>
accident	car
alive	dead
baby	mother
born	die
cabbage	vegetable
table	chair
careless	careful

These networks established between words can be classified, for example, as it follows (Slobin, quoted in Carter, 1987: 19):

- contrast or antonymy: *wet-dry*
- similarity or synonymy: *blossom-flower*
- subordinate classification: *animal-dog*
- coordinate classification: *apple-peach*
- superordinate classification: *spinach-vegetable*

Researches demonstrated that age is a very important factor when people participate in psycholinguistic experiments of this kind. Children respond differently from adults when hearing the same stimulus word. The former ones usually associate the stimulus with the very next word in the sentence meanwhile adult people choose words from the same semantic sphere, part of the same synonymic series, but mostly "words as much opposite in meaning as

possible" (Bârlea, 1999: 51). According to Carroll and Overbecke (quoted in Bârlea, 1999: 61-62), it is common for people to establish disjunctions in speaking even since early days. This skill is obvious in the children language that at first use polar grades: e.g. *I am old, my brother is young*, then, as they grow older, they employ juxtaposed lexical comparisons: e.g. *I am older, my brother is younger*; and finally they make use of subordinate comparative constructions: e.g. *I am older than my brother*.

It has been discovered that the most usual reaction to the stimulus words – adjectives – is antonymy. Clark (quoted in Jones, 2002: 4) points out that "If a stimulus has a common 'opposite' (an antonym), it will always elicit that opposite more often than anything else. These responses are the most frequent found anywhere in word association."

The result of an associative experiment on speakers of English was that 675 subjects of 1008 replied with the antonym *low* to the stimulus word *high* (Sîrbu, 1977: 80). The experiment was a 'free answer' one, i.e. the interviewees are not told that they have to answer with an opposite word; they just have to say the first word that comes out of their minds. Thus, we can see that even when they do not know that the experiment points the antonymy, the speakers associate first the opposite terms.

If people are asked to spontaneously specify the opposites of *old*, *buy* or *aunt*, their answers could vary because words may have different kinds of opposites. So people's answers could be: *new* or *young* for, *sell*, *steal*, *borrow*, or *rent* for *buy*, *uncle*, *nephew* or *niece* for *aunt* (Löbner, 2002: 87). The two opposites of *old* reveal that it is polysemous. *Old* as an opposite of *young* relates to age, primarily of living creatures. But the two opposites can also be used for inanimate entities that are metaphorically conceived as subject to developments such as growth, ripening, and ageing, e.g. *a young nation*, *an old wine*, *a young language*. *Old* can also be used for cars, books, buildings, words, meaning that the respective object has been in use for a long time. In this case, *new* is its opposite. As to their relation to *old*, both opposites are of the same kind: *old* denotes one extreme of a scale, while *young* and *new* denote the other extreme.

Regarding the opposites of *buy* the difference between *sell* and the second set of verbs is more obvious. The *buy-sell* oppositeness implies a relation of a reverse movement of a subject referent. This means that any event of buying is at the same time an event of selling: if X buys something from Y, implicitly Y sells that thing to X. So, the two verbs express the same with reversed roles. The other three opposites are alternatives in certain respect but they do not denote the other extreme on a scale.



In the case of the *aunt-uncle* pair, the oppositeness relation is based on the sex oppositeness. Considering the pairs *aunt-nephew*, *aunt-niece*, we encounter the same kind of relation as between the pair *buy-sell*, i.e. reversed roles: if X is an aunt of Y, then Y is a nephew or a niece of X. The same relation of oppositeness is established between *nephew* and *niece*, but *aunt* refers to one side of the link between the two. The relation is not strictly reversed, since the terms *aunt*, *nephew*, *niece* also contain a specification of sex. We cannot say that if X is an aunt of Y, then Y is a nephew of X, because it could also be a niece. And vice versa, we cannot say that if X is a nephew of Y, then Y is an aunt of X, because it could also be an uncle.

Antonym pairs express oppositeness in rather different ways (gradability, non-gradability, converseness, etc.), though it is not clear that the speakers are necessarily aware of these differences or that they play a part in how antonyms are stored in their mental lexicon.

From the psycholinguistic point of view, antonyms may be defined as those words in a relation of oppositeness that exist in the speakers' linguistic consciousness and can be easily established as stable opposite pairs.

This criterion could be an objective way of verifying if two words really belong to the antonymy category, especially when the oppositeness relation between two words can be verified neither by logical formulae nor by semantic-grammatical operations. Thus, according to Sîrbu (quoted in Bârlea, 1999: 52), when a term of a series of synonyms has a high level of distribution regarding a term of an opposite semantic series - this relation certifies the antonymic value of the pair of words, e.g. Rom. *iubire* - *ură* (love - hatred) = 0,92; Rom. *satisfacție* - *insatisfacție* (satisfaction - dissatisfaction) = 0,90<sup>36</sup>.

From the psycholinguistic perspective, Bârlea (1999: 50) defines antonymy as "a relation of ontological and logical opposition reflected in the speaker's mind and expressed itself through written and oral language", classifying the opposite words in the following groups (1999: 53-54):

- **Proper antonyms**, e.g. Lat. *felix* - *infelix*, are those antonyms which can be explained by all the others criteria, the psycholinguistic factor completing these explanations by suggesting the association that appears between two particular senses of the word, namely *active sense* and *passive sense*, meaning *concrete* and *abstract*.

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<sup>36</sup> These figures are based on the results of an associative experiment presented by Sîrbu (1977: 82-83), regarding the relation of oppositeness of words designating feelings in the Romanian language.

- **Antonyms in the broad sense of the word**, e.g. Lat. *dies* - *nox*, are those antonyms which, from the logical point of view, represent a false oppositeness because of the lack of some essential determiners, such as the symmetry of oppositeness, in equal quantities, with constant complementary qualities. These elements still appear in the speakers' mind by the transfer of other opposition (*light* - *darkness*) based on the opposition  $\pm$ *lightness*. If these connections were not made, *day* and *night* would remain just simple notions to designate the different moments in time.
- **Rare, occasional antonyms**, e.g. Lat. *fel* - *mel* (*gall* - *honey*). Usually, a concrete notion as *gall* expresses has no opposite term. Still, by the quality it implies - that of bitterness -, a transfer from the oppositeness *bitter* - *sweet* occurs. As far as Latin is concerned, the usage of these series of inductive and in induced oppositions is considered by Bârlea (1999: 54) possibly due to the rhyme: Lat. 'Amor et *melle* et *felle* fecundissimus'.

Of course, the two terms could also be related by other links, for example, as Bârlea (1999: 54) mentions, the yellow colour. Still, the association of the term *gall* to the idea of 'bitterness', 'anger', and 'enmity' seems to prevail over any other relation, since in more than one language the two terms appear in different idioms, even proverbs, having an obvious antonymic relation.

E.g. Rom. Din ochi *miere*, din gură *fiere*. '*Honey* eyes, a mouth of *gall*'.

(Cuceu, 2007: 140).

Rom. Nu e *miere* fără *fiere*. (Cuceu, 2007: 207), with the

Spanish equivalents: Bajo la *miel* está la *hiel*.; No hay *miel* sin *hiel*.

(Sevilla Muñoz, 2001: 69, 220). Eng. No *honey* without *gall*. (Sevilla Muñoz, 2001: 69, 220).

Eng. A *honey* tongue, a heart of *gall*, with the Spanish equivalent

En los labios la *miel*, y en el corazón la *hiel*. (Sevilla Muñoz, 2001: 144).

- **'Rhetorical' ('purely psychological') antonyms** represent a special category, namely that the use of only one term, i.e the 'positive' one, is casted into the hearer's mind as the image of exactly its opposite. It is a frequent phenomenon found in totalitarian regimes speeches, which becomes more explicit when positive terms are abusively

used. For example, when *freedom*, *justice*, or *light* are mentioned, their opposites *constraint*, *injustice*, and *dark* are understood.

As it could be seen, the psychological criterion plays an important role in establishing if a relation of oppositeness exists between two words. Associative experiments, "the litmus test" as Jones (2002: 178) states, made on speakers of a language can determine how pairs of words are related by an antonymic relation based on how these couples of opposites are present in the speakers' linguistic consciousness or "the native-speaker intuition" as Jones (2002: 178) names it. It is obvious thus the importance of the psychological and psycholinguistic aspects of the language given by a certain collectivity who thinks in and speaks that language.

## CHAPTER III

### THE TYPOLOGY OF OPPOSITES

*"...to have and to hold from this day forward,  
for better for worse, for richer for poorer,  
in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish,  
till death us do part."*

(Solemnization of Matrimony, *Book of Common Prayer*, 1662)

Generally, the opposite terms are referred to as antonyms, though linguists consider that not all the words whose meanings are in a relation of oppositeness are antonyms. Thus, this chapter deals with all types of opposites, trying to classify them according to their features and from several points of view: lexical – grammatical, morphological – lexical, thematic, and semantic.

This chapter brings together the types of opposite words proposed by famous authors in order to establish the main groups of opposites in the English language. The third part of this work is based on this classification: English proverbs with their Spanish and Romanian equivalents are grouped according to the types of opposites they include.

#### 3.1. LEXICAL–GRAMMATICAL PERSPECTIVE

According to the lexical – grammatical point of view, opposites may be grouped in:

##### 3.1.1. ADJECTIVES

As Bârlea (1999: 67) points out, adjectives constitute pairs of opposites especially when, by their logical-semantic content, they express gradable, subjective characteristics, and designate qualifying, negative, contemptuous [+animate], and [±marked] notions (usually, from the morpho-lexical perspective, this mark is a prefix).

E.g. *abstract-concrete, big-small, brave-cowardly, cheap-expensive, clever-dull, delicate-insensitive, explicit-unclear, false-true, good-bad, high-low, legitimate-illegitimate,*

*pious-irreligious, reasonable-unreasonable, sad-happy, ugly-beautiful, virtuous-vicious, warm-cool, youthful-old, etc.*

The same author (1999: 67-68) classifies antonymic adjectives into the following categories:

**A. Lexical-grammatical groups:**

- proper adjectives: Lat. *magnus-parvus* (*big-small*), *verus-falsus* (*true-false*)
- verbal adjectives - participles: Lat. *prudens-imprudens* (*prudent-imprudent*)
- numeral adjectives: Lat. *primus-postremus* (*first-last*)
  - adjectives derived from nouns: Lat. *diurnus-nocturnus* (*diurnal-nocturnal*)
  - adjectives derived from prepositions: Lat. *anterior-posterior* (*previous-later*)

**B. Lexical-semantic groups:**

- adjectives with a gradual antonymy: Lat. *calidus-frigidus* (*hot-cold*), *longus-brevis* (*long-short*)
- absolute adjectives with a contrastive relation:
  - positively or negatively semantically marked compared to the norm: Lat. *universalis-particularis* (*universal-particular*)
  - marked vs. unmarked: Lat. *certus-incertus* (*true-untrue*), *aeternus-mortalis* (*eternal-temporary*)
  - complementaries: Lat. *purus-impurus* (*pure-impure*), *utilis-inutilis* (*useful-useless*)
- adjectives with a value antonymy (Rom. *antonomie valorică*)<sup>37</sup>: Lat. *dulcis-amarus* (*sweet-sour*), *blandus-saevus* (*kind-cruel*), *liber-captivus* (*free-bound*)
- adjectives with a subjective relation of antonymy: Lat. *notus-ignotus* (*known-unknown*), *clarus-obscurus* (*clear-obscure*)
- special groups of adjectives, morphosyntactic constructions:
  - concrete: Lat. *concavus-convexus* (*concave-convex*)
  - proportional: Lat. *dexter-sinister* (*right-left*)

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<sup>37</sup> Bârlea borrows this term from Sorin Stati (1973). "Semantic adjectival features" in *Linguistic Studies and Researches*. Bucharest: XXIV, 2.

- spatial-temporal proportional: Lat. *anterior-posterior* (*anterior-posterior*), *internus-externus* (internal-external), *oriens-occidens* (eastern-western)

Gsell (1979: 115, quoted in Bârlea, 1999: 144) considers that, in Romance languages, antonymic oppositeness is, in the first place, expressed by adjectives, secondly by adverbs, seldom by substantives and sometimes by other parts of speech.

### 3.1.2. NOUNS

As far as antonymic nouns are concerned, most of them are abstract substantives, designating states, actions, qualities, etc., meanwhile 'concrete nouns' (anthroponyms, hydronyms, toponyms, etc.), namely the ones designating objects, people, etc. which are, generally, monosemantic (e.g. *metal*, *philosopher*, *geography*, *coffee*, *table*, *pencil*, *chair*, *tree*, etc.), usually have no opposites. Still, this cannot be considered a rule since there are cases which contradict this principle. Gsell (quoted in Bârlea, 1999: 147-148) considers that the abstract noun *habit* has no antonym and the same happens with the concrete noun *carrot*. There are also concrete nouns that form pairs of antonyms because of the opposable notion they designate, generally used with a figurative meaning. Bârlea (1999: 148) gives several examples: *surface-bottom*, *facade-backside*, *floor-ceiling*, *sunset-sunrise*, *storm-peace*, *river-brook*, *father-son*, *master-apprentice*, etc.

E.g. *accident-intent*, *champion-loser*, *difference-similarity*, *entrance-exit*, *happiness-misery*, *loyalty-disloyalty*, *mercy-cruelty*, *misfortune-luck*, *prestige-disrepute*, *sensibility-insensibility*, *sorrow-joy*, *talent-inability*, *unconcern-concern*, *virtue-vice*, *wealth-poverty*, *zeal-apathy*, etc.

Proper nouns (e.g. *John*, *Christine*, *Bucharest*, *Madrid*, etc.) usually do not have opposites, but in context, by the notions they denote, might be antonymous, e.g. *Adam* and *Eve* for 'man' and 'woman'.

Based on Gsell's classification, Bârlea (1999: 73-75) groups antonymic nouns as follows:

#### A. Lexical-grammatical groups:

- deadjectival nouns: Lat. *blanditia-saevitia* (*flattery-cruelty*), *veritas-falsitas* (*truth-lie*)

- the fact of 'being' + adjective: Lat. *amicus-inimicus* (friend-enemy)
- adjectives used as nouns: Lat. *fidelis-infidelis* (loyal-disloyal), *sapiens-stultus* (wise-stupid)
- abstract doubles: Lat. *fidelitas-infidelitas* (fidelity-infidelity)
- abstract nouns derived from nouns denoting concrete notions: Lat. *amiticia-inimicitia* [*< amicus-inimicus*] (friendship-enmity) [*< friend-enemy*]
- deverbal nouns: Lat. *interrogatio-responsus* (interrogation-response), *affirmatio-negatio* (affirmation-negation).
- nouns derived from other parts of speech: Lat. *tarditas-celeritas* [*< adverb*] (slowness-fastness), *anteritas-posteritas* [*< preposition*] (anteriority-posteriority).

#### **B. Logical-semantic groups<sup>38</sup>:**

- nouns expressing movement (direction, difficulty, distance, energy, etc.): Lat. *exitium-initium* (ending-beginning), *anteritas-posteritas* (anteriority-posteriority).
- nouns denoting space and time: Lat. *caelum-terra* (sky-earth), *dies-nox* (day-night), *lux-tenebrae* (light-darkness).
- nouns expressing agreement, the cause-effect relation, etc.: Lat. *concordia-discordia* (agreement-disagreement), *amor-odiu* (love-hatred).
- nouns denoting animate notions of opposite sex: Lat. *bos-vacca* (bull-cow), *mater-pater* (mother-father), *filius-filia* (son-daughter).

Referring to French, though formulating conclusions that apply to any language, Duchaček (quoted in Bârlea, 1999:144) states that antonyms denote mainly qualities expressed primarily by abstract nouns, secondly by adjectives and then by adverbs, periphrastic constructions, and so on<sup>39</sup>.

According to Bârlea (1999: 75), who bases his calculi on the terms listed by Wagner, as far as Latin is concerned, nouns stand on the second place in the hierarchy of the parts of speech which can be grouped in antonymic pairs, with a 35,1% index.

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<sup>38</sup> Bârlea mentions that the logical-semantic groups listed here can apply to other parts of speech, too, they are not exclusive for nouns. He also states that the groups remain open and conventional.

<sup>39</sup> Duchaček's statement, which contradicts the one of Gsell, was published in 1965.

### 3.1.3. VERBS

Verbs are considered (Șerban-Evseev, 1978: 208) to be on the third place as antonymic productivity, after adjectives and nouns. Jones (quoted in Murphy, 2003: 176) observes that verb and noun antonymous pairs are as frequent as the one formed of adjectives.

E.g. *to admire-to detest, to admit-to reject, to begin-to end, to behave-to misbehave, to climb-to descend, to defend-to attack, to encourage-to discourage, to sit-to stand, to stay-to leave, to uncover-to cover, to waste-to save, to heal-to infect, to irritate-to please, to keep-to lose, to love-to hate, to make-to destroy, to open-to shut, to punish-to forgive, to quit-to continue, to reject-to accept, etc.*

### 3.1.4. ADVERBS

As adjectives and nouns, adverbs too tend to offer more examples of antonymic pairs when we talk about concrete, objective circumstances more than about the abstract ones. The explanation of this phenomenon is, as Bârlea (1999: 81) states, the fact that "adverbs play a secondary role in communication, expressing supplementary determinations of realities in which the implied oppositeness has already been inferred, if not explicitly communicated, by the determined verbs, adjectives (or adverbs)."

E.g. *backward-forward, clearly-confusedly, down-up, closely-openly, equally-unequally, essentially-unnecessarily, early-late, seldom-often, rarely-frequently, etc.*

In the syntagmatic area, the context plays a major part on decoding the signification of the words. Both the subject who makes the adverbial determination and the adverbial determined object may influence on the value of a certain notion. Let us take the example offered by Bârlea (1999: 150) of the notion 'a lot' which can acquire multiple connotations depending on the person who uses / decodes the syntagms 'eat a lot', 'suffer a lot', 'read a lot', etc. Similarly, 'speak loudly' can be annoying for someone (a hearer) who has no hearing impairment, but a whispering or even inaudible for a person using a deaf aid.

Bârlea (1999: 84-85) classifies antonymic adverbs in the following logical-semantic groups:

- adverbs of manner:
  - qualitative: Lat. *bene-male, facile-difficile*
  - quantitative: Lat. *multum-paulum, longe-breve*



- adverbs of time: Lat. *hunc-tunc, heri-cras, diurno-nocturno*
- adverbs of place: Lat. *hic-illic, intus-foris*
- adverbs of negation and affirmation: Lat. *non-verum, nihil-totum*

### 3.1.5. PRONOUNS

Pronouns are a less productive category as far as antonymy is concerned. Still, if we take into consideration the indefinite and negative pronouns (examples b), we can say that these can be related by a semantic oppositeness and thus, they form pairs of antonyms.

E.g. (a) *you-I, we-you, this-that, mine-yours*.

E.g. (b) *somebody-nobody, everything-nothing, one-all, everybody-nobody*.

### 3.1.6. PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions form pairs of antonyms especially when they are components of certain syntactic constructions, such as *to get in-to get out, up and down, with or without*, etc.

E.g. *before-after, in-out, with-without, from-for*, etc.

### 3.1.7. NUMERALS

Because of the particularity of their meaning, numerals cannot form antonymic pairs. As an observation, it is important to say that the ordinal numeral *first* which has a high degree of category changing, establishes opposite relations with the adjective *last*.

E.g. My *first* desire can also be my *last* wish.

According to the context they are used in, numerals can become heteronyms<sup>40</sup>. Still, they raise the same question mark as all heteronyms, since they are not extreme opposites on a scale.

E.g. She has just had not *one*, not *two*, but *three* babies!!!

Concluding, we may say that the most productive category of antonyms seems to be that of adjectives, followed by nouns, verbs and adverbs.

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<sup>40</sup> See Part One, Chapter 3.4.6.

### 3.1.8. LEVIȚCHI'S CLASSIFICATION OF OPPOSITES

Another opposites categorization is made by LeviȚchi (1970: 101-104) who classifies antonyms as follows:

ANTONYMS					
ABSOLUTE				RELATIVE	
LEXICAL		GRAMMATICAL		LEXICAL	GRAMMATICAL
Explicit	Implicit	Explicit	Implicit		

Table 3: LeviȚchi's classification of opposites

**A. Absolute antonyms** are characterized by the relation of utter opposition between the notions they denote, e.g. *white-black*, by their independence from the context, as well as by a certain identity of semantic and grammatical associations:

E.g. *a good book-a bad book*

*the book is good-the book is bad*

*the book is very good-the book is very bad*

**A.1. Absolute lexical antonyms** establish a relation of complete opposition between lexical units:

- between words - meanings, e.g. *to hate-to love, to hate-to like*
- between words-meanings and phrases, e.g. *to like-to hold in abomination*
- between phrases, e.g. *to make much of-to make little of*

From their form point of view, absolute lexical antonyms can be divided into the following groups:

- *radical* - expressed by different lexical units
- *affixal* - expressed by words having the same root, between which the relation of opposition is established by means of negative affixes, e.g. *to believe-to disbelieve, important-unimportant, useful-useless, care-careless*.

**A.1.1. Lexical implicit antonyms** are pointed out by a peculiar accentuation of a lexical unit in a given context.

E.g. 'He is a *man*!' → the word *man* (which bears the main stress in the sentence) concentrates semantically all the positive qualities of the notion *man* (not a child, not a brute).

**A.2. Absolute grammatical antonyms** include grammatical forms, e.g. *the young man's-the old man's*, *greater-smaller*, *it takes-it is taken*.

**A.2.1. Grammatical implicit antonyms** are also suggested by what is stressed in the utterance.

E.g. He *had* a very retentive memory. → the word *had* is stressed and underlines the idea of the past time in opposition to that of the present (*then-now*), so that the utterance is, in fact, elliptical. Anyhow, it may be completed logically without much effort: '...but now he *has not* a very retentive memory'.

In the sentence 'He won't finish his work unless he works hard', the implicit antonym is 'He will finish his work' (cf. 'If he works hard, he will finish his work'; 'If he does not work, he will not finish his work'.)

Antonyms are **explicit** when both opposite terms are expressed, either outside a context, e.g. *white-black*, or in a limited context so that the opposition may be brought out clearly, e.g. 'They were determined to get on by any means, *good* or *bad*'.

**Implicit** antonyms are expressed by only one term of the semantic or semantic-grammatical opposition, the other term or terms being merely suggested. They are always contextual.

**B. Relative antonyms** express partial oppositions between lexical or grammatical units. In most cases these oppositions are contextual.

**B.1. Lexical relative antonyms** are expressed by pairs such as *painful-merry*, where the opposition is not direct but mediated (*painful* is causative, *merry* resultative), *conduct-behaviour* → are synonymous nouns but, at the same time, they are antonyms on a conceptual level, as *conduct* implies 'permanence' and *behaviour*, 'limited duration'.

Subordinated to a frequent device in English literature, a number of lexical units that are not antonyms become relative antonyms in a context, under its influence. Thus, the pairs *find-to keep*, *to weave-to wear*, *to forge-to bear*, which cannot be considered to be antonymous, but which, due to the syntactically parallel line where the explicit antonyms *to*

*sow-to reap* occur, become antonyms in the following stanza from Shelley's *Song to the Men of England* (quoted in Levičhi, 1970: 104):

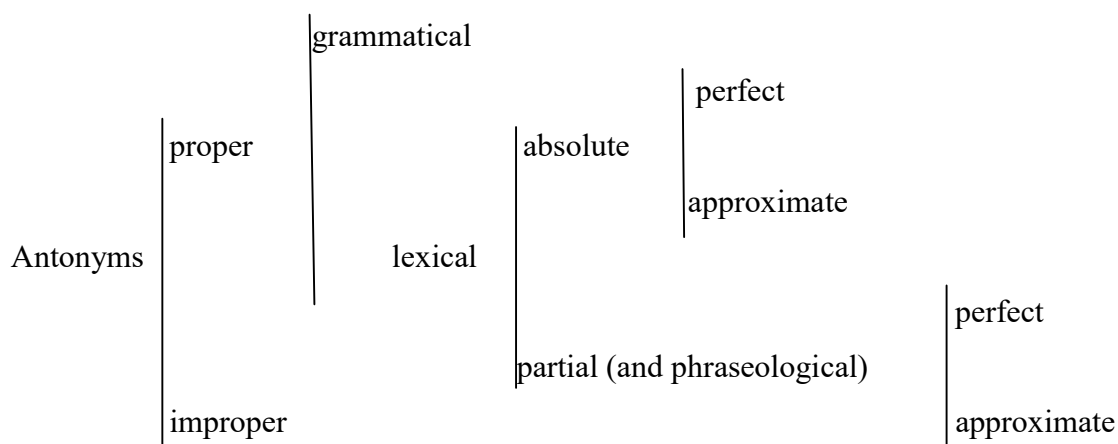
The seed ye sow, another reaps;  
 The wealth ye find, another keeps;  
 The robes ye weave, another wears;  
 The arms ye forge, another bears.

**B.2. Grammatical relative antonyms** are also dependent on a context. Thus, the personal pronoun *ye* and the demonstrative pronoun *another*, which are not necessarily in a relation of opposition, become antonyms within the general framework of the linguistic context in the stanza already quoted.

A peculiar variety of grammatical relative antonyms is represented by the so-called disjunctive questions, whose opposition to the main clause is merely formal, as they are meant to stress the idea conveyed by it, e.g. 'He *is* a good physician, *isn't* he?', 'He *doesn't* speak English, *does* he?'.

Another variant is formed of antonyms expressed by different parts of speech, e.g. *simplicity* (noun)-*complicated* (adjective), "*right* perfection-*wrongfully* disgraced" (Shakespeare, quoted in Levičhi, 1970: 104).

Related to Levičhi's classification is also the one of Duchaček (quoted in Martín Fernández, 2002: 64) whose taxonomy of antonyms is represented by the following diagram:

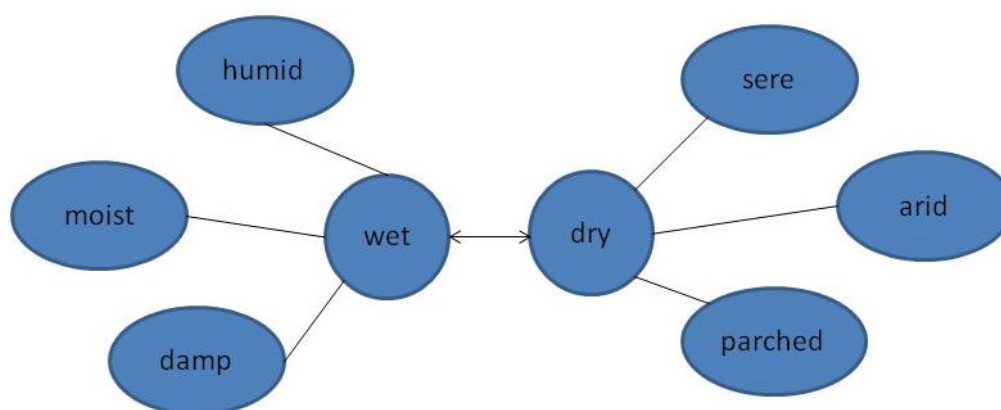


**Absolute antonyms** are monosemic words. When one or both of the antonymic terms is/are bi or polysemous, the antonymy is **partial**. In the case of the **absolute perfect antonyms** there is a total opposition between all the components of their content. The same

happens between the antonymic meanings in the case of polysemous words which become **partially perfect**. The **approximate antonyms** are pairs such as *warm-frozen*, *cool-hot*.

Another classification of antonyms that needs to be mentioned is that of **WordNet**<sup>41</sup>, a lexical English database project, founded in 1985 at the Cognitive Science Laboratory at Princeton University. According to WordNet (quoted in Murphy, 2003: 110 & 179), antonyms are:

- **direct** (i.e. **lexical**), e.g. *wet-dry* in the below diagram. They are called 'focal adjectives in synsets'.
- **indirect** (i.e. **conceptual**), e.g. *arid-humid*, *moist-dry* in the below diagram. Their opposition is mediated by the direct antonymy between *wet* and *dry*. *Damp*, *moist* and *humid* form part of the *wet* synset, meanwhile *arid*, *sere* and *parched* are synonyms of *dry*.



Descriptive adjectives in WordNet (Murphy, 2003: 110, adapted from Gross and Miller)

<sup>41</sup> Available from <<http://wordnet.princeton.edu/>>.

## 3.2. MORPHOLOGIC–LEXICAL PERSPECTIVE

This perspective takes into account those words which, by having attached an (or more) affix(es), that is a prefix or a suffix, are converted in words with different meanings. Moreover, in our case, these affixed words become terms with opposite meanings, e.g. *kind-unkind*.

### 3.2.1. HETEROLEXEMIC AND HOMOLEXEMIC OPPOSITES

According to the morphological – lexical point of view, the following main types of opposites are distinguished:

- opposites having different roots – *heterolexemic*
- opposites having a common root – *homolexemic*. These are less frequent than the heterolexemic opposites.

Opposite words with a common root are formed by the addition of affixes (generally, prefixes) that form a real morphological-lexical system. The opposed privative and negative pairs hold an important place in the system. They can have an *open* character (prefixes that can be added to a relatively large number of radicals) or a *closed* character (prefixes that are used only with particular roots). The roots of opposites having a common root may be *free* or *bound*.

Negation plays an important role as far as pairs of opposite words are concerned. Taking this factor into account, Bârlea (1999: 38-39) establishes three types of oppositeness:

**1. simple negation**, e.g. *immature-mature*. The negative term is neither the global negation nor the extreme negation of the positive one; it is an intermediate step, an undetermined process (cf. Sp. *crudo-maduro*).

**2. privative negation**, e.g. *dishonest-honest*. The negative term is the maximum and global negation of the positive one. Oppositeness is for the negative term its unique way of existence. Between the two terms there is a logical contradiction.

**3. affirmation**, e.g. Rom. *inamic-amic* (*enemy-friend*). The term with the prefix is the maximum and extreme negation of the positive notion. By the gradual feature, the negative notion is converted into an affirmation. Between the two terms there is a logical contrariety.

Bârlea (1999: 38) also points out the distinction between negation, contradiction and contrariety. He states that:

Negation is the opposition between the "marked" term and the "unmarked" one, contradiction represents the opposition between the "positively marked" term and the "negatively marked" one, and contrariety means the capacity of the two negative particular marks ("non A signposting"; "the minimum of the A feature") to transform A into B.

### A. Heterolexemic opposites<sup>42</sup>

Some linguists<sup>43</sup> consider as being 'proper antonyms' only those opposites which have different roots. Guilbert (1964: 90) defines the heterolexemic opposites as "antonyms with purely semantic features" because "the opposition of meanings is expressed by different linguistic signs that give place to no range of comparison other than their semantic oppositeness."

When referring to heterolexemic opposites, Bârlea (1999: 93) uses the designation "antonymic attraction", meanwhile Ullmann (1951: 228) employs the term "analogical induction". Murphy (2003: 201) distinguishes between "morphologically unrelated and related antonyms" and refers to the opposite of the morphologically related opposites as "opaque antonyms".

According to Moroianu (2008: 11-12) the relation of oppositeness between two heterolexemic terms can be established:

#### a) Between a root-term and a prefixed term:

E.g. Rom. *ceremonios-**ne**protocolar* (*ceremonius-**im**polite*), *coincidență-**ne**concordanță*  
(*coincidence - **non**-concordance*),

Rom. *confirma-**dez**minți*, Sp. *confirmar-**des**mentir* (*confirm-deny*),

Rom. *corect-**in**exact*, Sp. *correcto-**in**exacto* (*correct-**in**exact*),

Rom. *corpulent-**fil**iform*, Sp. *corpolento-**fil**iforme* (*corpulent-**fil**iform*)

Rom. *crucial-**ne**semnificativ*, Sp. *crucial-**in**significante* (*crucial- **in**significant*)

#### b) Between two etymologically different terms with opposed in meaning prefixes:

E.g. Rom. ***contra**indica-**pres**crie* (***contra**indicate-**pres**cribe*)

It is also important to mention that heterolexemic opposites must belong to the same grammatical class. In the case of the prefixed homolexemic opposites, the morphological

<sup>42</sup> Moroianu (2008: 6) refers to this type of opposites with the term 'primary' opposites.

<sup>43</sup> Bârlea (1999: 91) mentions some of them: Ducháček, Ulrich, Graur, Schmidt, Stati; Leonid Arsen'evič Bulahovskij (1888-1961) also subscribed to this statement (as quoted in Șerban-Evseev, 1978: 211).

identity is a natural one, since prefixes maintain the derived word in the same class with the basic word.

## B. Homolexemic opposites<sup>44</sup>

The importance of the homolexemic opposites is clearly pointed out by Guilbert (1964: 33): "Si l'on peut parler d'un système formel des antonymes, c'est en partant des couples oppositionnels formés par une série de préfixes qu'il faut le délimiter."

As it has been said before, prefixes do not change the grammatical class of the derived word, maintaining therefore the form - content relation homogenous.

Bârlea (1999: 98-104) classifies the homolexemic opposites into:

- antonymic pairs in which only one word is prefixed: B<sup>45</sup> / pB (where 'B' is the base - word and 'p' the prefix). E.g. *sane-insane*, *able-disable*, *accessible-inaccessible*, *agree-disagree*, *biotic-abiatic*, etc.

- antonymic pairs in which both words are prefixed and analysable: p<sub>1</sub>B / p<sub>2</sub>B (where 'B' is the base - word and 'p<sub>1</sub>' is different from 'p<sub>2</sub>'). E.g. *microeconomics-macroeconomics*, *hypothermia-hyperthermia*, *minidress-maxidress*, etc.

Moroianu (2008: 11) adds to the above two classes the following cases in which the oppositeness within the homolexemic pair is established:

- between prefixed words that are not analysable, e.g. *confirm-infirm*, *introvert-extrovert*.

- between two compound words with antonymous pseudo-affixes (thematic affixes), e.g. *agoraphobia-claustrophobia*, *homeopathy-allopathy*, *centrifugal-centripetal*, etc. In this case the relation of oppositeness can be established either by the first morphemes of the terms structure (as in *agoraphobia-claustrophobia* or by the last morphemes (e.g. *anglophile-anglophobe*).

- between a compound word and a derived one, e.g. Rom. *a binedispune*<sup>46</sup> - *a indispune* (to amuse-to upset)

<sup>44</sup> Moroianu (2008: 6) refers to this type of opposites with the term 'analysable' opposites.

<sup>45</sup> According to Bucă-Evseev (1976: 161), one term has a 'marked' prefix, meanwhile the other component of the antonymic pair has the 'zero' prefix: (ø)B / pB

<sup>46</sup> In Romanian, *a binedispune* is a compound word.



There are several prefixes in English that can be named *negative* prefixes if we take into consideration their general meaning. *Non-*, *un-*, *in-*, *dis-*, *de-*, as well as the pejorative *mal-*, *mis-*, form derived adjectives expressing negative qualities; they are called *rival prefixes*.

(1) *Non-* is attached to adjective bases with which it forms semantic pairs of the following type: *conformist-non-conformist*, *scientific-non-scientific*, etc. It is characteristic for such pairs of lexical items that the denial of one of its elements implies the assertion of the other and, conversely, the assertion of one implies the denial of the other. This semantic relation is called *complementarity*. The terms of the pair *scientific-non-scientific* are complementary terms. It is common for complementary terms to express a non-gradable contrast. The relation of complementarity is one of the type of pattern of oppositeness of meaning holding over two terms sets of elements, the assertion of one member of the set implying the denial of the other. *Non-*, therefore, can be taken as representative of the complementarity relation.

(2) Opposite words have in common the fact that they may be seen in terms of degrees of the quality involved (e.g. 'a road may be wide or very wide' and 'one road wider than another'). We have gradation of width, age, size, etc., all indicated by such adjectives. Scanning the set of negative prefixes we notice that *fair-unfair*, *sane-insane*, *honest-dishonest* are antonymous pairs. There are semantic distinctions to be drawn among these three pairs of opposite terms. Antonymous pairs, in contrast with complementary terms, can be placed on a graded scale of comparison. While *honest-dishonest* are gradable in terms of *very*, *more*, and *less*, yet they share with complementary terms the property that the denial of one is usually taken to assert the other: *not honest = dishonest*. Antonymous pairs built with *dis-* are explicitly gradable, but are not usually considered as implicitly gradable. On the other hand, antonymous pairs built with *un-* and *in-*: *happy-unhappy*, *sane-insane* do not share this characteristic of to the complementary terms, i.e. the denial of one is not usually taken as the assertion of the other: *not happy ≠ unhappy*, *sane ≠ insane*. On the other hand, both of the pairs *happy-unhappy*, *sane-insane* are gradable in terms of *very*, *more* and *less*: *very happy*, *very sane* (judgement). For short, *dis-*, *in-*, *un-* build antonymous pairs: *dis-* builds explicitly gradable antonymous pairs, while *un-* and *in-* build implicitly gradable antonyms.

There is another property of antonymous terms according to which these three negative prefixes behave in a similar way. The property in question refers to the possibility of reversibility that can be tested by *more* and *less*. In the pair *obedient-disobedient* the *more* and

*less* relationship can be applied, e.g. *more obedient* = *less disobedient* and *more disobedient* = *less obedient*. Similarly, with the antonymous pairs of adjectives built with *un-* and *in-*: *happier* = *less unhappy* and *less unhappy* = *happier*, *saner* is to be *less insane* and *more insane* = *less sane*. The test of reversibility indicates that the pairs of antonyms built with *un-*, *dis-*, *in-* have no absolute value at one end of the scale along which they are graded.

*Un-*, *dis-*, *in-* have the structural property of attaching to bases that belong to more than one syntactic category. This structural versatility of the negative prefixes is correlated with their capacity to occur with both the semantic patterns discussed above, i.e. complementarity and antonymy.

(3) According to the type of opposition, a word may have more than one morphologically related antonym, e.g. *feminine-unfeminine*, *feminine* - *non-feminine*. As Murphy (2003: 252) remarks, "*non-* tends to negate the 'objective' or descriptive meaning of a word, while *un-* and *in-* are more likely to be associated with a word's 'emotive' senses."

There is also the case when a single word may have at least two antonyms, one of them being morphologically related and the other(s) not, e.g. *friendly-unfriendly*, *friendly-hostile*; *married-unmarried*, *married-single*.

(4) It can also be said that now many such derived forms have semantic equivalents which are single morphemes, e.g. *unwell* = sick, *unhappy* = sad. There are many equivalents which can take the form not of single words but of phrases where the bound morpheme separates itself from bondage and becomes free, e.g. *unwell* = not well, *unhappy* = not happy. In George Orwell's novel *1984* (quoted in Widdowson, 1996: 55), this principle of decomposition provides the basis for the reformed English of Newspeak, where *excellent* becomes **plusgood**, *bad* becomes **ungood**, *terrible* becomes **plusungood**, etc.

### 3.2.2. PREFIXES

Before analysing the prefixes that form opposite words, it is worth mentioning here the **supraprefixation** or **double prefixation** phenomenon. It appears in those cases when one term of the antonymic pair is double prefixed. In Romance languages, this is a frequent phenomenon in the technical and scientific styles. It is known with different names, such as those registered by Mercedes Brea (1980: 23): Sp. *supercomposición*, *superprefijación*, *acumulación de prefijos* or *reprefijación*. The author defines this phenomenon as a new prefixation which substitutes or re-establishes the lost value of a prefix, namely the adding of a new prefix to a word which has already a prefix, in order to strengthen its meaning.

Thus, we can find pairs of opposite words constructed according to the formula  $p_1B / p_2p_1B$ , where the second prefix ( $p_2$ ) is the one which marks the antonymic term of the pair:

E.g. *premeditated-unpremeditated*, *disestablishment-antidisestablishment*,

*penultimate-antepenultimate*, *foreseen-unforeseen*

Sp. *intoxicar-desintoxicar*, *embarcar-desembarcar*, *ajustar-desajustar*,

*encarcelar-desencarcelar*, *emparejar-desemparejar*

Rom. *intoxica-dezintoxica*, *împrospăta-reîmprospăta*, *înnoi-reînnoi*, *înnoda-reînnoda*

Fr. *intoxiquer-désintoxiquer*, *enchainer-desenchainer*

Regarding prefixes, we will only refer to those which create new words opposite in meaning to the words the prefixes are attached to. Most of them are negative prefixes and they are listed below.

#### 3.2.2.1. NON- (via Old French from Latin *non* ultimately from an Indo-European base that is also the ancestor of English *no*, *un-*, and *in-*) (EWED).

The rule of *non-* attachment is one of the entirely productive rules with adjective bases. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century *non-* words have become very frequent. *Non-* can today be prefixed to almost any adjective. *Non-* attaches to adjectival bases to form other adjectives. The semantic pattern which the pair of base adjective and derived negative adjective form is one of complementarity.

- The *non-* attachment rule:  $[X]Adj \Rightarrow [non-[X]Adj]Adj$

- Semantic operation: - the stress pattern of the adjective is not changed by *non-*  
- emphasis is placed upon *non-* which is pronounced more loudly than the syllables that surround it.

The rule of *non-* attachment does not trigger rules of adjustment; there are no phonological, morphological or syntactic adjustment rules that apply to the base adjectives.

- Examples: *non-active, non-competent, non-defensive, non-efficient, non-fiscal, non-gaseous, non-interrupted, non-irritating, non-graduated, non-harmonious, non-essential, non-Euclidian, non-active, non-breakable*

The productive rule of *non-* attachment is transparent. When a negation rule is productive, its output is contradictory of the base (not X, where X is the base), whereas when the rule is less productive, its output is contrary (no X, or the opposite to X). The following pairs are well-known examples of this phenomenon:

*Non-Christian* (contradictory)-*unchristian* (contrary)

*Non-human* (contradictory)-*inhuman* (contrary)

*Non-* is not used with verbs, but it has first been applied to nouns, most of them being Law terms of Latin origin. In present day English, there are plenty of *non-* prefixed nouns such as: *non-adherence, non-admission, non-combustion, non-conviction, non-demand, non-believer, non-creditor, non-dealer, non-producer, non-sympathiser, non-novel, non-resident, non-student, non-proficiency, non-subscriber, non-elect, non-existence, non-member, non-juror, non-sense, non-attendance, non-access*, etc.

*Non-* is frequently contrasted with *un-* in expressing binary (non-gradable) contrast, rather than the opposite end of a scale, e.g. *non-scientific / unscientific*.

**3.2.2.2. UN-** ‘not’, ‘opposite of, lack of’ (EWED), (Middle English, Old English *un-*, *on-*; cognate with Gothic *and-*, Dutch *ont-*, German *ent-*; akin to Latin *ante*, Greek *anti*)<sup>47</sup>.

*Un-* is a nominal prefix with the basic meaning ‘not’. There are two different *un-* rules:

- un-* rule that applies to adjectival bases (type *unfair*)
- un-* rule that applies to verb bases (type *untie*)

<sup>47</sup> Available from <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/un?s=t>>.

a)

- The rule of *un-* attachment:  $[X]Adj \Rightarrow [un-[X]Adj]Adj$

Conditions on the base: the rule prefers bases that have the following morphological structure:

$X = [Yv -en]$  (where *-en* represents the past participle)

$[Yv -ing]$  (where *-ing* represents the present participle)

$[Yv -able]$

$[Y + -y]$  (*worthy*)

$[Y + -ly]$  (*lovely*)

$[Y + ful]$  (*unskilful*)

$[Y + -al]$  (*conditional*)

$[Y + -like]$  (*warlike*)

- Semantic operation:  $[un-[X]Adj]Adj = \text{antonym to } X$
- Phonological operation: - the affix is intensely stressed  
- regular, often unstressed before stressed syllable.

There are some negative *un-* adjectives that do not have corresponding unnegated forms, e.g. *unrelenting*, *unabashed*, *unexampled*, *unprecedented*. Actually, the bases, unnegated forms have become archaic or unrecognisable, e.g. *uncouth* (*couth* is originally the past participle of the Old English *cunnau* ‘know’), *unkempt* (*kempt* ‘combed’ is now dialectal).

There are adjectives to which *un-* is not prefixed, such as *bad*, *broad*, *deep*, *good*, *narrow*, *shallow*, *strong*, *weak*, etc. The Old English dialect restricts the non-application of the prefix to the short adjectives of native origin, but is neither a question of shortness nor of native or foreign origin that explains this phenomenon. The above adjectives stand for primary qualities that are not expressed by relational words. A combination like *\*ungood* will imply that the speaker saw ‘bad’ as the contradictory opposite of *good*, which it does not. The contrast is one of contrary opposition, and the words expressing the respective notions are coined as individual, non-relational words. Since we do in fact use *unclean*, *unfair*, *unfit*, *unkind*, *unripe*, shortness does not hold *good* as an explanation. And with certain pair of words, contradictory opposition appears to be the only way of expression. The words *just* and *ripe*, for instance, are not matched by terms of contrary opposition, but by words which are contradictory opposites. Other notions that seem to call for contradictory opposition are those underlying the words *able*, *apt*, *capable*, *practical*. Contrastive instinct plays an important

part here. The word *unjust* describes a judgement more clearly than any contrary opposite might do. On the other hand, contradictory opposition leaves many possibilities open that a contrary term would not.

On the other hand, no contradictory opposites are formed with *un-* from adjectives that by themselves denote the absence of something, as *bad*, *bare*, *empty*, *evil*, *foolish*, *naked*, *naughty*, *silly*, *wicked*. Natural linguistic instinct would not make the sophisticated detour of denial a negative word to obtain a positive one. For example, we do not use *unbad* (*un* + the negative adjective *bad*) in order to say *good* (positive).

There are cases when some *un-* words passed out of use or have been replaced by *in-* (*im-*) forms, e.g. *uncredible* → *incredible*, *undubitable* → *indubitable*, *uneffable* → *ineffable*, *unexcusable* → *inexcusable*, *unexpert* → *inexpert*, *unfirm* → *infirm*, *unformal* → *informal*, *unperfect* → *imperfect*, *unpossible* → *impossible*; or by *dis-* forms, as in the case of *dishonest* that has taken the place of *unhonest*.

There are few *un-* derived adjectives formed from simple base adjectives. If the base adjective denotes a gradable quality, then the *un-* derivative and its base form a pair of antonymous terms, e.g. *tidy-untidy*, *happy-unhappy*.

● Examples:

X = Y <sub>v</sub> - <i>ed</i>	<i>unabbreviated, unaccustomed, unanalysed, unaccomplished, unacquainted, unverified</i>
X = Y <sub>v</sub> - <i>ing</i>	<i>unbending, unbecoming, unhesitating, unforgiving, unfeeling, unreasoning</i>
X = Y + - <i>al</i>	<i>unphilosophical, unconventional, unequivocal, unethical, ungrammatical, unconstitutional</i>
X = Y + - <i>ly</i>	<i>uncommonly, unlikely, unfriendly, unruly, unworldly, unholy</i>
X = Y + - <i>ful</i>	<i>ungraceful, unlawful, unfaithful, untruthful, unthankful, uneventful</i>
X = Y + - <i>ive</i>	<i>unattractive, unimpressive, unproductive, unimaginative, uncommunicative, unresponsive</i>
X = Y + - <i>ous</i>	<i>ungracious, unpretentious, unceremonious, unambiguous, unmelodious, unscrupulous</i>
X = Y + - <i>ic</i>	<i>unscientific, uncharacteristic, unpatriotic, unsystematic, uneconomic, unenthusiastic</i>
X = Y + - <i>like</i>	<i>unmanlike, unstatesmanlike, unladylike, unsportsmanlike, unwarlike, unqueenlike</i>

Table 4: Examples of *un-* prefixed words

All the *un-* derivatives listed above form, together with their base adjectives, antonymous pairs of elements.

*Un-* rule attachment can also apply to noun bases, e.g. *untruth*, *unconcern*, *unharmony*, *unsatisfaction*, *unemployment*, *unease*; countless substantives in *-ity*: *unaccountability*, *unamiability*, *unreadability*, *unworkability* and in *-ness*: *unaccountbleness*, *unacquaintedness*, *unaffectedness*, *uncheerfulness*.

**b)** The rule of *un+* attachment applies to the verb bases to form negative verbs. Taking into account the semantic interpretation of the rule of *un+* attachment, the base verb and the *un+* derivative form a pair of converse elements.

- The rule is:  $[X]_v \Rightarrow [un+ [X]_v]_v$
- Semantic operation:  $[X]_v \Rightarrow [un+[X]_v]_v = \text{converse to } X$
- Phonological operation: the *un-* prefix is stressed.

Regarding their meaning, the negative derivatives imply the existence of a former state characterized by whatever the verb designates, thus *to unpack* an object entails a prior state at which it was true of the object that it was packed; *to untether* a horse implies that it was formerly tethered; *to unzip* a dress implies that it was formerly zipped, etc.

At the level of the underlying syntactic structure, the analysis is thus ‘cause to be *un(=not) tied*’, formulated as *un-* (=not)-*tied* /  $\emptyset$  (‘cause to be, make’). This makes the pattern a zero derivative, a pseudo-prefixation. E.g. *uncover*, *unbend*, *unbutton*, *undo*, *unglue*, *unpack*, *untie*, *unplug*, etc.

### 3.2.2.3. IN- (‘not’, from Latin) (EWED)

The rule of *in-* attachment applies to adjective bases to form negative adjectives; the rule is semantically transparent, i.e. it builds negative derivatives that can form together with the base adjective either complementary terms or antonymous pairs depending on the inherent semantic properties of the base adjective. The overwhelming majority of derived adjectives form complementary terms to their base.

- The rule of *in-* attachment:  $[X]_{Adj} \Rightarrow [in- [X]_{Adj}]_{Adj}$

It applies to base adjectives that have the following structures:

X = Y + -i(a)ble	<i>inaccessible, inadmissible, incomprehensible, indefensible</i>
X = Y + -al	<i>informal, inconsequential, inaugural, intensional</i>
X = Y + -ous	<i>incautious, indecorous, incurious, incredulous</i>
X = Y + -ive	<i>inconclusive, inattentive, inexpensive, inoffensive</i>
X = Y + -ic	<i>inorganic, inelastic, inartistic, inauthentic</i>
X = Y + -a(e)nt	<i>inconstant, incoherent, incompetent, inefficient</i>

Table 5: Examples of *in-* derived words

- Semantic operation: (i) [*in-* [X]Adj]Adj = complementary term to X  
(ii) [*in-* [X]Adj]Adj = antonymous term to X
- Phonological operation: the affix is stressed.

In accordance to Latin rules, the phonological operation transforms *in-* into:

- *il-* before /l/ , e.g. *illegal, illegible, illegitimate, illicit, illimitable*;
- *im-* before labials /m/, /p/, /b/, e.g. *immaterial, immature, immortal, impractical, imperceptible*;
- *ir-* before /r/, e.g. *irrational, irreclaimable, irreducible, irrelevant, irremovable*.

The negative *in-* derivative forms together with the base a pair of complementary terms, e.g. *accessible-inaccessible*. For such pairs, asserting the negative form of one of the terms amounts to asserting its pair, e.g. *not accessible = inaccessible*. Other pairs are formed by gradable adjectives, the antonyms being derivatives formed from such bases negated with the prefix *in-*: *accurate-inaccurate, advisable-inadvisable, capable-incapable, coherent-incoherent, competent-incompetent, discreet-indiscreet, efficient-inefficient, expensive-inexpensive*, etc. The pairs of antonyms are gradable in terms of more and less, yet the denial of one is usually the assertion of the other.

The analysis of substantives with an adjectival base offers difficulties sometimes. It is easy to tell that *inopportunity* or *insignificance* are not the opposites of *opportunity* or *significance* but suffixal derivatives form *inopportune, insignificant*. It is doubtful whether *inaccurateness, inadaptability, incompleteness*, for example, are prefix formations of *accurateness, adaptability, completeness*, or suffixal derivatives from *inaccurate, inadaptable, incomplete*. Still, there are certain nouns such as *incapacity, insobriety*,



*inattention, incivility, incomprehension, indiscipline, infidelity, inhumanity, injustice*, that can only be analysed as prefixed substantives.

Verbs such as *to illegalize, to immortalize* are suffixal derivatives from *illegal, immortal*.

The stronger rival, the native *un-*, is outstanding *in-* more and more. In early Modern English, *in-* could be prefixed to almost any adjective with a Latin or French basis. However, words such as *incereemonious, incertain, inchangeable, incharitable, inchaste, uncomfortable, ingrateful, inorganized, inpleasing, inpopular, inprofitable* have given way to *un-* derivatives. Moreover, there are instances in which both a *un-* and an *in-* derived adjectives exist: *inalterable/unalterable, inorganic/unorganic, inapproachable/unapproachable, inoffensive/unoffensive, infructuous/unfruitful*.

#### 3.2.2.4. **DIS-** (directly and via Old French *des-* from Latin *dis-*, from *dis* ‘apart’, of unknown origin) (EWED)

*Dis-* is a nominal prefix, combining with adjectives and substantives expressing the concept of negativity, converting the meaning of the underlying noun into its contrary or contradictory opposite.

- Examples: *disaffected, disobedient, disadvantageous, disloyal, discontent, discontinuous, disquiet, disrespectful, disagreement, disbelief*.
- The *dis-* attachment rule is very productive on verb bases producing negative verbs:  
 $[X]_v \Rightarrow [dis- [X]_v]_v$
- Semantic operation: (i) converse to the base  
(ii) complementary to the base.

Characteristic to the class of *dis-* derivatives whose semantic reading is converse to the base, is the fact that the *dis-* verb implies the existence of a prior state in which the unnegated base verb was true: *to arm-to disarm, to affiliate-to disaffiliate, to arrange-to disarrange, to colour-to discolour, to favour-to disfavour, to inherit-to disinherit, to join-to disjoin, to order-to disorder, to place-to displace, to unite-to disunite*. These derivatives constitute reversals of the activity that the base verb denotes.

In the second group, the complementary pairs of elements, negative verbs like the following are included: *to agree-to disagree, to affirm-to disaffirm, to approve-to disapprove*,

*to belief-to disbelief, to claim-to disclaim, to like-to dislike, to obey-to disobey, to please-to displease, to satisfy-to dissatisfy, to sent-to dissent.*

*Dis-* cannot compete in productivity with *un-* which is far more common with words of general currency. Though adjectives like *discomfortable, dissatisfactory, dissocial* exist, the commonly used words are *uncomfortable, unsatisfactory, unsocial*.

### 3.2.2.5. DE- (Via Old French *de-* and *des-* from, ultimately, Latin *de-* ‘apart, away’ and *dis-*) (EWED)

The *de-* attachment rule operates on verb bases to produce negative verbs.

- The rule of *de-* attachment:  $[X]_v \Rightarrow [de- [X]_v]_v$

$X = [Y + -ize]$

$[Y + -ity]$

$[Y + -ate]$

- Semantic operation:  $[de- [X]_v]_v = \text{converse to the base verb.}$
- Examples:

$X = [Y + -ize]$ : *to demoralize, to demobilize, to decolourize, to devalorize, to deoxidize, to devitalize.*

Regarding their meanings, these derived negative verbs constitute converse terms of their bases, i.e. in order to *decentralize* a system there must be a prior state at which it is true that the system is *centralized*.

$X = [Y + -ate]$ : *to depopulate, to deglutinate, to desulphurate, to desophisticate, to decontaminate, to deactivate.*

The semantic relation between the base verb and the negative derivative is also one of converseness: in order to *depopulate* a region there must be a prior state at which the respective element is characterized by the converse element.

$X = [Y + -ify]$ : *to decalcify, to deelectrify, to degasify, to declassify* (especially scientific use). These negatives derivatives entail the existence of a prior state, e.g. *to denazify* a country it must be the case that the respective country was priorly characterized by the converse verb, *nazify*.

Examples of atomic base verbs that have the negative form by *de-* attachment are listed below: *to depolish, to dehorn, to dewater, to dewax, to defrost, to decode, to decontrol, to decompose, to decompress, to debar, to desalt, to destain.*

The abstract or agentive nouns like *deforestation, decolonization, decontamination, dehumanization, demoralizer*, etc. are formed from the respective verbs by means of rules that attach nominal suffixes.

*Un-, dis-, de-* all form verbs expressing negative ideas, and are therefore rivals. Their respective derivative relevancy may be defined partly in terms of the formal and semantic patterns in which they are used, partly in terms of their range of the usage.

### 3.2.2.6. ANTI- ('against, opposite'; via Latin from, ultimately Greek *anti* 'opposite, against') (EWED)

The *anti-* attachment rule applies to noun bases to form other negative nouns. Regarding semantics, *anti-* means 'against whatever the base noun denotes'.

- The rule of *anti-* attachment:  $[X]n \Rightarrow [anti- [X]n]n$
- Semantic operation:  $[anti- [X]n]n =$  (i) of the reverse kind of X  
(ii) the reverse of X
- Examples: *antipope, antimusic, antideity, antireligion, antisocialist, antislavery, antisemite, antilaw*

*Anti-* derivatives sometimes function as denominal adjectives: '*antiwar* campaign', '*antircraft* gun', '*antisubmarine* supplies', '*antimissile* protection', '*antimine* tank', '*antiknock* gasoline', '*antiwrinkle* face cream', etc.

On a Neo-Latin basis of coining, there are various substantives and adjectives in which *anti-* has the shade of locative or adversative oppositeness, as *anticlastic, anticlimax, anticyclone, antihemisphere, antisolar*. Scientific words were originally coined on an Old Greek basis of coining, which means that *anti-* becomes *ant(e)-* before a vowel or /h/, as in *antacid, antepileptic*. But there is a stronger tendency to form words on a native basis, so that *anti-* tends to be preserved throughout. The results are words like *anti-acid, anti-aphrodisiac, anti-asthmatic, anti-hysteric*, etc.

**3.2.2.7. COUNTER-** (Via Anglo-Norman *countre-* from, ultimately, Latin *contra* ‘against’) (EWED)

The *counter-* attachment rule applies to verb bases to form negative verbs. The meaning of the rule is ‘converse action denoted by the verbal base’.

- The rule of *counter-* attachment:  $[X]v \Rightarrow [counter- [X]v]v$
- Semantic operation:  $[counter- [X]v]v =$  converse action to the one denoted by X.
- The phonological operation: the prefix has the main stress in substantives coined on primary basis. The root has a middle stress. Verbs and verbal derivatives have the main stress on the root while the prefix has a middle stress.
- Examples: *to counteract, to counter-approach, to counter-attack, to counter-balance, to counter-change, to counter-claim, to counter-work, to counter-flow, to counter-spell, to counter-charge, etc.*

The *counter-* derivatives form, from a semantic point of view, converse elements to their bases.

*Counter-* can also be prefixed to nominal bases: *counterplea, counterstroke, countermeasure, counterreformation, counterrevolution, counterwind, counterplot, counter-prophet, counter-apostle, etc.*

**3.2.2.8. MIS-** (partly Old English, and partly via Old French *mes-* from a prehistoric Germanic word meaning ‘to go wrong’, which is also the ancestor of English *miss* and *amiss*) (EWED)

*Mis-* applies to verb bases to form verbs whose meaning is ‘badly, wrongly X’.

- The rule of *mis-* attachment:  $[X]v \Rightarrow [mis- [X]v]v$
- Semantic operation:  $[mis- [X]v]v =$  ‘badly, wrongly X’
- Examples: *to misadvise, to misapply, to misappropriate, to misbecome, to miscalculate, to miscarry, to misread, to misrepresent, to misplace, to misunderstand, to misgovern, to misreport, to mismanage, to misguide, to misrule, to misquote, etc.*

The nouns that contain *mis-* in their internal structure are formed from the *mis-* verbs (= deverbal nouns): *misadvice, misalliance, misapprehension, mispronunciation, miscarriage, misjudgement, misuse, misconception, mischoice, miseducation, etc.*

The adjectives that contain *mis-* in their structure represent past participle forms of the respective verbs: *misborn, miscreated, misgrounded, misproportioned, misshapen.*

### 3.2.2.9. A- (Old English, from *an*, an alternative for *on*) (EWED)

*A-* is used exclusively with an adjective base. It is not very productive. Some examples are: *amoral, apolitical, atypical*. It tends to be replaced by *un-*, so that words such as *unpolitical, untypical* are often heard.

### 3.2.2.10. Micro-/Macro-; Hypo-/Hyper-; Homo-/Hetero-; Mono-/Poly-; Uni-/Multi- (Uni-/Poly-); Pre-/Post- (Ante-/Post-); Sub-/Super-(Supra); Mini-/Maxi-; Endo-/Exo-

There are some prefixes which form, by their meanings, pairs of opposite words. Bârlea (1999: 184) designates this type '**false prefixes** or **prefixoids** (Rom. *prefixoide*, Sp. *prefijoide* - Lang, 1992: 237)' because some linguists (Coteanu, Forăscu, Bidu-Vrînceanu, Scalise, etc.) consider them derivative elements and, thus, treat them separately from the proper prefixes. These prefixes are characterized by the fact that they usually have vowel endings, such as *-o*, *-i*, *-e*, e.g. *micro-*, *multi-*, *ante-*.

- **MICRO-** 'extremely small' (from Greek *mikros* 'small' – source of English *micron* and *omicron*) (EWED) versus **MACRO-** 'long, great' (from Greek *makros*. Ultimately from an Indo-European base meaning 'long, thin', which is also the ancestor of English *meager* and *emaciate*) (EWED), e.g. *microcosm-macrocosm, microscope-macroscope, microeconomics-macroeconomics*.
- **HYP0-** 'under, defective' (from Greek *hupo*. Ultimately from an Indo-European word meaning 'under' which is also the ancestor of English *up*, *above*, and *opal*) (EWED) versus **HYPER-** 'excessive, more than normal' (from Greek *huper* 'above, beyond'. Ultimately from an Indo-European base that is also the ancestor

of English *over* and *super*) (EWED), e.g. *hypothermia-hyperthermia*, *hypoacidity-hyperacidity*, *hypotension-hypertension*.

- **HOMO-** ‘alike, same’ (from Greek *homos*. Ultimately from an Indo-European word meaning ‘one’, which is the ancestor of English *same*, *some*, *similar*, and *hetero*-.) (EWED) versus **HETERO-** ‘different, other’ (from Greek *heteros* ‘other’. Ultimately from an Indo-European word meaning ‘one of two’) (EWED), e.g. *homochromatic-heterochromatic*, *homocyclic-heterocyclic*<sup>48</sup>, *homosexual-heterosexual*, *homogeneity-heterogeneity*.
- **MONO-** ‘one, single, alone’ (Via Old French and Latin from Greek *monos*) versus **POLY-** ‘more than one’ (from Greek *polus* ‘much’. Ultimately from an Indo-European base meaning ‘to fill’, which is also the ancestor of *full*, *plenty*, *plus*, and *plural*.) (EWED), e.g. *monomolecular-polymolecular*, *monogamy-polygamy*, *monosyllable-polysyllable*, *monovalent-polyvalent*<sup>49</sup>.
- **UNI-** ‘one, single’ (From Latin, formed from *unus* ‘one’. Ultimately from an Indo-European word for ‘one’, which is also the ancestor of English *one*, *alone*, and *inch*) versus **MULTI-** ‘many, multiple, more than one or two’ (Via Old French from, ultimately, Latin *multus* ‘much, many’; source of English *multitude*) (EWED), e.g. *unilateral-multilateral*, *unicolor-multicolor*, *unicellular-multicellular*, *unidimensional-multidimensional*, *unidirectional-multidirectional*.  
As shown above, **UNI-** also opposes to the prefix **POLY-**, e.g. *univalent-polyvalent*.
- **PRE-** ‘before, earlier’, ‘in advance, preparatory’, ‘in front of’ (From Latin *prae* ‘in front of, before’. Ultimately from an Indo-European word which is also the ancestor of English *prior*, *prime*, and *private*) (EWED) versus **POST-** ‘after, later’, ‘behind’ (From Latin *post*. Ultimately from an Indo-European word meaning ‘off, away’, which is also the ancestor of English *off*, *after*, and *ebb*) (EWED), e.g. *prewar-postwar*.
- **POST-** also forms pairs of antonyms when opposed to the prefix **ANTE-** ‘before, in front of’ (From Latin *ante*. Ultimately from an Indo-European base meaning ‘front’, which is also the ancestor of *end*, *until*, and *anti*-.) (EWED), e.g.

<sup>48</sup> Also *monochromatic-heterochromatic*, *monocyclic-heterocyclic*.

<sup>49</sup> Also *univalent-polyvalent*.

*antemeridian-postmeridian, antebellum-postbellum, antediluvian-postdiluvian, antenatal-postnatal.*

- **SUB-** ‘under, below, beneath’ (from Latin *sub* ‘under’) (EWED) versus **SUPER-** ‘over, above, on’ (from Latin *super* ‘over, above’. Ultimately from an Indo-European base that is also the ancestor of *over* and *hyper-*) (EWED), e.g. *subordinate-superordinate, subclass-superclass, substructure-superstructure.*
- **SUB-** also forms pairs of antonyms when opposed to the prefix **SUPRA-** ‘over, on top of’ (from Latin *supra* ‘above, beyond’; related to *super-*) (EWED), e.g. *subliminal-supraliminal, submolecular-supramolecular.*
- **MINI-** ‘small, short, miniature’ (shortening of *miniature*) (EWED) versus **MAXI-** ‘longer than normal’ (mid. 20<sup>th</sup> century from *maximum*) (EWED), e.g. *minidress-maxidress, miniskirt-maxiskirt.*
- **ENDO-** ‘in, within, inside’ (from Greek *endo*. Ultimately from an Indo-European base meaning ‘in’, which is also the ancestor of English *in, industry, and indigent.*) (EWED) versus **EXO-** ‘outside, external’ (from Greek *exō*, from *ex* ‘out’. Ultimately from an Indo-European base that is also the ancestor of English *ex-, extra-, and extreme.*) (EWED), e.g. *endocentric-exocentric, endocrine-exocrine, endocarp-exocarp.*

It is obvious that the number of prefixed antonyms is increasing constantly which, we can say, is a positive fact. The phenomenon has another advantage if we take into consideration the fact that many of the prefixes with which antonymic pairs are formed, are ‘international’. We demonstrate this theory with the table below which gathers examples from the three languages that are the objects of our work. It includes the prefixes listed in this chapter as being those producing homolexicemic opposites in English. The fact that these prefixes can be found also in Spanish and Romanian proves their international character mentioned above. Of course, as far as the other two languages are concerned, the list of prefixes is not exhaustive, since English makes the main object of our study.

TYPE <sup>50</sup>	PREFIX (ES)	ENGLISH	SPANISH	COMMENTS	ROMANIAN	COMMENTS
Negative	NON-	Active/ <sup>51</sup> non-active	conformismo-no conformismo	In Spanish, the function of the prefix <i>non-</i> is assumed by the negative adverb <i>no-</i> which is sometimes replaced by other negative prefixes, e.g. <i>no identificable</i> = <i>inidentificable</i> . Some linguists <sup>52</sup> consider <i>no-</i> a negative prefix for nouns and adjectives, equivalent to <i>in-</i> .	Conformist-nonconformist, valoare-nonvaloare	
Negative	UN-	Qualified-unqualified, expected-unexpected	-	<i>Un-</i> does not exist in Spanish, there are other prefixes having its meaning, e.g. <i>no-</i> ( <i>cualificado-no cualificado</i> ), <i>in-</i> ( <i>esperado-inesperado</i> )	-	<i>Un-</i> does not exist in Romanian, it is usually substituted by the prefix <i>ne-</i> ( <i>calificat-necalificat, așteptat-neșteptat</i> ).
Negative	IN- (the most frequent prefix of the type B-pB in Romance languages <sup>53</sup> )	Fidelity-infidelity	fiel-infiel, feliz-infeliz	With its variants <i>i-</i> ( <i>licito-ilicito</i> ), <i>im-</i> ( <i>prudente-imprudente</i> ), <i>en-</i> (only in lexicalized words: <i>amigo-enemigo</i> ), <i>ir-</i> (before 'r': <i>reformable-irreformable</i> ).	Amic-inamic, fidel-infidel, fericit-nefericit	Assimilated by <i>ne-</i> , but co-existing with <i>in-</i> : <i>egalitate-inegalitate/neegalitate</i> . With its variants <i>i-</i> ( <i>legal-ilegal</i> ), <i>im-</i> ( <i>prudent-imprudent</i> )
Negative	DIS-	Comfort-discomfort, continuity-discontinuity	Conforme-disconforme, culpar-disculpar	With its variants <i>des-</i> ( <i>valorizar-desvalorizar</i> ), <i>de-</i> , <i>di-</i> , <i>dis-</i> ( <i>sentir-disentir</i> )	Confort-disconfort, concordanță-discordanță, conjuncție-disjuncție, concordie-discordie	
Negative	DE-	Valorize-devalorize, mobilize-demobilize, val	Generar-degenerar, rogar-derogar		A valoriza-a devaloriza, a genera-a degenera	With its variants <i>des-</i> ( <i>a crește-a descrește</i> ) and <i>dez-</i> ( <i>a lega-a dezlega, a infecta-</i>

<sup>50</sup> According to Miranda's classification of prefixes (1994: 80-96).

<sup>51</sup> Here, we use / between the opposite words and the hyphen to separate the base from the prefix *non-*.

<sup>52</sup> Seco and Steel (both quoted in Lang, 1992: 227).

<sup>53</sup> According to Bârlea (1999: 180).



						<i>a dezinfec</i> tă). The form <i>dez-</i> is used in front of <i>b, d, l, m, n, r</i> and <i>v</i> .
Negative	ANTI-	<i>Constitutional- anticonstitutional, adherent-antiadherent</i>	<i>Constitucional- anticonstucional, adherente-antiadherente</i>		<i>Constituțional- anticonstituțional, aderent-antiaderent</i>	
Negative	COUNTER-	<i>Attack-counterattack, flow-counterflow</i>	<i>Ataque-contraataque, corriente-contracorriente</i>	Having the same origin in the three languages, this prefix became in Spanish <i>contra-</i> .	<i>Atac-contraatac, curent-contracurent</i>	Having the same origin in the three languages, also in Romanian this prefix became <i>contra-</i> , due to their kinship as Romance languages.
Negative	MIS-	<i>Calculate-miscalculate, understand-misunderstand</i>	<i>Entender-malentender</i>	It does not exist in Spanish, its equivalent may be considered the prefix <i>mal-</i> .	<i>A trata- a maltrata</i>	It does not exist in Romanian either. As in Spanish, there are some derived words with <i>mal-</i> that can be considered the equivalent of <i>mis-</i> .
Negative	A(N)-	<i>Symmetry-asymmetry-, moral-amoral, aerobic-anaerobic</i>	<i>Asimetría-simetría, aerobio-anaerobio</i>	When it precedes a vocal, it becomes <i>an-</i> : <i>alfabeto-analfabeto</i> .	<i>Asimetrie-simetrie, moral-amoral, aerob-anaerob</i>	As in English and Spanish, when it precedes a vocal, <i>a-</i> becomes <i>an-</i> : <i>organic-anorganic</i> .
Of quantity and size	MICRO-/MACRO-	<i>Microcosm-macrocosm</i>	<i>Microcosmo-macrocosmo</i>		<i>Mirocosm(os)-macrocosm(os)</i>	
Intensifier	HYPO-/HYPER-	<i>Hypotension-hypertension</i>	<i>Hipotensión-hipertensión</i>	Spelled <i>hipo-/hiper</i>	<i>Hipotensiune-hipertensiune</i>	Spelled <i>hipo-/hiper</i>
Of quality	HOMO-/HETERO-	<i>Homogenous-heterogenous</i>	<i>Homogéneo-heterogéneo</i>		<i>(h)omogen-(h)eterogen</i>	With the variants <i>(h)omo-(h)etero-</i> .
Of quantity and size	MONO-/POLY-	<i>monogamy-polygamy, monosyllable-polysyllable</i>	<i>Monogamia-poligamia, monosílabo-polisílabo</i>	'Poly-' becomes 'poli-' and <i>mono-</i> becomes <i>mon-</i> in front of words beginning with the vowel 'o' ( <i>monocular-mono+ocular</i> ).	<i>Monogamie-poligamie, monosilabopolisilab</i>	'Poly-' becomes 'poli-' and <i>mono-</i> becomes <i>mon-</i> in front of words beginning with the vowel 'o' ( <i>monocular-mono+ocular</i> ).
Of quantity and size	UNI-/MULTI-	<i>Unilateral-multilateral, unicolor-multicolor</i>	<i>Unilateral-multilateral, unicolor-multicolor</i>	Also <i>uni-/pluri-</i> : <i>unicelular-pluricelular</i> , coexisting with <i>monocelular-</i>	<i>Unilateral-multilateral, unicolor-multicolor</i>	Also <i>uni-/pluri-</i> : <i>unicelular-pluricelular</i>

				<i>multicelular</i> due to the fact that <i>multi-</i> and <i>pluri-</i> , <i>mono-</i> and <i>uni-</i> are synonymous prefixes.		
Of quantity and size	UNI-/POLY-	<i>univalent-polyvalent</i>	<i>unicolor-policolor</i>	' <i>poly-</i> ' becomes ' <i>poli-</i> '	<i>Univalent-polivalent</i>	' <i>poly-</i> ' becomes ' <i>poli-</i> '
Temporal	PRE-/POST-	<i>prewar-postwar</i>	<i>Preguerra-pos(t)guerra, palatal-postpalatal</i>	Usually with the form <i>pos-</i> , but sometimes the Latin variant <i>post-</i> is preserved.	<i>Prenatal-postnatal</i>	
Temporal and spatial	ANTE-/POST-	<i>antemeridian - postmeridian, antebellum-postbellum</i>	<i>Antemeridian o-posmeridiano, antibélico-posbélico</i>	<i>Post-</i> , with its variant <i>pos-</i> : <i>operatorio-pos(t)operatorio</i>	<i>Antemeridian-postmeridian, antebelic-postbelic</i>	
Spatial	SUB-/SUPER-	<i>subordinate-superordinate</i>	<i>Subalimentación-sobrealimentación</i>	In Spanish, the literary form <i>super-</i> coexists with the common form <i>sobre-</i> (from Latin <i>super-</i> ).	<i>Subangular-superangular</i>	Synonym of <i>supra-</i> .
Locative	SUB-/SUPRA-	<i>subliminal-supraliminal submolecular - supramolecular</i>	<i>Subestimar-sobrestimar, subordinación-insubordinación/sublevación</i>	<i>Sub-</i> ( <i>cutáneo-subcutáneo</i> ), with its variants: <i>so-</i> ( <i>soasar</i> ), <i>son-</i> ( <i>sonsacar</i> ), <i>sos-</i> ( <i>sospesar</i> ), <i>su-</i> ( <i>suponer</i> ) or <i>sus-</i> ( <i>suspender</i> ) (RAE). This pair of prefixes is not productive in Spanish. <i>Sub-</i> and <i>supra-</i> form pairs of heterolexemic opposites. Each of them combines with other prefix in order to give birth to homolexemic opposites ( <i>subordinación-insubordinación</i> )	<i>Subalimenta-supraalimenta, subponderal-supraponderal, a subestima-a supraestima</i>	Sometimes, <i>supra-</i> coexists with <i>super-</i> , e.g. <i>supraconfort</i> = <i>superconfort</i> .
Of quantity and size	MINI-/MAXI-	<i>miniskirt-maxiskirt</i>	<i>Minifalda-maxifalda</i>	Pratt <sup>54</sup> considers the prefix <i>mini-</i>	<i>Minijupă-maxijupă</i>	

<sup>54</sup> Quoted in Miranda (1994: 94).

				an element of foreign origin (English), used especially in commercial and journalistic styles. RAE registers its Latin origin: "Del lat. <i>minimus</i> , muy pequeño".		
Locative	ENDO- /EXO-	Endocrine- exocrine, end othermic- exothermic	Endocrino- exocrino, endotérmico- exotérmico		Endocrin- exocrin, endotérmico- exotérmico	

Table 6: English, Spanish and Romanian examples of words with prefixoids.

The parallel examples included in Table 6 above show the resemblance between the three languages, due to the common origin of the prefixes (Latin, Greek). This similarity takes, in many cases, to identical forms, e.g. *unilateral-multilateral*, *unicolor-multicolor* (indistinguishable forms in English, Spanish and Romanian). We can also observe cases of the same phonetic adaptation in the three languages, e.g. *a-* becomes *an-* when preceding a vowel.

There are few situations when a prefix had a different evolution in Romance languages, e.g. the Latin *contra-* became *counter-* in English, but *contra-* in Spanish and Romanian. And there are fewer the cases when a prefix is not common to the three languages, e.g. *mis-* which, due to its origin [from Old English *mis-*, from Proto-Germanic *\*missa-* 'divergent, astray' (cf. Old Frisian and Old Saxon *mis-*, Middle Dutch *misse-*, Old High German *missa-*, German *miß-*, Old Norse *mis-*, Gothic *missa-*), perhaps literally 'in a changed manner', and with a root sense of 'difference, change' (cf. Gothic *misso* 'mutually'), and thus from PIE *\*mit-to-*, from root *\*mei-* 'to change'] (EOL), appears only in English and not Spanish and Romanian.

*In-* can be said to be one of, if not the most productive negative prefix in the three languages and the one with the greatest number of variants. This is such a complex prefix that many linguists studied it down to the last detail. For example, Bârlea (1999: 35, 96, 100-110, 139, 174-186, 207-209, 281, 291) or Brea in her ample work *Latin and Spanish Antonyms: A Study of the Prefix In-* (1980).

### 3.2.3. SUFFIXES

Though less productive than the prefixes we have presented before, there are also suffixes which create words opposite in meaning to the words they are attached to.

#### 3.2.3.1. –LESS (from Old English *lēas* ‘without’; related to *los*) (EWED)

In the English language, there are words which have a negative lexical meaning carried by their own forms or by the negative affixes which by their process of derivation are added to some words in order to obtain new words.

There is only one suffix, namely the suffix *-less* which is, formerly speaking, the negative counterpart of *-ful*. The suffixes *-ful* and *-less* are semantically correlative, the form of the word in *-less* being the negative form of the word in *-ful*, being thus words with opposite meanings.

- Examples: *careful-careless, doubtful-doubtless, faithful-faithless, fearful-fearless, fruitful-fruitless, harmful-harmless, merciful-merciless, needful-needless, restful-restless, shameful-shameless, sinful-sinless.*

The two suffixes (*-less, -ful*) derive pairs of antonyms, but this is not always the case, e.g. *hopeful* and *hopeless* are not antonyms, *grateful* has no counterpart *\*grateless*, *selfless* has no counterpart *\*selfful*, etc.

#### 3.2.3.2. –ER (partly Old English *-ere*, partly via Anglo-Norman from, ultimately, Latin *arius*, and partly from Old French *-eor*) (EWED) and –EE (via Anglo-Norman from, ultimately, Latin *-atus*) (EWED)

Noun derivations from verbs with the suffixes *-er* and *-ee* give birth to pairs of passive converses of the type: *employee -employer* (X is an employee of Y if and only if Y is the employer of X).

#### 3.2.3.3. –PHIL(E) (Via Latin *-philus* from ultimately, Greek *philos* 'loving') 'one that loves or has an affinity for' (EWED) and –PHOBE (via French from, ultimately, Greek *-phobos* 'fear') 'somebody who fears or dislikes something' (EWED).

- Examples: *Anglophile-Anglophobe, Europhile-Europhobe, Francophile-Francophobe, demophile-demophobe*.

The combining suffixes *-phile* (with its variant *-phil*) and *-phobe* form antonymous personal nouns. Sîrbu (1977: 132) calls this type of affixes **suffixoids** (Rom. *suffixoide*). He includes in the same category the suffixes **-FUGE** "a combining form occurring in compound words which have the general sense 'something that repels or drives away' whatever is specified by the initial element"<sup>55</sup>; via French from, ultimately Latin *fugere* 'to flee' and *fugare* 'to drive out', from *fuga* 'flight' (EWED), and **-PETAL** "a combining form meaning 'seeking, moving toward' that specified by the initial element, used in the formation of compound words"<sup>56</sup>; formed from modern Latin *-petus*, from Latin *petere* 'to seek' (EWED). These suffixes are not very productive and have a narrow range of application.

- Examples: *centrifugal-centripetal*

### 3.3. THEMATIC PERSPECTIVE

Although not in a homogeneous percentage, antonymy covers different fields of vocabulary. According to the thematic classification, i.e. according to the objective reality fields the opposite terms refer to, the following classes of opposites are distinguished<sup>57</sup>:

#### 1. Opposites that denote **human being's qualities and activities**, referring to:

- physical and psychological features, e.g. *beautiful-ugly, capable-incapable, good-bad, smart-stupid, healthy-ill, thin-fat, tall-short*, etc.
- ethical – aesthetic appreciation, e.g. *hardworking-lazy, objective-subjective*, etc.
- specific activities of human kind (actions, results of certain activities), e.g. *success-failure, victory-defeat, to give-to take, to remember-to forget, to allow-to forbid, to win-to lose*, etc.
- feelings and emotions, e.g. *love-hatred, joy-sadness, happiness-misery, trust-distrust, hope-hopelessness, fear-courage*, etc.
- education degree, e.g. *well-educated-uneducated*, etc.

<sup>55</sup> Available from <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/-fuge?s=t>>.

<sup>56</sup> Available from <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/petal?s=t>>.

<sup>57</sup> This classification is made by most of the linguists who approach antonymy from this perspective, for example Bucă-Evseev (1976: 165-181), Bârlea (1999: 46-49), etc.

- behaviour features, abilities, e.g. *active-inactive, altruism-selfishness, honour-dishonour, conscious-unconscious, cowardice-bravery, strong-weak, consistency-inconsistency, determined-undetermined, perseverant-irresolute*, etc.
- age and marital status, e.g. *married-single, young-old*, etc.
- social relationships and categories, e.g. *progress-regress, rich-poor, legal-illegal, useful-useless, justice-injustice, war-peace, friend-enemy, agreement-disagreement, to accept-to refuse*, etc.

## 2. Opposites referring to **nature and its phenomena**:

E.g. *light-darkness, hot-cold, dry-wet, summer-winter, North-South, east-west, day-night*, etc.

3. Opposites denoting **temporal and spatial notions** (movement, change of place, change of spatial position):

E.g. *day-night, temporary-permanent, summer-winter, beginning-end, rare-frequent, long-short, continuous-discontinuous, early-late, new-old, up-down, here-there, interior-exterior, forward-backward, left-right, the first-the last, to stand up-to sit down, to climb-to descend*, etc.

## 4. Opposites expressing **quantity**:

E.g. *more-less, big-small, rare-frequent, to underestimate-to overestimate*, etc.

5. Opposites expressing **quality**, denoting various characteristics of objects, for instance:

- shape, e.g. *thick-thin, crooked-straight*, etc.
- weight, difficulty, clarity, e.g. *light-heavy, simple-complex, easy-difficult, clear-confused, definite-indefinite*, etc.
- temperature, e.g. *hot-cold, warm-cool*, etc.
- importance, e.g. *important-unimportant, known-unknown, major-minor, significant-insignificant*, etc.
- other characteristics, like: price, e.g. *expensive-cheap*; colour, e.g. *black-white, light-dark*; taste, e.g. *bitter-sweet*; physical state, e.g. *concentrated-diluted, solid-liquid*; hardness, e.g. *soft-hard, smooth-rough*; sound, e.g. *pleasant-unpleasant*; volume, e.g. *empty-full*; height, e.g. *tall-short*; authenticity, e.g. *true-false, real-unreal*; stability, e.g. *eternal-ephemeral*; humidity, e.g. *dry-moist*, etc.

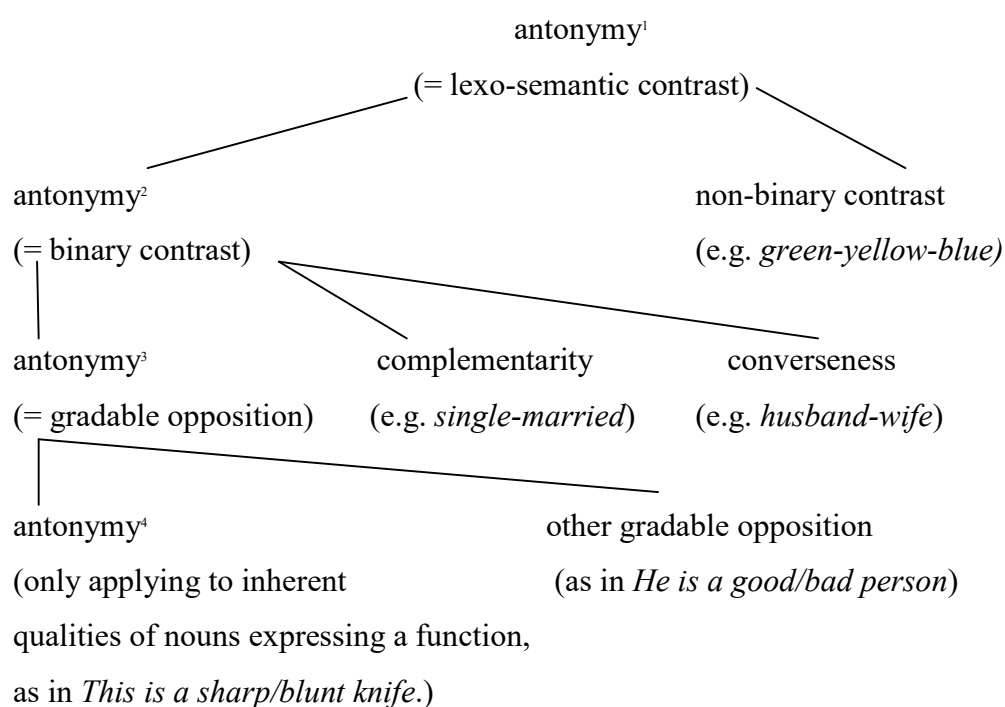
## 6. Opposites referring to **ethical, aesthetic and philosophical** categories:

E.g. *virtue-vice, harm-good, lie-truth, idealism-materialism, affirmation-negation, abstract-concrete, material-spiritual*, etc.

An observation needs to be made here, namely antonyms are to be found only in some semantic fields. As we have seen, from this perspective, antonyms are abstract words denoting qualities (most of them, nouns), many adjectives, verbs, etc. Geckeler (quoted in Bidu-Vrînceanu, 1984: 111) calls the fields without antonyms 'lexical gaps', including in this category the names of animals, plants, material objects, or words denoting food, clothes, professions, etc.

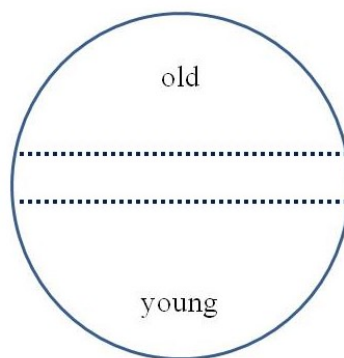
### 3.4. SEMANTIC PERSPECTIVE

Analysed from a semantic point of view, opposites may be classified as follows: antonyms, complementaries, directional opposites, converses, reversives, heteronyms. Jacobson (quoted in Casas Gómez, 1999: 194) reflects the four levels of antonymy he proposes as shown in the diagram below<sup>58</sup>:



<sup>58</sup> Jacobson uses the model proposed by F. R. Palmer (1981: 86, quoted in Casas Gómez, 1999:194) for the hierarchical classification of the lexeme 'animal' in the common language.

**3.4.1. ANTONYMS (gradables; non-binary antonyms/contraries/** also called **polar antonyms**<sup>59</sup> in analogy with the North and South Poles which are at the opposite ends with territory between them – see the figure below), e.g. *hot-cold*, *tough-tender*, *warm-cool*, *big-small*, *rich-poor*, *good-bad*, *long-short*, *young-old*, *difficult-easy*.



Frawley (1992: 444) calls these opposites **nonmutually exclusive opposites**. They can be identified by half the negation test for ungradables, whereby the positive of one term implies the negative of the other, but not vice versa. For example:

- a. If the soup is *hot* (Positive), it is *not cold* (Negative).
- b. If the soup is *cold* (Positive), it is *not hot* (Negative).
- c. ?If the soup is *not hot* (Negative), it is *cold* (Positive) (it may be *tepid*).
- d. ?If the soup is *not cold* (Negative), it is *hot* (Positive) (it may be *tepid*).

The prototypical examples are usually pairs of adjectives (and adverbs) and they admit intermediate terms, e.g. *big-(medium)-small* (see figure below). Their meanings can be illustrated by means of a scale of age, diameter, quality, difficulty, etc. In such paradigms not only the two opposite extremes form antonymous pairs, but also pairs inside the series. For example, in the logical series expressing sentiments: *love-friendship-sympathy-(indifference)-antipathy-enmity-hatred*, *love-hatred*, *friendship-enmity*, *sympathy-antipathy* are antonymic pairs. The main requisite for two words to be considered opposites is that both of the opposite terms, either extreme or intermediate, should be placed, inside the paradigm, at equal distances from a common reference point (*indifference*, in our case). Another example is *hot-*

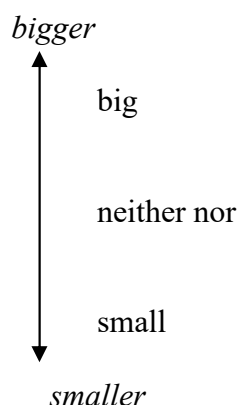
<sup>59</sup> According to Leech (1974: 100), Kreidler (1998: 101) and Lyons (1995: 128).



*warm-(tepid)-cool-cold*, where we have not just the antonymous pair *hot-cold*, but also *warm-cool* forming a pair of antonyms themselves.

They are logical contraries but not contradictories, i.e. the negation of one term is not equivalent to the opposite term. For example, *not big* does not mean the same as *small*, something may be ‘not big and not small’. ‘X is *small*’ entails ‘X is *not big*’ and ‘X is *big*’ entails ‘X is *not small*’, but ‘X is *not small*’ does not entail ‘X is *big*’. There are also words for the neutral case such as *middle-aged*, *medium-sized*.

Löbner (2002: 89) represents the antonymous relation of *big-small* as follows:



These types of antonymous adjectives are called *scalar adjectives*. Since they are gradable, they allow for the full range of adjectival forms and constructions, namely comparative: *bigger than*, superlative: *biggest*, equative: *as big as*, or modifications such as *very big*.

The relation between the opposites is one of ‘more or less’, e.g. ‘Your drink may be *colder* than mine’. Consequently, *not cold* does not necessarily mean ‘hot’, but ‘less *cold* than some implicit standard of coldness’. Thus, ‘a *small* elephant’ may actually be bigger than ‘a *big* dog’ and ‘a *warm* winter’ may, in terms of average temperature, be colder than ‘a *cold* summer’.

One of the opposites is generally marked, in the sense of having a more specific meaning. For instance, we use the unmarked term *hot* in asking: ‘How *hot* is your tea?’. The tea, then, may have any temperature, could be *hot* or *cold*. If we use the marked term: ‘How *cold* is your tea?’, on the other hand, we imply that the tea is *cold* (not *hot*). The same implication is achieved for *hot* by a shift of stress: ‘How *hot* is the tea?’.

The marked term is used to a neutral purpose in such neutral expressions as ‘How *old* is she?’; ‘She is five years *old*.’ A child of five is obviously not *old*, but we have to do with biased adjectives in the set expressions that refer to measurement.

In sequences such as ‘*hot and cold*’, ‘*big and small*’, we usually put the unmarked term first. Quasi-hyponyms can be used to paraphrase the unmarked term, i.e. ‘How *hot* is it?’ (What temperature is it?); ‘How *big* is the shoe?’ (What is the size of the shoe?); ‘How *expensive* is it?’ (What price is it?).

Certain gradable opposites have more than one opposite. The classical instance is *old-young* [+ animate] and *old-new* [- animate]. In this case, *old* is polysemous, in semantic agreement with animate objects, and with inanimate objects. However, this is empirically false, as ‘a *new* wife’ is usually alive. Probably, *new* is more adequately described as ‘recently acquired’ and applicable to both animates and inanimates.

Another instance is *good-bad* besides *good-evil*, *good-wicked*. Probably, *evil* and *wicked* are in semantic agreement with animates, ‘an *evil* deed’, ‘a *wicked* design’ would then be taken as metonymical, but *bad* is not limited to animates, e.g. ‘a *bad* guy’, ‘*bad* food’.

A pair of opposites can often be extended to more than two terms, e.g. *good-bad* can be extended to *excellent-good-fair-bad-atrocious*. Such extended fields are usually fuzzy as *atrocious* can be interpreted either as a paronym or as a hyponym of *bad*, etc. Similarly, the binary antonyms *black-white* can be extended by placing *grey* in the middle.

Iliescu (1977: 47-48) classifies the so-called ‘comparative-contraries’ in the following groups:

- **binary antonyms**: having a term at each pole, + and -, and at the reference point, e.g. *good - bad*;
- **ternary antonyms**: having a term at each pole, + and -, and a lexeme marked at the reference point, e.g. *big - /medium/ - small*;
- **gradual antonyms**: having more than one term on the + and - axes and a lexeme marked or unmarked at the reference point. This type can also be grouped in two categories: symmetrical gradual antonyms, e.g. *hatred, aversion, antipathy - sympathy, affection, love*; asymmetrical gradual antonyms, e.g. *cold - warm, cold - hot*.

Katz (1979: 215-216) divides contraries in two groups:

- **extreme contraries**: when language does not admit a bigger divergence regarding the feature expressed by the terms of the antonymic pair. They are diametrically opposed, e.g. *parsimonious-prodigal, destitute-opulent*.
- **local contraries**: when the opposition is established

(a) between one of the extremes of the axis and a term that is not an extreme of the axis, e.g. *destitute-comfortable*, or

(b) between two terms which are, neither of them, extremes of the axis, e.g. *warm-cool*.

According to Cruse (2000: 169 – 171, quoted also in Murphy, 2003: 191-192)<sup>60</sup>, antonyms, too, fall into several relatively well-defined groups, namely:

- 1) **Polar antonyms**, e.g. *long-short, fast-slow, wide-narrow, heavy-light, strong-weak, large-small, thick-thin, high-low, deep-shallow*, etc.

This type of antonyms can be recognized by the following features:

- both terms are fully gradable, i.e. they occur normally with a wide range of degree modifiers, e.g. *very/slightly/rather/quite/a bit/too/long*;
- they occur normally in the comparative and superlative degrees, e.g. *long, longer, longest*. When used in the positive degree, they need to be interpreted comparatively in relation to some reference value, contextually determined. For example, ‘a *long* poem’, out of context, would mean ‘a poem *longer* than the average poem’;
- they indicate degrees of some objective, unidimensional physical property, prototypically one which can be measured in conventional units such as centimetres, kilograms, etc. Thus, when intensified, one of the terms denotes a progressively more higher value of the property, e.g. *very long* indicates more units of length than *long*;
- they are incompatibles, but not complementaries, e.g. ‘It’s neither *long* nor *short*’ is not a contradiction because it might be of average length;
- their comparative forms are in a converse relationship, e.g. ‘A is *longer* than B’ entails and is entailed by ‘B is *shorter* than A’. These forms are also impartial, i.e. if ‘A is *longer* than B’ this does not presuppose that ‘A is *long*’ or that ‘B is *short*’.

This category of antonyms involves a single scale, meaning it is based on a **monoscalar** system, represented by Croft and Cruse (2004: 170) with the below figure (for the examples *short-long* based on a single property, namely that of length):

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<sup>60</sup> See also Frawley (1992: 445).

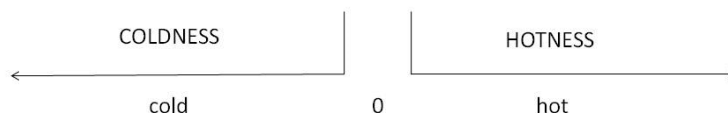


Where '0' is the end point denoting zero value of the property at one end while the other direction of the scale extends indefinitely. One term of the opposition is associated with a higher value of the property than the other term. The terms move in opposite directions along the scale when intensified.

- 2) **Equipollent antonyms**, e.g. pairs denoting sensations: *hot-cold*, *bitter-sweet*, *painful-pleasurable*, or emotions: *happy-sad*, *proud-ashamed of*, etc.

In the case of the comparatives of this type of antonyms, neither term is impartial, both are committed, e.g. *hotter* presupposes *hot*, and *colder* presupposes *cold*.

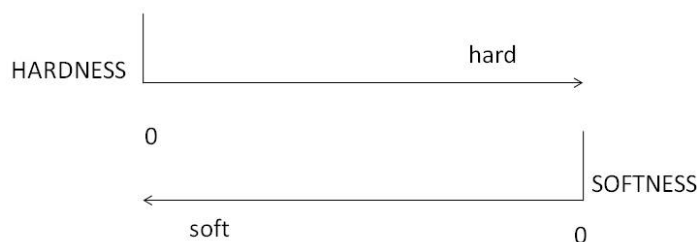
Usually, equipollent patterns are of **disjunct** type (e.g. *cold-hot*), based on two fully symmetrical scales, arranged end-to-end, represented by Croft and Cruse (2004: 170) as follows:



The two independent scales meet at their zero points and extend indefinitely in opposite directions.

Lehrer and Lehrer (quoted in Murphy, 2003: 189) name symmetrical gradable contraries **perfect antonyms**.

A rarer case of equipollent patterns is that of **parallel** type, e.g. *soft-hard*, represented by this figure (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 170):



Here, the two scales run parallel to one another over their whole length.

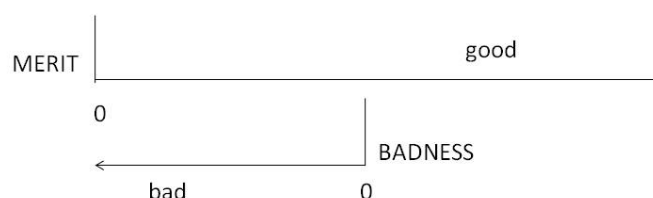
3) **Overlapping antonyms**, e.g. *good-bad*, *kind-cruel*, *clever-dull*, *pretty-plain*, *polite-rude*, etc.

With this kind of antonyms, one member of the pair yields an impartial comparative, and the other a committed comparative, e.g.

- a. Bob is *bad*, but *better* than yesterday.
- b. ?Bob is *good*, but *worse* than yesterday.

*Good* and *bad* are compatible in comparison, but not a total connection. *Bad* can scale into *good* (as in 'a', where it is compatible with *better*), but *good* cannot scale into *bad* (as in 'b', where it is incompatible with *worse*).

Using the example of *good-bad* pair of antonyms, Croft and Cruse (2004: 171) represent the biscalar overlapping system with the following diagram:



As it can be seen, there is partial overlap between the two scales which are not equal. The MERIT scale is bigger than the BADNESS scale.

Summarizing, contraries can be characterized as follows (Bârlea, 1999: 35-36):

- the antonymic pair is composed by two semantically opposed terms, one of them being the other one's negation, but not vice versa;
- the two terms do not annihilate together the sphere of the superordinate notion, e.g. 'value', 'length' for *good-bad*, *long-short*;
- contraries represent the extreme terms of a logical series in which a third term - *tertium non datur* - can exist;
- this type of oppositeness is theoretically based on an infinity of intermediate terms, expressing different quality degrees of the basic terms. Practically, these intermediate terms are antonyms only when they appear in symmetrical pairs on the  $\pm$  axis of the antonymic scale;
- the negation of one term does not necessarily mean the affirmation of the other. It is obvious that something which is 'not big' is not necessarily 'small'; it could be 'medium';

- the two terms do not only mutually negate themselves, but each of them contains also positive connotations in order to compensate the negative part of the opposite notion expressed by the other term, e.g. *good-bad*;

- contrariety makes reference mainly to quality, quantity, motion, thus these notions are usually denoted in the first place by adjectives and, secondly, by verbs.

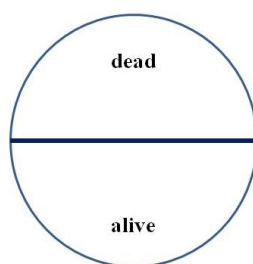
Another important characteristic of this type of opposite words is the fact that it is the most productive and covers the most diverse vocabulary fields.

**3.4.2. COMPLEMENTARIES (binary antonyms<sup>61</sup> / hemispheric antonyms<sup>62</sup>)** in comparison with the Northern and Southern or the Western and Eastern hemispheres between which there is no space, only a line of demarcation – see figure below / **non-gradables<sup>63</sup>/ ungradables**), e.g. *male-female*, *war-peace*, *alive-dead*, *healthy-sick* (American English), *ill* (British English), *remember-forget*, *married-single*, *on-off*, *asleep-awake*, *true-false*, *possible-impossible*, *stationary-moving*, *inside-outside*.

Şerban-Evseev (1978: 214) represent this category of opposite words as follows:

true	false
.....	
.....	
.....	

According to Cruse (2000: 168), complementaries display inherent binarity in its purest form. The terms of the antonymous pairs are placed into "two mutually exclusive compartments, with no possibility of 'sitting on the fence'. Hence, if anything (...) falls into one of the compartments, it cannot fall into the other, and if something does not fall into one of the compartments, it must fall into the other".



<sup>61</sup> According to Leech (1974: 109) and Hurford-Heasley (1997: 124).

<sup>62</sup> According to Kreidler (1998: 101).

<sup>63</sup> According to Yule (1996: 118-119).

Frawley (1992: 444) calls complementaries **mutually exclusive opposites**. According to him, they can be tested with the negation test, namely the positive of one item implies the negative of the other, and vice versa, as in the following example for *dead-alive*:

- a. If someone is *alive* (Positive), he is *not dead* (Negative).
- b. If someone is *dead* (Positive), he is *not alive* (Negative).
- c. If someone is *not alive* (Negative), he is *dead* (Positive).
- d. If someone is *not dead* (Negative), he is *alive* (Positive).

It can be said that this applies only to normal circumstances. There are certain cases, exceptional states that contradict our complementarity theory. So are, for example, the zombification, or the vampiric state, which are neither *death* nor *life*. But these are very rare cases which cannot demolish the whole theory which does apply to most situations.

Between *male* and *female* there is undoubtedly a relation of complementarity. In ordinary circumstances it is obvious that, by saying that ‘It’s not a *female*’, when referring to a living thing, it is meant that the referent is a *male*. As far as terms including this type of opposition are concerned (see the list below), semantic markedness can be noticed. The unmarked term is the one which is used in contexts where the normal opposition between the terms is neutralized, or non-operational. This applies mostly to the animal terms. Let us take for example, the case of *lion-lioness*. In ‘I saw the *lion* and the *lioness* lying together in the cage’, there is a sex contrast between the terms, implying the *male-female* opposition. But in ‘There was a group of *lions* in the distance’, the sex contrast is neutralized, since the group may be formed of both males and females.

<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>
<i>man</i>	<i>woman</i>
<i>boy</i>	<i>girl</i>
<i>lad</i>	<i>lass</i>
<i>actor</i>	<i>actress</i>
<i>king</i>	<i>queen</i>
<i>dog</i>	<i>bitch</i>
<i>fox</i>	<i>vixen</i>
<i>bull</i>	<i>cow</i>
<i>lion</i>	<i>lioness</i>

There are gaps in the correlation for items such as *midwife* and *bachelor*. There is no male correspondent of *midwife*, no exact correspondent of *bachelor*. We can, of course, form *\*midhusband* and *\*bachelor-ess*, but these are not current words.

Sometimes two binary antonyms may combine in such a way that they form a 'four groups contrast', as Hurford-Heasley (1997: 125-126) name it. For example

	Masculine	Feminine		Masculine	Feminine
<b>Adult</b>	<i>Man</i>	<i>Woman</i>	<b>Married</b>	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>
<b>Non-adult</b>	<i>Boy</i>	<i>Girl</i>	<b>Not-married</b>	<i>Bachelor</i>	<i>Spinster</i>

Taking a closer look to the diagrams above, we can say that, usually, binary antonyms form pairs of opposites within the same dimension, e.g. *man-woman* (within the dimension of gender), not *man-girl*.

As Katz (1979: 216-217) points out, the terms *male* and *female* enclose in their meanings the component element "physical organs for the reproduction function", representing the concepts of masculine ( $S_m$ ) and feminine ( $S_f$ ) genders. We can thus say that

- *male* 'possesses bodily organs with the function of begetting offspring' meanwhile
- *female* 'possesses bodily organs with the function of bearing offspring'.

The relationship between the two terms is one of 'either...or', e.g. 'you are either *male* or *female*' (*tertium non datur*). Consequently, *not male* is a complete paraphrase of *female* and inversely. The complementaries are usually in semantic agreement with this limitation that the *tertium non datur* applies to them. A statement such as 'The pencil is not female' may be true in some sense, but it certainly does not imply that the pencil is male. Such violations of semantic agreement are either metaphorical or pointless (rather than true). The semantic agreement of *back-veer* is with wind, of *remember-forget* with a living (technically an animate) and item of information which is to be *remembered* or *forgotten*.

One term is the negation of the other, e.g. *not married* = *single*, *bachelor*; *not bachelor* = *married*. Compare to gradables, where *not small*  $\neq$  *big* (it could mean *medium*).

The bold metaphor usually juxtaposes antonyms in such a way that at least one of them is implied by a semantic agreement relation. The classical instance is '*black milk*' (where milk is taken to imply *white*). Similarly 'the *male* woman', 'the *cold* heat', '*hear with eyes*' (Shakespeare, *Sonnet 23* – cited in Bantaş, 1993: 305).



Some antonyms are set up ad hoc for the message of a particular text as in ‘We will fight or die’ (implying *tertium non datur*). The lexical antonyms involved are *die-live*, *fight-yield*.

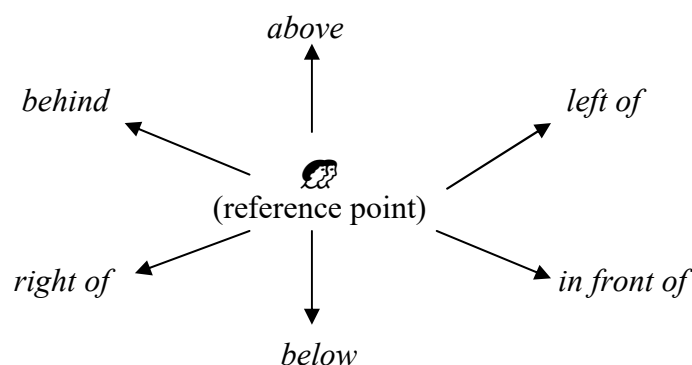
From a logical point of view binary adjectives are not gradable. It cannot be said that ‘some action is *very legal*’, ‘some product is *perfect enough*’, or that ‘a person is *too asleep*’. Still, speakers do sometimes use these ungradable adjectives as if they were gradable. Though ‘something is either *complete* or *incomplete*’, sometimes it is said that ‘something is *more complete*’. Cruse (quoted in Murphy, 2003: 195) calls the opposites of this type, **gradable complementaries**, e.g. *wide/slightly/moderately open* vs. *shut tight*; or *very much alive*, *very married*, *more dead than alive*, *very pregnant*, etc. This property of complementaries often generates confusion because of the fact that complementaries can sometimes be used as contraries and vice versa.

To conclude, we can say that complementaries have the following characteristics (Bârlea, 1999: 34), taking for example the pair *alive-dead*:

- the two terms represent the coordinates of their superordinate, e.g. ‘existence’ which they annihilate together;
- the two terms reciprocally and totally exclude one another, with no intermediate (*tertium non datur*) between them (see also Frawley, 1992: 444);
- the oppositeness comes from the positive or the negative feature of the same sign:  $\pm$  *life*;
- syntagmatically, these terms cannot be neutralized, meaning that they cannot be simultaneously negated when related to one and the same subject (except when they are used with a figurative meaning);
- from the morpho-syntactic point of view, this category is frequently represented by pairs of words in which the second term is a derivative of the first one, with a negative prefix, e.g. *honest-dishonest*.

**3.4.3. DIRECTIONAL OPPOSITES<sup>64</sup> (deictics<sup>65</sup> / vectorial antonyms<sup>66</sup>),** e.g. *up-down, front-back, hither-thither, north-south, push-pull, arrive-depart, enter-leave, come-go, here-there, tomorrow-yesterday, above-below, left-right, in front of-behind*.

For each such pair there is a point of reference from which one looks in opposite directions on a certain axis which can be horizontal (Bidu-Vrînceanu, 1984: 114 represents it graphically by  $\leftrightarrow$ ), e.g. *forwards-backwards, advance-retreat, in front of-behind*, or vertical (Bidu-Vrînceanu, 1984: 114 represents it graphically by  $\updownarrow$ ), e.g. *top-bottom, high-low, up-down, upstairs-downstairs, uphill-downhill, rise-fall, ascend-descend*.



The directional opposites involving location are also called **orthogonal opposites** (Lyons, quoted in Bidu-Vrînceanu, 1984: 114), when they oppose each other perpendicularly, e.g. *north-east*, and **antipodal opposites** (Lyons, 1997: 282; Cruse, 1986: 224), when they oppose each other diametrically, e.g. *north-south, east-west, top-bottom, zenith-nadir*. Cruse (1986: 224-225) defines them as follows: "One term represents an extreme in one direction along some salient axis, while the other term denotes the corresponding extreme in the other direction."

All the lexemes belong to the same field and each lexeme is diametrically opposed to its converse in a two-dimensional space. Similarly, *above* is diametrically opposed to *below*, *in front of* to *behind* and *left* to *right* in a three-dimensional space.

The time axis is also included in the category of directional opposites. We talk about things happening *before* versus *after* a certain point in time, or *later* versus *earlier*.

Examples: *before-after, past-future, since-until, yesterday-tomorrow, last-next, precede-follow*. Pairs of directional opposites formed by verbs such as *tie-untie, pack-unpack, wrap-*

<sup>64</sup> According to Löbner (2002: 90) and Cruse (1986: 223).

<sup>65</sup> According to Pilch (in Bantaş, 1993: 307).

<sup>66</sup> According to Bucă-Evseev (1976: 150), Şerban-Evseev (1978: 214) and Bidu-Vrînceanu (1984: 114).

*unwrap, dress-undress, put on-put off, get on-get off, switch on-switch off, embark-disembark, charge-discharge, enter-leave, begin-stop, start-finish, fall asleep-wake up, appear-disappear, open-close*, are also related to the time axis. One member denotes the coming or bringing about of a certain state, while the other member denotes a process or action by which the state is ended.

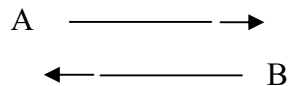
Verbs that form pairs of directional opposites can be used either with the same subject (a) or with different subjects (b):

E.g. (a) She arrived, gave us the keys and left. (she arrived-she left)

(b) She arrived just when he was leaving. (she arrived, he left).

(a) When directional opposites are used with the same subject, the action expressed by the second verb annihilates the result of the action expressed by the first verb.

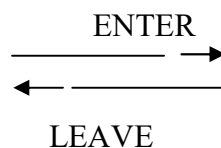
E.g. X came and left (now he is gone), X went up then went down (now he is down), X opened and closed the door (now the door is closed), etc. Bucă-Evseev (1976: 157) reflects these actions with the following diagram:



(b) Used with different subjects, directional opposite verbs express actions that do not interfere and can be represented as follows:



We find the same representation of the oppositeness between vectorial antonyms at Bidu-Vrînceanu (1984: 114) and Șerban-Evseev (1978: 214):



These pairs are relational in the sense that they imply a point of orientation set up ad hoc for each given message. The point of orientation for *here, come, tomorrow* is usually the

location of the speaker, e.g. 'Someone comes here (where I am), goes there (where I am not)'. For *enter*, *arrive* it is an arbitrary location (not necessarily where I am), e.g. 'The train enters/leaves a station'. For *up-down* it is an arbitrary location from which a given object is moved *up* or *down*. Probably, these deictics can be viewed as a special kind of converses, namely converses which involve location.

**3.4.4. CONVERSES** include kinship and social roles, e.g. *husband-wife*, *fiancé-fiancée*, *parent-child*, *debtor-creditor*, *teacher-pupil*; directional opposites, e.g., *above-below*, *before-after*, *north-south*, *outside-inside*; the *give-take* paradigm which involves converse pairs such as:

<u>LIATIVE</u>	<u>ABLATIVE</u>
<i>give</i>	<i>take</i>
<i>lend</i>	<i>borrow</i>
<i>sell</i>	<i>buy</i>
<i>offer</i>	<i>accept</i>
<i>lose</i>	<i>find</i>

Bucă-Evseev (1976: 159) consider that converses designate one and the same referent but viewed from totally different points. For example, the verbs *sell-buy* form an antonymic pair due to the complex relation established between their meanings: 'to transfer the buyer the property rights over a thing in exchange for an amount of money' and 'to take possession of a thing, paying its price with money'. These two meanings can be brought together by the same definition: '(to stop being - to start being) the owner of a thing (receiving from someone - paying someone) its price'. This definition encloses the following semantic features: owner, thing, price. The opposition in this paradigm is expressed by pairs of the semantic values: 'to stop being - to start being' and 'to receive (from someone) - to pay (someone)'.

In this case, the referent mentioned above, the one appointed by the pair *sell-buy*, can be formulated as follows: 'changing possession of a thing in exchange for its price'. This action obviously entails two partners - X and Y - and therefore can be seen from the sides of each of them. For example, if the object is a house, we can say that 'X sold the house to Y' and 'Y bought the house from X'. Thus, 'X stopped being the owner of the house by receiving its price from Y', and 'Y became the owner of the house by paying X its price'. This proves how converses designate one and the same action seen from opposed angles.

Löbner (2002: 92) states that "two expressions are converses of each other if and only if they express the same relation with reversed roles". Similarly, Frawley (1992: 181) gives the following definition of converseness: "A process of relation is said to be the converse of another if each has the same conceptual content, but the orientation of the entities to the events is reversed, as in *give* and *get*." Frawley (1992: 181-182) explains his definition through the example of *give-get*. According to him, *give* may be characterized as: A, the source of the motion, is involved in the transfer of B, the theme, to C, the goal. *Get* is composed of the same process, only with a reversal of the source and goal: C, the goal, is involved in the transfer of B, the theme, from A, the source of the motion. A particular case is *rent* which denotes a transaction from both the source's and the goal's point of view with no change in attendant form:

E.g. 'X *rented* the apartment to Y' vs. 'Y *rented* the apartment from X'

Converses express the same denoted reference from totally different positions. Şerban-Evseev (1978: 215, also quoted in Bidu-Vrînceanu, 1984: 114) graphically represent this relation of oppositeness as follows:

X ← A	Y ← BUY
Y ← X	SELL → X

Palmer (1981: 98) prefers for this type of oppositeness the term **relational opposition**. In Spanish, Cerdà uses the denomination **relaciones de inversión**<sup>67</sup>. They give rise to the following logical equivalences:

E.g.	a. <i>above-below</i> :	X is above Y ⇔ Y is below X
	b. <i>before-after</i> :	X is before Y ⇔ Y is after X
	c. <i>borrow-lend</i> :	X borrows Z from Y ⇔ Y lends Z to X
	d. <i>wife-husband</i> :	X is the wife of Y ⇔ Y is the husband of X

Converses may be described as two-place if the relational predicate they denote has two arguments (as in 'a', 'b', 'd') and three-place predicate if it has three (as in 'c').

Logically, converses involve a two-place predicate, i.e. one cannot be a *husband* without a *wife*, and one cannot *buy* something without someone else *selling* it. On the other hand, one can be a *king* without having a *queen*, and inversely. Thus *king-queen*, *uncle-aunt* are complementary (not converse) antonyms. Empirically, however, it is more adequate to say

<sup>67</sup> Quoted in Varo Varo (2002: 38).

that at least *queen* is polysemous: (i) 'ruling monarch, female' (complementary antonym of *king*) and (ii) 'wife of a king' (converse antonym).

In grammar, too, active and passive exhibit relational opposition, e.g. if 'Tom hits Harry' ⇔ 'Harry is hit by Tom'.

Converses can be completely paraphrased by each other, as 'I *bought* a lot from the realtor' ⇔ 'The realtor *sold* me a lot'. So, the subject and the predicate change their places, and the word which denotes this relation is replaced by its converse term. E.g. 'X is *younger* than Y' = 'Y is *older* than X'; 'X *gives* something to Y' = 'Y *takes* something from X'. However, the converseness has been interfered with by specific conventionalization of meaning in certain instances. Thus, 'My friend *gave* me the book' cannot be adequately paraphrased by 'I *took* the book from my friend', as the latter phrase can be interpreted to mean that 'I took the book without him giving it to me'.

The comparatives *bigger-smaller* are converses, even though the positives *big-small* are gradables, as 'A is *smaller* than B' can be paraphrased 'B is bigger than A', and inversely. So a major group of converses is provided by the comparative forms of antonymous adjectives, e.g. *thicker-thinner*: 'X is *thicker* than Y' ⇔ 'Y is *thinner* than X'.

Converses can be both contraries, e.g. *above-below*, *before-after*, *borrow-lend*, and complementaries, e.g. *wife-husband*. Some linguists, for example Ogden and Cruse (quoted in Murphy, 2003: 196), consider converses a subtype of directional opposites. Murphy (2003: 196-197) subscribes to this theory, arguing that "Converses are, in a sense, the purest examples of directional opposition, since they are the linguistic equivalent of mirror images - viewing the same relation from different sides."

There are practical constraints on converseness. For instance, when we say 'There is a newspaper kiosk *in front of* the Grand Hotel', it would be unusual to speak of the Grand Hotel as being *behind* a newspaper kiosk. Talmy (Kreidler, 1998: 107) uses the terms *figure* (here, 'the newspaper kiosk') and *ground* (here, 'the Grand Hotel') for entities of unequal rank like these. In this case, the newspaper kiosk is located with respect to the Grand Hotel, and not vice versa.

**3.4.5. REVERSIVES<sup>68</sup> (consequentials<sup>69</sup>)** e.g. *live-die, read-write, pack-unpack, dress-undress, raise-lower, enter-exit, tie-untie*.

Pilch (Bantaş, 1993: 307) uses the term *consequentials* because they can be analysed in terms of presupposition. Whatever is *read* must have first have been *written* (in the exclusive sense, not necessarily in the specific sense of 'handwritten').

Usually, this type of opposition involves the undoing of some action, state, or quality. That is why many terms of such antonymic pairs are morphologically related, e.g. *do-undo, tie-untie*, etc. According to Murphy (2003: 198), "Like converses, these can be considered mirror images, since the activity or change of state described by one member of the pair is the backward performance of the other."

Cruse (2000: 171) includes reversives in the category of directional opposites, as they "have the peculiarity of denoting movement (or more generally, change) in opposite directions, between two terminal states. They are all verbs". He (quoted in Murphy, 2003: 198) categorizes these opposites into:

- **independent reversives**, e.g. *raise-lower*
- **restitutives** - named like this way because they imply the return to an earlier state, e.g. *kill-resurrect*.

**3.4.6. HETERONYMS (incompatibles<sup>70</sup>)**, e.g. *Monday-Tuesday-Wednesday, red-green-blue*.

Generally, these words are not viewed as having a 'pure' opposition relationship since they involve more than two words and thus contradict the binarity relationship which antonymy involves. But some linguists, for example Löbner (2002: 91-93), include them in the list of the opposite words.

In spite of not entailing a gradual opposition like we have seen before that contraries do (a), it is obvious that the same logical formula can apply to heteronyms (b): 'X entails not Y' but 'not X does not obligatorily entail Y'.

E.g. (a) If something is *small*, it is surely *not big*, but if something is *not small*, it is not necessarily *big*, it could be *medium*.

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<sup>68</sup> According to Yule (1996: 119) and Cruse (2000: 171).

<sup>69</sup> According to Pilch (in Bantaş, 1993: 307).

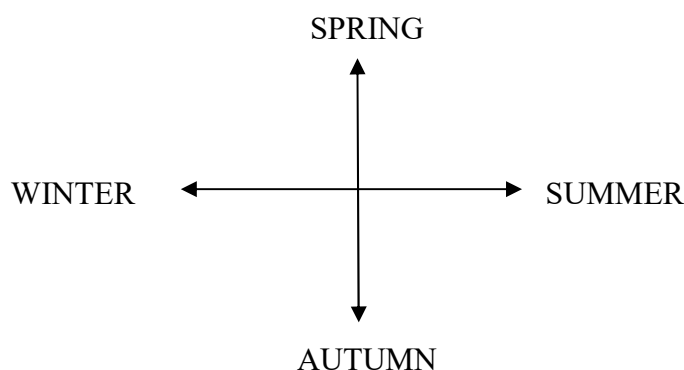
<sup>70</sup> According to Carter (1987: 19).

(b) If something is *red*, it is surely *not green*, but if something is *not red*, it is not necessarily *green*, it could be *blue*, *yellow*...

The typical example is the set of terms for the days of the week or the set of basic colour terms between which the logical relation is one of contrariety, e.g. if 'X is *Sunday*', 'it cannot be *Monday*'; if 'X is a *dog*', 'it cannot be a *duck*'; if 'the house is *white*', 'it cannot be of another colour', etc. Unlike antonyms, heteronyms are not related to scales; they are not opposite extremes, but just members of a set of different expressions. Coseriu (quoted in Martín Fernández, 2002: 21) distinguishes between gradual and serial fields, including in the latter category large fields of heteronymous terms such as plants, flowers, animals, birds, food, vehicles, kinds of clothing, etc. Apart from nouns, there are also heteronymous verbs such as verbs of motion: *walk*, *run*, *fly*, *swim* or verbs denoting human activities: *eat*, *work*, *sleep*, *dance*.

If we take a closer look to the context in which they appear, we may probably place heteronyms alongside the other types of opposites. Take, for instance, the following example: 'I never go shopping on *Saturday*, it's too crowded. I go on another day' (which could be any day of the week that it is *not Saturday*, e.g. *Monday*), where between *Saturday* and *Monday* an obvious oppositeness is established. The same happens with *red* and *green* that may be also considered opposites when thinking of them as the colours of the traffic lights, symbolizing *stop-go*. Ogden (quoted in Murphy, 2003: 191) reckons the pair *green-red* as an antonymic one since the two terms oppose each other in the colour wheel.

Similarly, the terms denoting the four seasons of the year, i.e. *winter*, *summer*, *spring*, *autumn*, are apparently opposites 'by chance'. But, if we take into consideration the orthogonal and antipodal oppositeness mentioned above (see chapter 3.4.3.), they obviously oppose both perpendicularly and diametrically:





E.g. Spring is the time of the year, when it is summer in the sun and winter in the shade. (Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations*).

Sp. "Solía decir Pitágoras: <<Hay que usar de Venus sólo en invierno, nunca durante el verano; de vez en cuando en otoño y en primavera, pero, en cualquier época, es algo que consume y muy malo para la salud>>" (Horia, 2008: 39).

Referring to terms denoting the days of the week, Cruse (quoted in Croft, 2004: 165) considers them 'not good opposites' because "the binarity has to be logically necessary and not just a contingent fact about the world". He gives as examples the terms *Friday* and *Sunday*, "the only two days that are one day removed from *Saturday*." Cruse considers that these two terms are not opposites because "their meanings do not encode a salient mutual orientation towards *Saturday*, in contrast to, say, *yesterday* and *tomorrow* whose meanings are oriented towards *today*, and which exhibit a certain degree of oppositeness."

Still, a certain (even weak, according to Croft, 2004: 165) sense of oppositeness can be established between *Friday* and *Sunday* within the following context:

Some important committee regularly meets on Saturdays. An influential caucus holds a pre-meeting on Friday to prepare for the main committee meeting, and a post-meeting on Sunday to discuss the events in the Saturday meeting. For the members of this group, *the Friday meeting* could develop a (weak?) relation of oppositeness to *the Sunday meeting*.

### 3.5. JONES' NEW CLASSES OF OPPOSITES

Contemporary linguistics comes with new classifications of the semantic relation of oppositeness. In this respect, Jones (2002: 45-104) offers a series of new classes of antonymy, registered below. The author (2002: 1) uses the term *antonymy* in its broader sense, referring to any pair of words which could be intuitively recognised as opposites. For him (2002: 178)

antonymy is both a semantic and a lexical relation. Antonymy is lexical because only some word pairs on a given scale are identifiable as 'opposites' (on the scale of height, this lexis is *tall* and *short*, not *lofty* and *petite*). (...) Antonymy is semantic for more obvious reasons - word pairs need to belong to the same scale and occupy opposite halves of the scale.

**3.5.1. ANCILLARY ANTONYMS** referring to two oppositions that occur in a context, namely one between an established antonymous pair (which Jones names 'the A-pair') and the other between a pair of words or phrases (referred to by Jones as 'the B-pair') which are also intended to be interpreted contrastively, but have less innate opposition than the A-pair.

E.g. I **love** *to cook* but I **hate** *doing the dishes* - so I'd have a dishwasher.

Since, of course, they've all had knighthoods, usually when they're too **old** to play *Hamlet* but too **young** to play *butlers in Hollywood movies*.

It is meeting **public need**, not **private greed**.

In the above examples (Jones, 2002: 45-46), the following opposites are A-pairs: *love-hate*, *old-young*, and *public-private*. We could say that these are recognisable antonyms at first sight and they linked to another contrast - expressed by the B-pairs: *to cook-doing the dishes*, *Hamlet-butlers in Hollywood movies*, *need-greed*. According to Jones (2002: 46), "It is not contrastive antonyms which catch the eye, it is contrastive non-antonyms". In the given examples, the A-pairs' members are antonymous and ancillary, meanwhile the terms of the B-pairs are the second contrast of the sentence. It is also important to mention that, as it can be seen, a B-pair can be formed by single words (*need-greed*) or by multi-words expressions (*to cook-doing the dishes*).

Jones (2002: 48-53) outlines and discusses eight categories of B-pairs, which we will only mention without making a detailed analysis:

- 1) **Political B-pairs:** *Communism* may be **dead**, but *fascism* is most assuredly **alive**.
- 2) **Human B-pairs:** *Kennedy* **dead** is more interesting than *Clinton* **alive**.
- 3) **Geographic B-pairs:** *Munich* was widely hailed as a **success**, *Reykjavik* a **failure**.
- 4) **Temporal B-pairs:** What was **immoral** and **unnecessary** *six months ago* cannot be **moral** and **necessary** *today*.
- 5) **Quantitative B-pairs:** It was the old story: **success** has *many* fathers, **failure** has *none*.
- 6) **Synonymous B-pairs:** Archer was a formal, eccentric man, **long** on *acquaintances* and **short** on *friends*.
- 7) **Meronymous B-pairs:** But a couple of Libyans are only likely to be **small** *minnows* in a very **large** *pond*.
- 8) **Linguistic B-pairs** (linked by phonetic, morphological and visual constitution of the words themselves): Baxter's **active** *can-do* has been overtaken by the **passive** *why-bother*.

**3.5.2. COORDINATED ANTONYMS** including those antonymous pairs which signal inclusiveness or exhaustiveness of scale.

E.g. While pensions will not be abolished, the government will encourage everyone, **rich** and **poor**, to rely for their retirement mainly on money they invest in private pension funds.

Today, the pressure to make hay while the sun fitfully shines has led to a massive slump in both **public** and **private** standards.

Whether he was **right** or **wrong** to raise a certain matter in the way he did, Mr. Lawson offered an important insight into his, and almost certainly Mrs Thatcher's and John Moore's, thinking about the long-term future of the welfare state.

Taking into account the examples above (Jones, 2002: 61), we can see inclusiveness of *everyone* identifying the *wealth* scale and signalled by the pair *rich-poor*; meanwhile the exclusiveness is encompassed by the pair *right-wrong*.

Usually, coordinated antonyms are joined together by the conjunction *and* (seen as 'inclusive') or *or* (seen as 'exhaustive'). Based on the '*and* or *or* frameworks' in which they occur, Jones (2002: 63-73) classifies coordinated opposites into the following categories (1 and 2 being considered the standard-ones, meanwhile 3 and 4 the non-standard frameworks<sup>71</sup>):

**1) X and Y.** In this case, antonyms signal that both halves of a given semantic scale are applicable:

E.g. In line with a shell and chassis design geared to **active** and **passive** safety, the engines in the low and middle range have been built with economy and pulling power in mind.

**2) X or Y.** As the previous category, this one involves a semantic range too. But, while *X and Y* may simply refer to each antonym without necessarily accounting for all in between, *X or Y* tends to symbolize an entire range.

E.g. But assuming no scandals, **old** or **new**, precipitate presidential disgrace, what is he to do if a triumphant place in history is to be assured?

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<sup>71</sup> There are some rare cases which Jones (2002: 72-73) denominates 'residual frameworks' and are difficult to include in one of the four main categories. For example, *the X with the Y*, e.g. Geoffrey Dear, the Chief Constable, purged the lot - the **good** with the **bad** - and scattered them to the furthest reaches of the force's territory.

The *X or Y* framework varies when preceded by *how*: E.g. When the parents return, they shall not make the sitter listen to an account of how **good** or **bad** their evening was. As Jones (2002: 67) explains, in this case, "the writer feels that a single antonym would be interpreted as reflecting a bias towards its corresponding end of the scale".

**3) Neither X nor Y.** This category negates the antonymous pair in order to point out neutrality; therefore, the coordinated antonyms are not exhaustive. They are coupled together with the aim of negating the pair as a whole.

E.g. If a school with bad exam results says it is, nevertheless, producing fine people, we can neither **agree** nor **disagree**.

**4) X as well as Y.** This category is included to coordinated antonyms due to the fact that the phrase *as well as* acts much the same as *and*.

E.g. It would be interesting to hear all experiences, **good** as well as **bad**.

### 3.5.3. COMPARATIVE ANTONYMS<sup>72</sup>

Jones (2002: 75) defines this group of opposite words as: "The co-occurrence of an antonymous pair within a framework that places those words in a comparative context or measures one antonym against the other". They appear in frameworks as *more X than Y*, *X is more [adj] than Y*, *X rather than Y*. Comparative antonymy is explained by Jones (2002: 80) as "a phenomenon in which one antonym is gauged against the other, usually to express dissimilitude, occasionally to express similitude."

E.g. The question is perhaps easier to answer for the **long** term than the **short**.

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<sup>72</sup>Jones (2002: 75) considers this class and the ones that follow as 'minor classes of antonymy'. There are also a series of cases which the author names 'residual database sentences' and leaves out of the minor classes. These are: **conflict** (The survey also shows that the environmental movement has won the debate over **public** versus **private** transport.); **oblique stroke** (The US team feel wronged and are **happily/unhappily** letting their opponents suffer for it.); **association** (The links between **employment** and **unemployment** trends are weak for a variety of reasons.); **specification** (When the riot began there were 51 **male** and 140 **female** prisoners inside the remand centre.); **simultaneity** (As one senior Bank of Italy official remarked, 'Mr Amato's **weakness** is his **strength**'); **unity** (In most wars, of course, **right** and **wrong** are not nearly so clear-cut, whatever the warring tribes may think.); **equivalence** (Dorothy Richardson herself has said that Pilgrimage, her extended autobiographical novel, was 'an attempt to produce a **feminine** equivalent of the current **masculine** realism').

Based on the different types of comparison between the antonymic terms, this class is grouped in the following sub-classes:

**1) Direct Comparison**, based on the concept *more X than Y*. It refers to the straightforward balancing of one antonym against another.

E.g. And it is possible to accept both that Dr Higgs was a lot more **right** than **wrong** in her diagnoses, but that it is now impossible for her to return.

**2) Indirect Comparison**, within the framework *X is more [adj] than Y* or *X is [adj+er] than Y*. It takes a pair of antonymous concepts and compares them along another.

E.g. The **new** bills are more colourful than the **old** ones, with designs in green, yellow, blue, orange, red and blue instead of just green and brown.

**3) Preferential Comparison**, adhering to the framework *X rather than Y*.

E.g. Wanting to be **happy** rather than **sad**, I accepted - then realised I had nothing to wear.

**4) Equal Comparison**, comparing antonym with antonym, but making no distinction between the two. It concludes with the fact that the antonyms of the pair are equal.

E.g. All fat, **unsaturated** no less than **saturated**, is fattening.

### 3.5.4. DISTINGUISHED ANTONYMS

According to Jones (2002: 81), this class refers to "The co-occurrence of an antonymous pair within a framework that alludes to the inherent semantic dissimilarity of those words". They appear in typical frameworks such as: *the difference between X and Y*, *separating X and Y*, *a gap between X and Y*.

According to the distinction between antonyms, there are two sub-classes of this category:

**1) Metalinguistic distinction**, based on the semantic difference between antonyms.

E.g. Scientists admit that the discrepancies between **male** and **female** brains may be less important than education and experience.

**2) Metaphoric distinction**, when the difference between antonyms is metaphorically, not literally.

E.g. 'The gap between the **successful** and the **unsuccessful** must be narrowed', he said, 'by ensuring that education provides a ladder upon which everyone can find a foothold'.

### 3.5.5. TRANSITIONAL ANTONYMS

This type of opposite words is clearly defined by Jones (2002: 85) as "The co-occurrence of an antonymous pair within a framework that expresses a movement or change from one location or state to another". Typical frameworks they appear in are: *from X to Y*, *turning X into Y*, *X gives way to Y*.

E.g. Her film career similarly has lurched from **success** to **failure**, with enormous periods out of work.

Just as the Princess has grown, turning **weakness** to **strength** so, surely must this country's economy continue to grow.

Economic **optimism** has given way to economic **pessimism** since the great tax-cutting Budget in March.

### 3.5.6. NEGATED ANTONYMS

Jones (2002: 88) describes this class of opposites as "The co-occurrence of an antonymous pair within a framework that negates one antonym as a device to augment the other". Typical frameworks they appear in are: *X not Y* (the commonest one), *X instead of Y*, *X as opposed to Y*.

E.g. In my opinion, the public has cause for **pessimism**, not **optimism**, about the Government's plans for a radical reorganisation of arts funding.

Instead of thinking **short** term, it was time to start thinking **long** term.

Being **young** and keen, as opposed to being **old** and keen, Stewart wanted to bowl CD out twice and win by an innings.

### 3.5.7. EXTREME ANTONYMS

The definition given by Jones (2002: 91) regarding this group of opposite words is the following: "The co-occurrence of an antonymous pair within a framework that unites the outer-most areas of their given semantic scale". They occur in the frameworks *the very X and the very Y*, *either too X or too Y*, *deeply X and deeply Y*.

E.g. It is often considered a safer and gentler form of treatment, especially valuable to the very **young** and the very **old**, being less toxic and having fewer side effects.

The advantages are that the track does not need watering, and can be used when conditions are either too **dry** or too **wet** for racing on turf.

Freud maintained in *Civilization and its Discontents* that human beings feel a deep **hate** and a deep **love** for civilization.

### 3.5.8. IDIOMATIC ANTONYMS

Jones (2002: 93) defines this class of opposite words as follows: "The co-occurrence of an antonymous pair within a framework that would be recognised as a familiar idiom, proverb or cliché."

E.g. *easy come, easy go; penny wise and pound foolish; through thick and thin.*

### 3.5.9. ANTONYM SEQUENCE

From a corpus-based perspective, Jones (2002: 120-137) reaches the conclusion that most antonymous pairs prefer one sequence over the other. "Once a sequence is established" - he explains - "it tends to become fixed, but many different criteria can influence why a particular antonymous pair favours a particular sequence". This happens due to several factors which influence the opposites order and represent the sequence rules obeyed by most antonymous pairs. The factors Jones analyses are: morphology, positivity, magnitude, chronology, gender, phonology, idiomacity, frequency and markedness.

**3.5.9.1. MORPHOLOGICAL DERIVATION** is, in Jones' opinion, (2002: 123) "the most dominant single factor affecting antonym sequence". According to this factor, the tendency is that when the opposites of the antonymic pair are morphologically related, the root word appears before the derived one.

E.g. Great *fortune* brings with *misfortune*.

If you are too *fortunate*, you will not know yourself; if you are too *unfortunate*, nobody will know you.

### 3.5.9.2. POSITIVITY

Jones (2002: 124) extrapolates Lyons' statement according to which "the positive opposite tends to precede the negative when opposites are co-ordinated" and notes that "If one member of an antonymous pair has more positive connotations than the other, it will usually display a tendency to precede its partner in text (...), whether coordinated or not."

E.g. Learning makes a *good* man *better* and an *ill* man *worse*.  
(positive1)      (positive2)      (negative1)      (negative2)

This criterion can be applied only to those antonymous pairs that can be identified as having a certain degree of positivity. There are pairs which cannot be said to have a positive and a negative member, such as *female-male*, *hot-cold*, *private-public*, etc.

There is a close relation between this criterion and morphological derivation, since morphologically derived opposites are usually (but not always, e.g. *selfish-unselfish*, *contaminated-uncontaminated*, *censored-uncensored*) negative.

### 3.5.9.3. MAGNITUDE

Although not as important as the two former criteria, the concept of size is also a valid factor of antonym sequence (Jones, 2002: 126). As far as magnitude is concerned, usually the term implying *more/bigger* size stands before its opposite.

E.g. Ask *much* and have a *little*.

He who commences *many* things finishes *few*.

No *great* loss but some *small* profit.

A *long* tongue is a sign of a *short* hand.

**3.5.9.4. CHRONOLOGY** is a factor closely related to real world. "If one antonym is prone to precede the other in the real world, this sequence will be reflected in the syntax of an average sentence" (Jones, 2002: 127).

E.g. Such *beginning*, such *end*.

Love is sweet in the *beginning* but sour in the *end*.

Pride goes *before* and shame comes *after*.



### 3.5.9.5. GENDER

According to Jones (2002: 127), there is a tendency of the 'masculine' terms to precede the 'feminine' ones when we refer to antonymous pairs. This can be noticed also in several proverbs chosen as examples from our corpus:

E.g. Deeds are *male*, and words are *females*.

A *man* is as old as he feels, and a *woman* as old as she looks.

*Man* is the head but the *woman* turns it.

One *boy* is more trouble than a dozen of *girls*.

Whatsoever the *father* of a disease is, an ill diet was the *mother*.

Marry you *son* when you will, your *daughter* when you can.

Every *Jack* must have his *Jill*.

**3.5.9.6. PHONOLOGY** implies the hypothesis that the shorter opposite term of an antonymous pair comes first.

Jones (2002: 128) considers that phonology could be an explanation of the gender factor in order to avoid phonetic repetition. For example, in the case of *male* and *female* denomination, the phonetic repetition of *male* is interrupted by one syllable if *male* were placed after *female*. Otherwise, the repetition is broken up by two syllables: *and* and *fe-* which could happen because we may (sub)consciously wish to keep identical syllables away from one another in order to avoid cacophony.

E.g. Better to go to heaven in *rags* than to hell in *embroidery*.

Love is a *sweet bitterness*.

No *joy* without *annoy*.

**3.5.9.7. IDIOMACITY** refers to that characteristic of some antonymous pairs of developing a semi-idiomatic status, perhaps, as Jones (2002: 128) states, "as a result of a certain coinage point in their history". The author gives the example of the pair *war-peace* which contradicts the positivity criterion. In spite of *peace* being the positive term, the sequence is usually *war-peace*, possibly due to Tolstoy's novel *War and Peace* (1869). Another example mentioned by Jones is that of the pair formed by the opposites *alive-dead*, the sequence of which usually places the negative term *dead* first, maybe under the influence of certain Western movies with their famous "Wanted Dead or Alive" expression.

E.g. A just *war* is better than an unjust *peace*.

Of all *wars*, *peace* is the end.

**3.5.9.8. FREQUENCY AND MARKEDNESS** are considered by Jones (2002: 129) "marginal criteria", being less exhaustive in their influence on the antonym sequence. The author's conclusion regarding frequency is that it cannot be said that the more common, familiar opposite comes first in the sequence, citing the examples of *old* and *new*. In spite of *new* having a higher degree of frequency than its opposite, in most case it stands on second position in the antonymous sequence (in Jones' corpus).

As far as markedness is concerned, not always the unmarked opposite occupies the first position in the antonym sequence as expected.

E.g. *Old* chains gall less than *new*.

Patience under *old* injuries invites *new* ones.



## CHAPTER IV

### OPPOSITENESS AND OTHER SEMANTIC RELATIONS BETWEEN WORDS

*A time to be born, and a time to die;  
A time to plant, and a time  
to pluck up that which is planted;  
A time to kill, and a time to heal;  
A time to break down, and a time to build up;  
A time to weep, and a time to laugh;  
A time to mourn, and a time to dance;  
A time to cast away stones, and a time to gather  
stones together; A time to embrace,  
and a time to refrain from embracing;  
A time to get, and a time to lose;  
A time to keep, and a time to cast away;  
A time to rend, and a time to sew;  
A time to keep silence, and a time to speak;  
A time to love, and a time to hate;  
A time of war, and a time of peace<sup>73</sup>.  
(Paulo Coelho - Eleven Minutes)*

#### 4.1. OPPOSITENESS AND POLYSEMY

It is impossible for any language, no matter how rich, to have a separate word for every separate notion. The fact is that a new word is not always coined for every new notion. Very often a new notion is expressed by an old word which acquires a new meaning. That is why most words have more than one meaning.

For example, the fact that the *head* is the topmost part of the body relates it with other extra-linguistic facts which also are the topmost part: ‘the top of the highest part of’, i.e. ‘the *head* of the page’. So, the *head*’s picture with all the additional meanings will be something like the following:

(1) that part of the body that is above the neck, e.g. ‘They cut his *head* off’.

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<sup>73</sup> Translation from Romanian.

- (2) that side of a coin on which the head of a ruler is (king, queen, president, etc.), e.g. ‘*Heads* or tails’.
- (3) a head’s length, e.g. ‘The horse won by a *head*’.
- (4) the chief or most important position, e.g. ‘At the *head* of a business’; a chief or leader, e.g. ‘The *head* of a family’.
- (5) a single person, e.g. ‘The trip will cost £ 5,000 per *head*’.
- (6) the top or the highest part, e.g. ‘At the *head* of the page’.

The various meanings of a polysemantic word have different ability to combine with other words not from the grammatical point of view but semantically. The meaning featuring in the correlation is just one of their meanings (not necessarily the primary one). For example, the primary meaning of *spinster* is ‘someone who spins’, the meaning ‘unmarried woman’ is metonymous. It follows that a word that features in more than one correlation has a different meaning in each correlation, e.g. *queen* (i) ‘ruling monarch, female’, (ii) ‘wife of a king’.

For instance, *man* = (i) ‘male human’ - *woman*

(ii) ‘human’ - *beast*

(iii) ‘adult male’ - *boy*

On the other hand, *accept-reject*, *propose-accept* are not two different opposites, but a single relation. In fact, *accept* is the converse antonym of *reject*, and both these are consequential to *propose*, thus: *propose-accept*, *propose-reject*.

Similarly, *walk* has at least three different opposites: *walk-run*, *walk-ride*, *walk-drive*. Each antonymous relation marks a different feature of *walk*.

There are couples of antonyms united by the same semantic function, e.g. *beginning-end*:

‘of life’: *birth-death*

‘of a day’: *morning-evening*

‘of sport competitions’: *start-finish*

‘of a trip’: *departure-arrival*

‘of a paperwork’: *introduction-conclusion*

According to Şerban-Evseev (1978: 216), between two polysemous words a perfect, stabile and regular relation of antonymy is established, if they oppose each other through their basic meanings. The greater the number of meanings involved in the oppositeness, the stronger the relation of the antonyms, both in and out of the context. Ducháček (quoted in

Martín Fernández, 2002: 40) even classifies antonyms according to the meaning aspect. Thus, he considers **absolute antonyms** those formed by monosemantic words, and **partial antonyms** the polysemantic ones.

#### 4.1.1. ENANTIOSIS, A PARTICULAR TYPE OF OPPOSITENESS

A special and not very frequent type of oppositeness - enantiosis (Sp. *enantiosemia*, Rom. *enantiosemia*) - has to be mentioned here. Taking into account its definition below, it may raise the question why it is included in this chapter and not alongside with the other figures of speech in Chapter V.

A figure of speech by which what is to be understood affirmatively is stated negatively, and the contrary; affirmation by contraries<sup>74</sup>.

A figure of speech by which there is an opposite meaning to what is said<sup>75</sup>.

A figure of speech in which what is meant is the opposite of what is said; irony<sup>76</sup>.

The explanation is due to the fact that enantiosis involves polysemantic words, that is why it is considered a "**polysemous antonymy**" (Martín Fernández, 2002: 67). Bârlea (1999: 202) and Sîrbu (1977: 127) also denominate it "**internal antonymy**". According to Sîrbu (1977: 127), the term enantiosis was first used in 1883 by Vikentij Šerel' in his article "O slovach s protivopoložnymi značenijami (ili o tak nazyvaemoi enantioseмии)" in *Filologičeskie nauki* (Voronej, vol. V-VI, 1-39).

Precisely, enantiosis consists in the use of only one word for two opposite notions. Thus, the meanings of one and the same polysemantic word are polarized. Bârlea (1999: 202) considers this type of oppositeness the "most rudimentary form of the homolexemic antonyms", since it is characterized by the absence of any derivative elements, such as prefixes or suffixes.

E.g. (to) *rent*<sup>1</sup>: 'rent something (out) (to someone)'

I rented the house downtown to a newlywed couple. (I am the owner of the house)

(to) *rent*<sup>2</sup>: 'rent something from someone'

I rented this house from local realtor. (I am not the owner of the house, I am the tenant).

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<sup>74</sup> Available from <<http://www.encyclo.co.uk/webster/E/33>>.

<sup>75</sup> Available from <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/enantiosis?showCookiePolicy=true>>.

<sup>76</sup> Available from <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/enantiosis?s=t>>.

The same polysemantic word is given as an example by Martín Fernández (2002: 67) for the Spanish language: *alquilar*<sup>1</sup> (allative) and *alquilar*<sup>2</sup> (ablative). The Romanian equivalent - (a) *închiria* - adheres to the same principle:

E.g. (1) Am *închiriat*<sup>1</sup> casa... (I have rented the house... to someone, I owe the house).

(2) Am *închiriat*<sup>2</sup> casa... (I have rented the house... from someone, I live in the house, but I do not owe it).

Bârlea (quoted in Martín Fernández, 2002: 67-68) also sees enantiosis as a form of 'linguistic economy': "Considerée du point de vue de l'économie linguistique, elle représente un élément de progrès, une adaptation parfaite de la langue à l'effort suprême de concentrer les contraires dans un tout, dans une unité"<sup>77</sup>.

Murphy (2003: 172) considers enantiosis the best example of opposition, due to the fact that "the semantic difference is absolutely minimal and the form of the words is identical". The author refers to these words, which are their own opposites, with the term '**Janus words**'. They are also called **auto-antonyms** (D. Baron, 1989), **antagonyms** or referred to as **enantiosemy** (Lepschy, 1981)<sup>78</sup>.

E.g. (to) *temper*<sup>1</sup>: 'to harden' and (to) *temper*<sup>2</sup>: 'to soften'

(to) *cleave*<sup>1</sup>: 'to stick together' and (to) *cleave*<sup>2</sup>: 'to force apart'

(to) *sanction*<sup>1</sup>: 'to approve' and (to) *sanction*<sup>2</sup>: 'to censure'

## 4.2. OPPOSITENESS AND SYNONYMY

Synonyms are two or more lexical or grammatical units comparable through their content, but reflecting in various degrees and in various senses (semantic, grammatical, stylistic) the essential notes of the notion they denote. (Levițchi, 1970: 85)

Two words are said to be synonymous if they denote the same thing. The terms *movie*, *film*, *flick*, *motion picture* all refer to the same set of referents in the real world and are usually taken to be synonymous terms. More formally, we can say that term A is synonymous with term B if every referent of term A is a referent of term B and vice versa.

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<sup>77</sup> Translation from French: "From the perspective of linguistic economy, it is an element of progress, a perfect adaptation of the language to the supreme effort to concentrate contraries in a whole, in one unit."

<sup>78</sup> Quoted in Murphy (2003: 173).

There is a close relationship between antonymy and synonymy. A monosemantic or a polysemantic word may have two or more opposites (words being in a relation of synonymy), e.g. A – B, A – C, A – D, where B, C, D are synonyms.

Examples: *truth-untruth, truth-lie, truth-falsification*

*defeat- victory, defeat-conquest, defeat-triumph, defeat-success*

*to start-to end, to start-to finish, to start-to terminate, to start-stop.*

Taking into account two of the main characteristics of antonymy, i.e. binary and symmetry mentioned before (Chapter I.2), we can say that synonyms that are on the same semantic axis are opposites if they are at the same distance from the reference point. Bidu-Vrînceanu (1984: 116) chooses the example of *lazy - hard-working* pair for the Romanian language:

A <sub>1</sub>	A <sub>2</sub>	A <sub>3</sub>			A <sub>3</sub> '	A <sub>2</sub> '	A <sub>1</sub> '
			X				
Rom. LENEȘ	COMOD	INDOLENT	NORMAL		SILITOR	VREDNIC	HARNIC
Eng. (LAZY)	(SLOW)	(INDOLENT)	(NORMAL)		(DILIGENT)	(FAST)	(HARD-WORKING)

In this case, a relation of antonymy in the narrow sense (binaryly and symmetrically) is established between the pairs formed of the symmetrically opposed terms A<sub>1</sub> - A<sub>1</sub>', A<sub>2</sub> - A<sub>2</sub>', A<sub>3</sub> - A<sub>3</sub>', etc. There are situations when, at the speaking level, a relation of binary, but this time asymmetrical relation of oppositeness is established between terms such as Rom. *harnic-puturos* (*hard-working - inactive*).

As some linguists underline (Casas Gómez, 1999: 115), generally speaking we can say that there is no relation of opposition between synonyms, meanwhile there are synonyms at each pole of an antonymic pair, e.g. *big-large // small*, Fr. *vieux-âgé // jeune, court-bref // long*. Like Ducháček (quoted in Casas Gómez, 1999: 115) points out, a word can have more than one antonym which are or not synonyms:

Un mot peut avoir plusieurs antonymes qui sont synonymes entre eux (étant tous antonymes de la seule acception du mot monosémique ou d'une des acceptions d'un mot polysémique) ou qui ne le sont pas (étant antonymes des acceptions différentes du mot en question)<sup>79</sup>.

Sîrbu (1977: 175-179) distinguishes two types of relations between synonyms:

<sup>79</sup> Translation from French: "A word can have several antonyms that are synonymous with each other (being all the antonyms of the meaning of the monosemic word or of one of the meanings of a polysemous word) or that are not synonymous (being antonyms of different meanings of the corresponding word)."



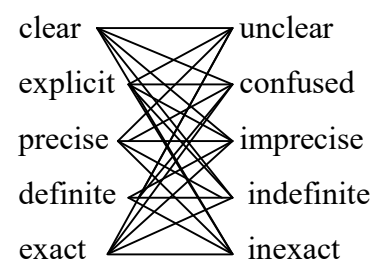
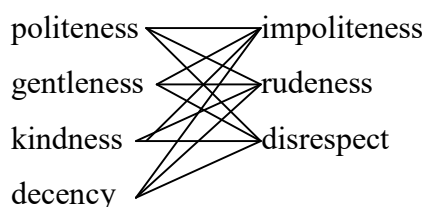
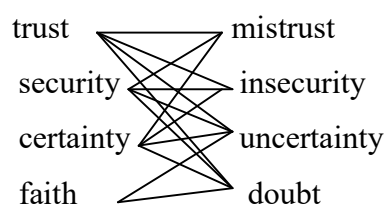
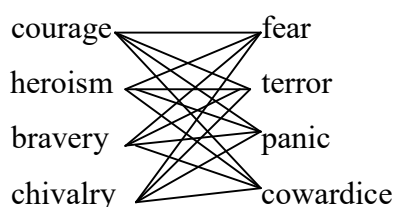
(1) *linear antonymic relations* - when each term of a synonymous series has one perfect antonymous correspondent in the opposite synonymous series:

$$\text{synonyms} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} A \leftrightarrow B \\ C \leftrightarrow D \\ E \leftrightarrow F \end{array} \right\} \text{synonyms}$$

Examples: *pleasant-unpleasant, agreeable-disagreeable, attractive-unattractive*

(2) *radial antonymic relations* - when each term of a synonymous series may have an antonymous relation with each term of the opposite series [Bidu-Vrînceanu (1984: 120) calls these **(cvasi)synonyms**]:

Examples:



When we talk about antonymic pairs of synonyms, a selective feature characterizes the members of the synonymic series that is one term of the series may be more attracted to a certain opposite word. This phenomenon is due to semantic, stylistic and structural factors. According to Şerban-Evseev (1978: 219) words with a higher degree of semantic polarity are easier becoming opposites. 'Perfect' antonymy implies also the belonging of the words to the same linguistic style. E.g. Rom. *nord, miază-noapte; est, răsărit; vest, apus; sud, miază-zi* (terms denominating the four cardinal points) will form pairs of antonyms according to the register they belong to: on the one hand, *nord-sud, est-vest*, and on the other hand the autochthonous terms *miază-noapte- miază-zi, răsărit-apus*.

Another aspect that needs to be mentioned here is that the form of the words is also a factor that contributes to the antonymic pairs' formation. It has been observed a stronger attraction between the homolexemic antonyms, e.g. Rom. *însuflețit-ne însuflețit*, *animat-neanimat* (for *animate-inanimate*), *îndoielnic-neîndoielnic*, *nesigur-sigur* (for *certain-uncertain*), etc.

Since both antonyms and synonyms occupy the same field, it is possible for the same pair of words to be both synonymous and antonymous. This should be surprising because there are instances where a given meaning can be foregrounded at the expense of other meanings. For example, *peel* and *skin* are synonymous in 'to peel/to skin a banana'. But they are antonyms in 'You have to peel a raw potato but you can skin a boiled one' (Bolinger, 1975: 213).



## CHAPTER V

### ANTONYMS AT WORK

*"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times,  
it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness,  
it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity,  
it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness,  
it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair,  
we had everything before us, we had nothing before us,  
we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going  
direct to the other way - in short, the period was so far  
like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities  
insisted on its being received, for good or for evil,  
in the superlative degree of comparison only".  
(Charles Dickens - A Tale of two Cities)*

Opposites cease to be an exclusive potentiality of words, e.g. *black-white*, *rapidly-slowly*, *big-small*, etc., but they also include phrases, e.g. *(as) pump as a partridge-(as) thin as a lath*, *to be taken ill-to recover*, etc., and certain grammatical forms, e.g. *he was-he was not*. To this must be added that quite frequently antonymous relations are established not between words, but between their meanings:

E.g. **dull** - adjective with the following meanings:

1. *boring* → antonyms: *amusing, entertaining*
2. *dim* → antonyms: *vivid, bright*
3. *stupid* → antonyms: *clever, intelligent, bright*
4. *slow-moving* → antonyms: *quick-moving, brisk*
5. *unfeeling* → antonyms: *sensitive, sensible*
6. *depressed* → antonyms: *of good cheer, in good/high spirits*
7. *blunt* → antonyms: *sharp, pointed*
8. *cloudy* → antonyms: *bright, serene*.

Opposites of various types are to be met frequently in English phraseology, in the spoken language and in literature. Language reflects the habit of the speakers to use a wide

range of antonymic formulae in a constant change. Carmen Varo Varo (2002: 50) calls these antonyms **antónimos del habla**.

Pairs of opposites that form a type of idiom or fixed phrase are called by Malkiel (quoted in Carter & McCarthy, 1988: 25) **irreversible binomials**. They can be found in idioms such as '*hot and cold* water in all rooms', '*the road winds in and out*', '*I searched high and low*', '*for better or worse*', or *back and forth, to and fro, up and down, ladies and gentlemen, on and off, ins and outs, pros and cons*, where the occurrence is not normally reversed.

In the history of English literature it is particularly during and, to a lesser extent, after the Renaissance period that antonyms were employed on a large scale. *Euphuism*<sup>80</sup>, the linguistic mannerism devised in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century by John Lyly, was an artificial, affected, high-flown style of speaking and writing characterized in the first place by antithesis, besides alliteration, balanced sentences, metaphors, etc., antithesis being very closely related to oppositeness and antonyms. The following example illustrates this device: "The coral plant in the *water* is a *soft* weed, on the *land*, a *hard* stone; a sword frieth in the *fire* like a *black* eel; but laid in *earth* like *white* snow; the heart *in love* is altogether *passionate*, but *free from desire*, altogether *careless*..." (Lyly, quoted in Levičchi, 1970: 105).

The use of opposites in the excerpt above and in many other parts of Lyly's work is a stylistic ornament. Lyly influenced Shakespeare in handling of antonyms, the latter connecting antonyms and antitheses with the content, in an extremely varied range of situations and purposes. He uses them to characterize personages, to underline some idea or feeling, to contrast actions, as leit-motifs presaging later development.

Dickens also uses antonyms, sometimes cumulatively, as in the first chapter of *A Tale of Two Cities*:

It was *the best* of times, it was *the worst* of times, it was the age of *wisdom*, it was the age of *foolishness*, it was the epoch of *belief*, it was the epoch of *incredulity*, it was the season of *Light*, it was the season of *Darkness*, it was *the spring* of *hope*, it was *the winter* of *despair*, we had *everything* before us, we had *nothing* before us (quoted in Levičchi, 1970: 105).

Analyzed inside context, antonymic relations are influenced by a series of (extra)linguistic factors correlated both horizontally and vertically according to semantic, phonetic, morphological, syntactical, etc. elements. Stylistic factors play also a major part,

<sup>80</sup> Late 16<sup>th</sup> century, named after Euphuus, a fictional character in the works of John Lyly (EWED).

antonyms being the basis of different figures of speech, many of them possible exclusively to antonymic oppositeness. Thus, opposite words are to be found in several figures of speech:

**5.1. ANTITHESIS** (via Latin from, ultimately, Greek *antithenai*, literally ‘to set against’, from *tithenai* ‘to set’) (EWED), in which words, phrases and sentences, also situations and characters are brought into contrast by being balanced one against another, for example

*Crafty men condemn studies; simple men admire them; and wise men use them*  
(Bacon. *Of Studies*. Quoted in Leviçchi, 1970: 106).

Antithesis is considered the stylistic correlative of antonymy. In his *Manual of Rhetoric* (1988), Mortara Garavelli (quoted in Varo Varo, 2002: 56) points out that "la manifestación de la antítesis en el plano de las unidades léxicas (...) son los antónimos o contrarios". Pierre Fontanier (quoted in Varo Varo, 2002: 56) underlines that "no toda la expresión de ideas opuestas constituye una antítesis. Para que la figura exista se requiere la construcción simétrica de los miembros contrapuestos."

Jiménez Patón (quoted in Varo Varo, 2002: 57-58) presents different types of antithesis, according to the classification of opposites made by Aristotle (relatives, contraries, privatives and contradictories), giving as examples fragments of Félix Lope de Vega. Thus, Jiménez Patón distinguishes the following six cases:

1) "a simple word opposes to a simple word and contradicts it"

E.g. Sp. Sosiega un poco ayrado, temeroso  
Humilde vencedor, niño Gigante  
Cobarde matador, firme inconstante  
Traydor leal, rendido victorioso.

2) "two words contradicts two words"

E.g. Sp. Acabarandose las burlas  
Y no cesaron las veras  
Deminuyese el descuydo  
Y el cuydado se me aumenta.

3) "the clause opposes y contradicts the clause"

E.g. Sp. Ame Filis, ame, mientras amaste,  
Rompi la fe, quando la fe rompiste,  
Mientras tu fuyste brasa arder me viste  
Elado agora estoy, pues tu te elaste.

4) "two contraries are related to the same subject" (= **cohabitation**)

E.g. Sp. Buelo sin alas, estando ciego guio,

Callo, doy voces, hablo y enmudezco,  
Nadie me contradice, y yo porfio,  
Querria hazer possible lo impossible  
Querria poder mudarme, y estar quedo  
Gozar de libertad y estar captiuo.  
Querria desenrredarme y mas me enredo  
Tales son los extremos en que viuo.

5) "two similar things are getting away from each other" (= **paradiastole**)

E.g. Sp. Es fuego amor, y no alumbra,  
Adquiere almas, y no vida,  
Quitala, y no es homicida,  
Es celestial y no encumbra.

6) "when from a clause derives a new one with the same words but in transposed order"

(= **antimetabole** or **commutation**)

E.g. Sp. Para que ninguno dude  
Del Duque el desden preciso  
Quise seruille y no pude  
Pudo mandarme y no quiso.

Antithesis is sometimes double or alternate, as in the appeal of Augustus: "Listen, *young men*, to an *old man* to whom *old men* were glad to listen when he was *young*" (*Wikipedia*).

For Bârlea (1999: 213) antithesis is the most complex mean of expressing the denotative features of antonymy. Antithetic structure appears in some great works' titles, such as Fr. *Le rouge et le noir* ('The Red and the Black' by Stendhal, Rom. *Sacrul și profanul* ('Sacred and Profane' by Mircea Eliade), *Tinerețe fără bătrânețe și viață fără de moarte* ('Youth Without Oldness and Life Without Death', a Romanian fairytale), *Un ochi plânge, unul râde* ('A Crying Eye, a Laughing Eye', a Romanian popular story), Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, John Grey's *Men Are From Mars; Women Are From Venus*, etc.

**5.2. OXYMORON** (from Greek *oxumōron*, a substantival use of the neuter singular of *oxumōrous* 'pointedly foolish', from *oxus* 'sharp' – source of English *oxygen* - + *mōros* 'foolish' – source of English *moron*) (EWED), an apparent contradiction in terms, for example:

*colourless grey* eyes (W. Collins)  
His *honour* rooted in *dishonour* stood (Tennyson)  
*restless mirror* (Joseph Conrad)  
these *poor-rich* men, we Anglers pity them perfectly (Izaak Walton. *The Complete Angler*)

(quoted in Levițchi, 1970: 106)

Sp. ...*oscura luz* que por tinieblas guía... (Gutierre de Cetina. *Sonetos y madrigales completos*)

...y es loco quien su deseo / pone en su *amargo dulzor*. (Jerónimo de Lomas Cantoral. *Obras*)

(quoted in Varo Varo, 2002: 60)

The most common form of oxymoron involves an adjective-noun combination of two words, for example "And *faith unfaithful* kept him *falsely true*" (Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*).

Some linguists consider oxymoron being a type of antithesis (cf. Lausberg, quoted in Varo Varo, 2002: 59), equivalent to what Jiménez Patón designates 'cohabitation', as has been mentioned before.

The constant utilization of some expressions making an oxymoron gave birth to phrases or idioms which nowadays are frequent especially in the spoken language, some of them even became clichés:

E.g. *dark light, living dead, guest host, mad wisdom, mournful optimist, violent relaxation, deafening silence, dry drunk, forward retreat, irregular pattern, quiet riot, serious joke, sweet sorrow*, etc.

Rom. *fată bătrână* ('old girl' for *spinster*), *zile negre* ('black days' for *hard times*), *începutul sfârșitului* ('the beginning of the end'), *tăcere elocventă* ('eloquent silence').

There is a special group of oxymoron, called **visual oxymora**, which Hughes (1984, quoted in *Wikipedia*) describes as follows: "In the visual version of oxymoron, the material of which a thing is made (or appears to be made) takes the place of the adjective, and the thing itself (or thing represented) takes the place of the noun."

E.g. *waves in the sand, a fossil tree, artificial grass, bricked-up windows, ceramic eggs to persuade hens to lay, electric candles, floating soap, invisible ink, joke rubber coat hooks, plastic lemons, rubber bones for dogs, solid water (ice), solid wooden bottle moulds, wax fruit, plastic glass (for drinking)*.

**5.3. CLIMAX** (via late Latin from Greek *klimax* 'ladder, progression'. Ultimately from an Indo-European base meaning 'to lean', which is also the ancestor of English *lean, incline, and ladder*.) (EWED), an ascendent enumeration of antitheses, for example



Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. (Bacon. *Of Studies*. Quoted in Levițchi, 1970: 106)

Sp. Goza cuello, cabello, labio y frente

Antes que lo que fue en tu edad dorada

Oro, lirio, clavel, cristal luciente

No sólo en plata o viola truncada

Se vuelva, mas tú y ella juntamente,

En tierra, en humo, en polvo, en sombra,

En nada.

(Vicente Alexandre. *Creaturas en la Aurora*. Quoted in Bârlea, 1999: 223-224).

According to Bârlea (1999: 223) in an antonymic context, climax is always double; hence an ascending symmetry of the two parts of the antithesis towards a common element situated at the highest point. Thus, there comes a special symmetry, called by Bârlea 'in the mirror symmetry'.

**5.4. ANTICLIMAX or BATHOS** (from Greek *bathos* 'depth', from *bathus* 'deep' – source of English *bathy*-. The English meaning seems to have been created by the English poet Alexander Pope.) (EWED), which implies descent from something higher to something lower, often of the most unexpected kind, for example

Philosophy is said to console a man under disappointment, although Shakespeare asserts that it is no remedy for a toothache; so Mr Easy turned philosopher, the very best profession a man can take up, when he is fit for nothing else. (Marryat. *Mr.*, quoted in Levițchi, 1970: 106)

**5.5. ANTIPHRAISIS** Lat. *contrarium nomen*, (from Greek *antiphrazein*, literally 'to express oppositely', from *phrazein* 'to declare') (EWED), the use of a word to mean the opposite of its usual or literal sense, in other words, irony expressed by one word, for example

'How *clever* you are!', meaning 'You are *stupid*.'

"Yes, I killed him. I killed him for money -and a woman- and I didn't get the money and I didn't get the woman. *Pretty*, isn't it?"

(Fred MacMurray as Walter Neff in *Double Indemnity*, quoted in <http://grammar.about.com/>)

Antiphrasis is, according to Varo Varo (2002: 63), a sort of 'antithesis in absence', since the second term, even absent in the speech, is present both in the speaker and the hearer's minds - a fact based on their common linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge.

E.g. Sp. ¡*Bonito* modelito traes hoy puesto!

Tu comportamiento ha sido *excelente*.

**5.6. IRONY** (via Latin *ironia* from Greek *eirōnia* 'pretended ignorance', formed from *eirōn* 'dissembler', of uncertain origin: perhaps formed from *eirein* 'to say'.) (EWED), in which the intended meaning of the word is the direct opposite of their usual sense. Swift, 'the father of irony' (Levičhi: 1970: 106), supplies striking examples in his *Gulliver's Travels*. For example, in Book II, when Gulliver explains to the king of Brobdingnag the state of things in England:

I then spoke at large upon the constitution of an English Parliament, partly made up of an *illustrious body* called the House of Peers, ... I described that *extraordinary care* always taken of their education in arts and arms, to qualify them for being counsellors born to the king and kingdom ... and to be champions always ready for the defence of their Prince and country, by their *valour, conduct, and fidelity*. That these were the *ornament* and *bulwark* of the kingdom, *worthy* followers of their *most renowned* ancestors, whose *honour* had been the reward of their *virtue*, from which *their posterity were never once known to degenerate*. (Quoted in Levičhi, 1970: 106)

Another example is found in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (III, 2, 371): "They were *traitors - honourable men!*".

Martín Fernández (2002: 63) considers that we cannot talk about antonymy in the case of irony or antiphrasis because there is no opposition between two antonymic meanings. The author states that there exists only one linguistic meaning, namely the literal one, which the hearer/reader has to understand/interpret just on the contrary ('implicit meaning') due to his/her linguistic competence and helped by the context. Moreover, she says that there is no opposition Sp. *bonita-fea, si-no* in the Spanish examples she chooses to explain her theory:

¡*Bonita* respuesta!

¡*Sí*, hombre! ¡Porque tú lo digas!

We consider that the mere definition of irony Martín Fernández gives right after contradicts her belief: "Figura retórica que consiste en dar a entender lo contrario de lo que se dice". And even if the opposites implied by the irony are not physically present, they are

implicitly there, even though on the hearer's/reader's mind. Irony is the main tool which makes possible the opposition relation to be established. Another important phenomenon involved in this relation, closely related to irony, is **enantiodromia** - "the process by which something turns into its opposite" (Murphy, 2003: 209), for example, the use of *bad* in slang with the meaning of *good*.

Bârlea (1999: 241) distinguishes two types of irony:

- when the producer of the irony is addressing not to the receptor of the message but to another subject. The author considers this the 'proper irony';
- when the addressee of the irony is the interlocutor himself/herself. In this case, both the producer and the receiver of the ironic message are aware of the bivalent meaning of the word (sentence, phrase, etc.). Bârlea calls this form of irony 'sarcasm'.

The theory of the double audience is clearly reflected in the following definition of irony: "Irony is a form of utterance that postulates a double audience, consisting of one party that hearing shall hear and shall not understand, and another party that, when more is meant than meets the ear, is aware both of that more and of the outsiders' incomprehension" (Henry Fowler. *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, quoted in *Wikipedia*).

**5.7. EPIGRAM** (directly or via French *épigramme* from Latin *epigramma*, from Greek, literally 'writing upon', from *graphein* 'to write') (EWED), a concise, spiritual generalization differing from the proverb by its known author, for example

One thing and one thing only can make Charles dangerous – a violent death. (Macaulay, quoted in Levițchi, 1970: 106)

Great people talk about ideas, average people talk about things, and small people talk about wine. (Fran Lebowitz, available from <<http://grammar.about.com/>>)

In his work *A New Handbook of Literary Terms*, David Mikics (quoted at <http://grammar.about.com/>) gives important details about the use and the effects of epigram:

In the Renaissance, George Puttenham remarked that the epigram is a 'short and sweete' form 'in which every mery conceited man might without any long studie or tedious ambage, make his friend sport, and anger his foe, and give a prettie nip, or shew a sharpe conceit [i.e., idea] in few verses' (The Art of English Poesy, 1589). Epigrams of both praise and blame were a popular Renaissance genre, notably in the poetry of Ben Jonson. The critic J.C. Scaliger in his *Poetics* (1560) divided epigrams into four kinds: gall, vinegar, salt, and honey (that is, an epigram could be bitterly angry, sour, salacious, or sweet).

**5.8. RHETORICAL QUESTION**, by which something is negated or asserted indirectly, for example "Have ye leisure, comfort, calm?" (Shelley, 1970: 572. *Song to the Man of England*).

Rhetorical question is, according to Koshik (*Beyond Rhetorical Questions*, available from <<http://grammar.about.com/>>), "an assertion of the opposite polarity to that of the question" (...). "Something [rhetorical] questions all have in common" - states Koshik - "is that they are not asked, and are not understood, as ordinary information-seeking questions, but as making some kind of claim, or assertion, an assertion of the opposite polarity to that of the question."

**5.9. PARADOX** (via Latin *paradoxum* from, ultimately, Greek *paradoxos*, literally 'contrary to opinion', from *doxa* 'opinion', from *dokein* 'to think'.) (EWED), an apparently absurd affirmation but containing a truth (partial or total), for example

'I thought art was beautiful', she said.  
Of course – by now it tells the truth:  
Necessarily – by being.  
(Paul Roche. *The Function of Art*. Quoted in Levičchi, 1970: 106)

War is peace.  
Freedom is slavery.  
Ignorance is strength.  
(George Orwell, available from <<http://grammar.about.com/>>)

The paradox can be paraphrased as 'both *a* and *b*' (where *a* and *b* are opposites). For instance, 'both *alive* and *dead*', as in:

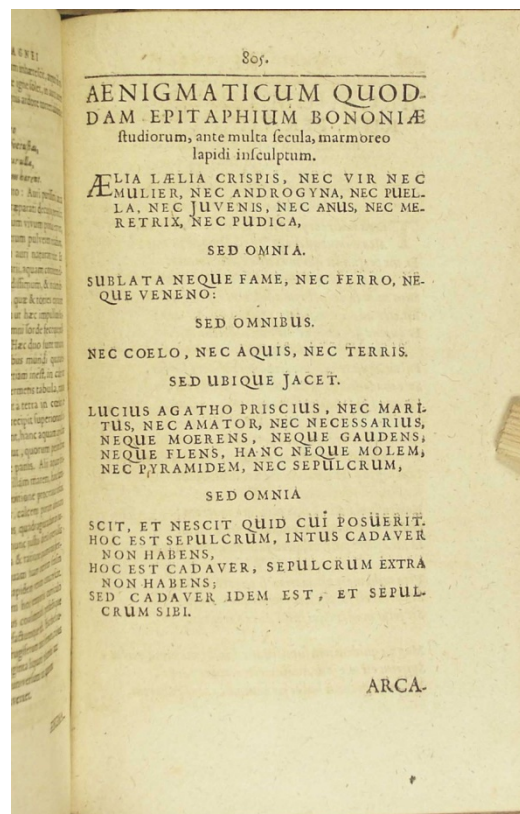
He who believes in Me shall *live* even if he *dies*. (John, 11.25. Quoted in Bantaş, 1993: 306)  
Thou art thy *Father's mother* (John Donne. *Holy Sonnets: Annunciation*)  
(...) five times as *warm* and five times as *cold* (Geoffrey Leech, Ch.119, quoted in Bantaş, 1993: 306)

It is worth mentioning here Bertocchi's article 'Antonyms and Paradoxes' (2003: 113) in which she makes reference to the famous linguistic paradox of the mysterious Stone of

Bologna. The lapidary stone contains a Roman funerary inscription (see picture below<sup>81</sup>), dated from the 16th century and dedicated to a woman named Aelia Laelia Crispis.



The inscription text, listed as an enigma in the alchemy encyclopedia *Theatrum Chemicum*, vol. III, p. 744. (Argentorati, 1659) - see the below picture<sup>82</sup>, describes the mysterious woman as *nec vir nec mulier nec androgyna, nec puella nec iuuenis nec anus* 'neither man nor woman nor hermaphrodite, neither girl nor young woman nor old woman'.



<sup>81</sup> Available from <[http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pietra\\_di\\_Bologna](http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pietra_di_Bologna)>.

<sup>82</sup> Available from <<http://cosmogono.wordpress.com/2008/03/07/aelia-laelia-crispis/>>.

Here is the Latin text of the inscription with its translation into Spanish<sup>83</sup>:

LATIN	SPANISH
<p>D M</p> <p><i>Aelia Laelia Crispis</i></p> <p><i>Nec vir nec mulier nec androgyna</i></p> <p><i>Nec puella nec iuvenis nec anus</i></p> <p><i>Nec casta nec meretrix nec pudica</i></p> <p><i>sed omnia</i></p> <p><i>sublata neque fame neque ferro</i></p> <p><i>neque ueneno</i></p> <p><i>Sed omnibus</i></p> <p><i>Nec coelo nec aquis nec terris</i></p> <p><i>Sed ubique iacet</i></p> <p><i>Lucius Agatho Priscius</i></p> <p><i>Nec maritus nec amator nec</i></p> <p><i>necessarius</i></p> <p><i>Neque moerens neque gaudens</i></p> <p><i>neque flens</i></p> <p><i>Hanc nec molem nec pyramidem nec</i></p> <p><i>sepulchrum</i></p> <p><i>Sed omnia</i></p> <p><i>Scit et nescit cui posuerit,</i></p> <p><i>hoc est sepulchrum.</i></p> <p><i>Intus cadaver non habens;</i></p> <p><i>Hoc est cadaver sepulchrum extra</i></p> <p><i>non habens;</i></p> <p><i>Sed cadaver idem est sepulchrum</i></p> <p><i>sibi.</i></p>	<p>D.M.</p> <p><i>Aelia Laelia Crispis,</i></p> <p><i>Ni hombre, ni mujer, ni andrógina,</i></p> <p><i>Ni virgen, ni joven, ni vieja,</i></p> <p><i>Ni casta, ni puta, ni púdica,</i></p> <p><i>sino todo esto a la vez.</i></p> <p><i>Perdió su vida, no por hambre, no</i></p> <p><i>por espada, no por veneno,</i></p> <p><i>sino por todo esto a la vez.</i></p> <p><i>Ni en el cielo, ni en el agua, ni en la</i></p> <p><i>tierra, sino en todas partes yace.</i></p> <p><i>Lucius Agatho Priscius,</i></p> <p><i>ni marido, ni amante, ni amigo,</i></p> <p><i>ni triste,</i></p> <p><i>ni alegre, ni lloroso,</i></p> <p><i>Esto no es un túmulo, no es una</i></p> <p><i>pirámide,</i></p> <p><i>no es un sepulcro,</i></p> <p><i>sino todo esto a la vez.</i></p> <p><i>Sabe y no sabe lo que posee.</i></p> <p><i>He aquí una tumba</i></p> <p><i>que no contiene cadáver alguno,</i></p> <p><i>He aquí un cadáver que no contiene</i></p> <p><i>tumba alguna,</i></p> <p><i>Sino que el cadáver es lo que el</i></p> <p><i>sepulcro sea.</i></p>

Table 7: The funerary inscription on the Stone of Bologna

<sup>83</sup> Available from < [http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pietra\\_di\\_Bologna](http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pietra_di_Bologna) > and  
< <http://cosmogono.wordpress.com/2008/03/07/aelia-laelia-crispis/> >.

**5.10. LITOTES** (via late Latin from Greek *litotēs*, from *litos* ‘simple, plain’) (EWED), the use of understatement for the purpose of emphasis, or of a negative to imply a positive, for example:

They had rendered no *small* service. (= *great* service).

It was no *rare* occurrence.

As Bârlea (1999: 117) points out, litotes is closely related to negation, thus he calls these constructions *negatio contrarii* because they have a negative form, substitute positive constructions and have a stylistic function (Lat. "minus dicere et plus significare" - Quintilian, quoted in Bârlea, 1999: 117, 225). The same close relation of litotes with negation is also underlined by Varo Varo (2002: 66) who states that litotes is "nothing else but a sort of antiphrasis in which the negation is explicitly marked".

Since the same term appears on both ends of the antonymic axis, by negation and not by derivation or compounding, we can consider litotes as a type of homolexemic antonymy.

According to Hoffmann (quoted in Bârlea, 1999: 225) stylistic strength of litotes is conferred by: shortness, negative element, supplementary connotations, and evaluative content.

Litotes' definition offered by Estébanez Calderón (quoted in Varo Varo, 2002: 66) in the *Dictionary of Literary Terms*, refers to the fact that this figure of speech consists in saying less than it is thought to let the interlocutor understand, by the tone of voice and the context, the fact that there is the willing to express more than what it has been said.

E.g. He is not as naïve as he seems. <=> He is very clever.

Sp. Es muy poco educado. <=> Es un grosero.

Varo Varo (2002: 66) also uses for litotes the term *attenuation* (Sp. *atenuación*), since, in her opinion, both litotes and antiphrasis produce attenuating and intensifying effects. She explains that, by making use of the verbal courtesy and by negating or saying the contrary, the speaker has no compromise with the veracity of his/her words and, at the same time, he/she is intensifying the meaning of what he/she wants to communicate.

E.g. This is far from good. <=> This is bad.

It is another of his nice gestures. <=> It is another of his bad gestures.

**5.11. MEIOSIS** (from Greek *meiōn* ‘less’. Originally meaning ‘litotes’) (EWED), often confounded with litotes, is an euphemistic figure of speech that intentionally understates something or implies that it is lesser in significance or size than it really is. It has always the function of diminishing a quality. Examples:

I’ve *no great cause* to love that spot of earth,  
Which holds what might have been the noblest nation. (Byron, 1973. *Don Juan*, X, 66)  
He had need rise early, who would please everybody. (American proverb)  
*The Recent Unpleasantness*, used in the southern United States as an idiom to refer to the American Civil War and its aftermath. (*Wikipedia*)  
*rhymester* for ‘poet’, *grease monkey* for ‘mechanic’, *shrink* for ‘psychiatrist’,  
*slasher* for ‘surgeon’, *right-wing nutjobs* for ‘Republicans’, *left-wing pansies* for ‘Democrats’ (<<http://grammar.about.com/>>).

**5.12. (ANTONYMIC) METAPHOR** (from Greek *metaphora*, from *metapherein* ‘to transfer’, literally ‘to carry between’, from *pherein* ‘to carry’) (EWED), a figure of speech in which an implied comparison is made between two unlike things that actually have something in common.

As the very definition of metaphor states, this figure of speech is based on an implicit comparison which can bring it close to antonymy. But metaphor can also function in relation to synonymy, polysemy, etc. The notion that semantic relations between elements of the source domain are metaphorically mapped onto the target domain was put forward by several authors:

If there is a set of words that have semantic relationships in a semantic field (where relationships are described in terms of synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy etc.) and if one or more items pattern in another semantic field, then the other items in the first field are available for extension to the second semantic field. (Lehrer, quoted in Deignan, 2005: 170).

Metaphorical transfers of meaning are transfers from the field of the vehicle to the field of the topic of the relations of affinity and opposition that the vehicle term(s) bears to other terms in this field. More precisely, in metaphor what is transferred are relations which pertain within one semantic field to a second, distinct content domain. (Kittay, quoted in Deignan, 2005: 170).

The above hypothesis is analysed by Alice Deignan (2005: chapter IX) who studies several corpus: on war and plant metaphors, temperature terms and light/dark metaphors. Of the four groups, the last one mentioned was more fragmented, but all of them were consistent with the hypothesis. Thus, the author demonstrates with her studies of the most frequent collocates of the literal uses of *attack* and *defend* that there is a consistency with a coherent mapping of the domain WAR onto ARGUMENT, where logical and semantic relations are



preserved. Regarding plant metaphors, among the pairs of words that proved to function antonymously both in the source and the target domain, Deignan mentions *flourish-wither*, *bear fruit-die on the wine*. As far as *light* and *dark* are concerned, these terms referred to in the literal and the figurative uses which belong in the target domains of cognition and emotion.

According to the Romanian linguist Leon Levițki (quoted in Bârlea, 1999: 221), the so-called 'dynamic antonyms' are the ones involved in the metaphoric process. Levițki describes them as terms of the type "A becomes B (in an X circumstance)". There is usually a double antonymy in which both subjects, A and B, but sometimes even the objects X and Y, have metaphorical values:

E.g. He that trusts in a lie shall perish in truth.

Lat. In praetoriis leones, in castris lepores. (Sidon. Apollin., *Epist.*, 5, 7,5, quoted in Bârlea, 1999: 221).

Antonymous pairs are used metaphorically in different areas of our everyday life, politics being one of them. In many countries, political ideology is characterised in terms of *left* and *right*, hence adjectives like *left-of-centre*, *hard-right* are frequently used when talking about beliefs of individual politicians (Jones, 2002: 6).

Gerow and Keane (quoted in Sälzle & Keane, 2012: 2252) took a distributional approach to understanding metaphorically-structured knowledge in antonymic relationships between *up* and *down* verbs using a corpus of financial news reports. The results of the psychological experiment they performed in order to find the preferred antonyms between the two verbs showed that people identified 114 unique antonym pairs (from a given set of 13 *up* verbs and 15 *down* verbs as possible antonyms). Some examples of people's verb antonymy ratings are<sup>84</sup>:

VERB PAIR	ANTONYMY <sup>85</sup>
<i>rise-fall</i>	57%
<i>jump-fall</i>	31%
<i>drop-climb</i>	13%
<i>decline-rise</i>	27%
<i>slide-climb</i>	23%
<i>soar-plummet</i>	17%

<sup>84</sup> Quoted in Sälzle & Keane (2012: 2253).

<sup>85</sup> The percentages indicate antonymy ratings over participants.

**5.13. CHIASMUS** (from Greek *khiasmos*, from *khiazein* ‘to mark with an X’, from *khi* ‘the letter chi’) (EWED), a rhetorical construction (a type of antithesis) in which the order of the words in the second of two paired phrases is the reverse of the order in the first.

E.g. "You forget what you want to remember, and you remember what you want to forget." (Cormac McCarthy, *The Road*)

"If black men have no rights in the eyes of the white men, of course the whites can have none in the eyes of the blacks." (Frederick Douglass, *An Appeal to Congress for Impartial Suffrage*)

"The value of marriage is not that adults produce children, but that children produce adults." (Peter De Vries)<sup>86</sup>

Bârlea (1999: 227) considers this figure of speech the most expressive type of antithesis because it shares all antonymy features, both at the paradigmatic and syntagmatic levels. The particularity of chiasmus is the word order in the antithetic context, based on the symmetry in the mirror: AB/BA or A<sub>1</sub>B<sub>2</sub>/B<sub>2</sub>A<sub>1</sub>.

**5.14. HOMOIOTELEUTON (also Homeoteleuton/ Homoeoteleuton)** (from the Greek *homoiooteleuton*, 'like ending') (*Wikipedia*), a complex figure of style based on matching similar sound endings to words, phrases, or sentences. Rhyme, for example, is a type of homoiooteleuton, that is why it is also known as **near rhyme**.

E.g. "My mother weeping, my father wailing, my sister crying, our maid howling, our cat wringing her hands" (Shakespeare. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* - Act II, scene 3, available from <<http://grammar.about.com/>>).

While in Latin rhetoric and poetry homeoteleuton was a frequently used device, nowadays this figure of style is less tolerated in formal style, it characterizes more proverbs, idioms, etc.:

E.g. No news is good news.

Fr. À bon chat, bon rat.

Rom. La plăcinte înainte, la război înapoi!

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<sup>86</sup> The three examples are available from <<http://grammar.about.com/>>.

As we have already seen, antonymy appears in different functional styles, not only in literature. As far as scientific style is concerned, antonymy is frequently used in technical language, in order to describe, explain or define phenomena, scientific processes, etc., for example the following contrastive description of metals and nonmetals (Bantaş-Porteanu, 1995: 104):

(...) elements fall into one or two groups, the metal group and the nonmetal one. The contrast between the properties of these two groups is given below.

(...) Metals are solid at room temperature (...); their density is high (...); they are both malleable (...) and ductile (...); they have high melting and boiling points and are good heat and electricity conductors. In contradistinction to metals, many nonmetals are liquids and gases at room temperature, but they may also be solid: their density is usually low; solid nonmetals are brittle (...); they have low melting and boiling points and are poor conductors of heat and electricity. (...) Metals have basic oxides; they react with diluted acids forming salts; they form positive ions and are liberated at the cathode during electrolysis (...). Unlike metals, nonmetals have acidic oxides; they do not form salts; they form negative ions and are liberated at the anode during electrolysis.

Colloquial speech is also very rich in antonymic constructions. There are lots of clichés, fixed formulae, rhymed expressions, etc. used in oral everyday language, containing opposite pairs. Moreover, when based on the Latin model, some of them are common to several Romance languages. Thus we can find the same context in different languages (Bârlea, 1999: 245-246):

E.g. 'A becomes B': Lat. *Facere de alba nigram.*

Sp. *Pasar del blanco al negro.*

Rom. *A face din alb negru.*

Fr. *Passer du blanc au noir.*

'A is (like) X; B is (like) Y': Lat. *Fel quod amarumst, id mel faciet.*

Sp. *Dulce como la miel, amargo como la hiel.*

Rom. *Dulce ca mierea, amar ca fierea.*

Resuming, we can say that antonymy is a productive source of language expressivity, used both in writing and in speaking. Furthermore, due to its capacity of defining and underlying by oppositeness the denominated object, this semantic relation is found in different functional styles of language.

**PART TWO**  
**~ PROVERBS ~**



## CHAPTER I

### DEFINING PROVERBS

*"La întrebarea despre ce glăsuiește proverbul românesc s-ar putea răspunde cu mândria doctorului medieval: despre toate lucrurile care se pot ști și altele multe în plus."<sup>87</sup>*  
(Lucian Blaga)

#### 1.1. WHAT IS A PROVERB?

Fragments of sculptures of the language, with a great plastic value, proverbs have always represented an artistic expression, fascinating and difficult in meanings as the very life experience they come from.

Arising many but passionate questions for the researchers in this field, bringing about controversies, especially regarding their origins, proverbs open a new horizon of the peoples' wisdom and spirituality of which they derive from. Proverbs all over the world make reference to this fact themselves:

'Wise men make proverbs and fools repeat them' (Scottish); 'Mad folks and proverbs reveal many truths' (American); 'All the good sense of the world runs into proverbs'; 'Common proverb seldom lies'; 'Every proverb is truth'; 'Old proverbs are children of truth'; 'Proverbs are the children of experience'<sup>88</sup>; 'Proverbs are the wisdom of the streets'; 'The proverb is never out of season'; 'The wisdom of the proverbs cannot be surpassed' (English);

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<sup>87</sup> Lit. transl. from Romanian: "To the question what is the Romanian proverb speaking about, one could answer with the proud of the medieval doctor: about all the things that can be known and about many others more". The quote belongs to Lucian Blaga (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 214).

<sup>88</sup> A similar personification is used by the Dutch to refer to proverbs. For them proverbs are "the daughters of experience" (Ridout, 1969: 15). Blasco de Garay (quoted in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 38) also makes use of such a personification when he considers "los refranes como unos hijos legítimos de la costumbre, que enseñan las cosas que nuestros pasados aprobaron".

‘A proverb can’t be judged’ (Russian); ‘A proverb never tells a lie’ (Lebanese); ‘A proverb says what a man thinks’ (Swedish); ‘Old proverbs are the children of truth’ (Welsh); ‘Proverbs are the daughters of daily experience’ (Dutch); ‘The proverb is an ornament to language’ (Persian); ‘The proverb is salt to speech’ (Arabian) (from Tóthné, 1996: 1)<sup>89</sup>.

Álvarez Curiel (2008: 81) uses the term *metarrefranero* to make reference to those proverbs defining proverbs<sup>90</sup>. He allocates an entire chapter<sup>91</sup> to this topic giving concrete examples of such Spanish proverbs, e.g. 'No hay refrán que no sea verdadero', 'Si los refranes fueran ley que se cumpliera, mejor el mundo anduviera', 'No hay refrán que no diga una verdad; y si una no, es porque dice dos'; 'Quien habla por refranes es un saco de verdades' (Panizo, 1999: 7).

The science which studies proverbs is called *paroemiology* and that which deals with the collection of proverbs is named *paroemiography*. A proverb - Rom. *proverb*, Sp. *proverbio* - (14<sup>th</sup> century via old French *proverbe* from Latin *proverbium* ‘saying, saw’, from *pro* ‘forth’ + *verbum* ‘word’) is "a short well-known saying that expresses an obvious truth and often offers advice" (EWED), "a short sentence that people often quote, which gives advice or comments on life" (BBC). In *The New Universal Dictionary of the Romanian Language*, we find the following definition of a proverb: "an expression (become) popular which includes - in a concentrated, elliptic, suggestive, often metaphorical (rhythmic or with rhyme) form - a piece of advice or a life experience", definition similar to the one registered in the *Little Encyclopedic Dictionary*: "popular form of metaphorical expression, lapidary and memorably, sometimes with rhythm and rhyme, of a life experience or of a piece of advice."

The OED defines it as "a short pithy saying in common and recognized use; a concise sentence, often metaphorical or alliterative in form, which is held to express some truth ascertained by experience or observation and familiar to all; an adage, a wise saw." *Collins English Dictionary* defines proverb as "a short, memorable, and often highly condensed saying embodying, especially with bold imagery, some commonplace fact of experience" (quoted in Strauss, 1998: viii).

To sum up, it may be said that a proverb is a short sentence that usually has rhyme, through which the result of a long, everyday life experience of people is expressed

<sup>89</sup> Some of these proverbs are also recorded in French by Visetti and Cadiot (2006: 19), e.g. 'Les proverbes disent ce que le peuple pense', etc.

<sup>90</sup> An appendix of such proverbs has been added at the end of this work, including proverbs defining proverbs in English, Spanish and Romanian languages.

<sup>91</sup> Chapter V: *El refrán habla del refrán*, p. 81-85.

metaphorically, concisely and suggestively. It contains a moral and it is used as an advice or in order to criticize a person, an event, a thing, etc. Gaster (quoted in Teodorescu, 1964: 288 and Negreanu, 1983: 22) says that proverbs "are for the spiritual relationships of humankind just as the coin is for the social relations". An analogous metaphor is employed by Maldonado (1987: 11) who states that proverbs [and sayings] are "valores convenidos, moneda literaria que intercambiamos en nuestra conversación, tan seguros de su eficacia como descuidados de la solera que los garantiza", and Baños & Guardiola (2001: 38) for whom the proverbs "Fueron moneda de cambio que permitió la comunicación casi cifrada entre individuos que compartían referentes históricos y sociológicos comunes."

Moreover, a quite ancient proverb-coin association is that of Juan de Mal Lara who, in his *Philosophia vulgar* (1568), said that "el refrán corre por el mundo de boca en boca, según moneda" (quoted in Lloréns Barber, 1986: 17).

Pavel Ruxăndoiu (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 36) defines proverb as "a concise formula, with a relatively stable linguistic structure, distributed in different contexts, which intensively expresses a truism or a general opinion."

Proverbs have their sources in life experience; they are "ancient but constantly refreshed codes of moral behavior and conduct" (Lefter, 1978: 5). Inside proverbs one can discover the sensibility of the human soul, the permanent dialogue between nature and life - expressions of man's reflection over world. Zanne (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 73) sees proverbs as "the expression of the character and the manners of a people, its way of thinking, seeing and feeling (...). And, indeed, although due to individualities, proverbs, by the fact that they have become proverbs, are the property of the entire people and must be seen as the collective product of the spirit of a whole nation."

Proverbs are sometimes confounded with sayings or even idioms. Proverbs, by life experience, observe a fact then pronounce a sentence, a sort of a verdict. Sayings are like formulae reduced to syntagms, representing only the first part of a proverb. As we shall see in the chapter 1.3., dealing with the differences between proverbs and other folk narratives, defining proverbs has often been a difficult task. This fact is signalized by Archer Taylor (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 29 and Colombi, 1989: 4) who says that "The definition of a proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking", making reference that his entire book - *The Proverb* (1962) - represents an attempt of proverbs defining:



(...) and should we fortunately combine in a single definition all the essential elements and give each the proper emphasis, we should not even then have a touchstone. An incommunicable quality tells us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not. Hence no definition will enable us to identify positively a sentence as proverbial. Those who do not speak a language can never recognize all its proverbs, and similarly much that is truly proverbial escapes us in Elizabethan and older English. Let us be content with recognizing that a proverb is a saying current among the folk. At least so much of a definition is indisputable, and we shall see and weigh the significance of other elements later (quoted in Mieder, 1993: 4-5).

Still, many definitions of proverbs have been given along the years, some more complete and clearer than others, many of them metaphorical, as it can be seen later on this chapter. These definitions are sometimes similar, other times they complete one another. Nicolae Roşianu (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 36) also makes reference to the diversity of proverbs definitions due to the "heterogeneity of the paroemiological phenomenon". In his article 'The Nature of Proverb' (1932), Whiting (quoted in Mieder, 1993: 4) tries to give a definition of proverbs as complete as possible:

A proverb is an expression which, owing its birth to the people, testifies its own origin in form and phrase. It expresses what is apparently a fundamental truth - that is, a truism - in homely language, often adorned, however, with alliteration and rhyme. It is usually short, but need not be; it is usually true, but need not be. Some proverbs have both a literal and a figurative meaning, either of which makes perfect sense; buy more often they have but one of the two. A proverb must be venerable; it must bear the sign of antiquity, and, since such signs must be counterfeited by a clever literary man, it should be attested in different places at different times.

An innovation in the definition of proverbs is represented by Mieder's "experiment" consisting in gathering together fifty-five definitions<sup>92</sup> given by ordinary people as answers to the question 'How would you define a proverb?'. After analyzing the frequencies of the most repeated words in all the responses collected, Mieder (1993: 5) comes to the following

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<sup>92</sup> The fifty-five definitions are alphabetically listed by Mieder in the second chapter - *"A Proverb is a Short Sentence of Wisdom"*. *Popular Views of the Proverb* - of his cited work (1993, 20-23). The 55 interviewees were students, friends, and acquaintances of the author. Here are five of these definitions (randomly chosen): "A proverb is a condensed form of age-old folk sayings and biblical teachings. The proverb attempts to teach us, via the trials and tribulations of others who were not as fortunate as we. Proverbs can be positive or negative in nature; unfortunately, far too many of them are anti-women in their conclusions"; "A proverb is a traditional wisdom, advice, or statement in a fixed phrase. It is short and precise, consists of at least two parts, and contains actor and verb"; "A proverb is a short sentence or saying which expresses a rather simple didactic concept, and which usually implies a right as opposed to a wrong action. Proverbs are brief, often not direct (metaphoric), and a great majority of the community will be familiar with the proverb and its meaning"; "Proverbs are golden words of folk wisdom that have been treasured from generation to generation"; "A proverb is a witticism which combines clarity and precision of thought with brevity and profundity of word usage. The statement generally applies to a situation which is commonly understood and appreciated by all peoples of a given culture."

definition according to the folk views on the proverbs: "A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorizable form and which is handed down from generation to generation."

Cezar Tabarcea (1982: 84) gives the following definition of proverbs, based on three directions he considers essential for a better understanding of the complexity of the problem: "A proverb is a linguistic statement with a fixed logical-semantic structure, which interrupts the discourse in that it is included, in order to metaphorically refer to a situation which determines its enunciation or to a segment of the discourse." The three directions on which the Romanian author bases his definition are:

- **the literary-folkloric perspective** which refers to the fact that proverbs are included in a certain literary genre;

- **the linguistic perspective**, taking into account the characteristics of expression of the proverbs, those elements of language that can be considered as proper to proverbs. For example: *better - than* (Better an open enemy than a false friend.), *neither - nor* (Trust neither a new friend nor an old enemy).

From this perspective, Elena Slave (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 78, and Negreanu, 1983: 36) gives the following definition of a proverb: "a syntactic combination having sentence as the simple level and whose elements are used in a special manner, with a value of symbolic assembly."

- **the logical perspective** which points out the logical status of the proverb.

Referring to the logical mechanism of proverbs, Pavel Ruxăndoiu (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 80-81) reaches the conclusion that a proverb appears as the conclusive result of a syllogism: "A proverb comes from a necessarily categorical judgement to a conceptual assertive one. In order to decode its meaning by a collective, traditionally a deductive reasoning is required."

Liisa Granbom-Herranen (in Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 291) defines proverbs from two points of view, namely the **folkloristic** and **philosophic** ones. In this respect, in order to understand the meaning of a proverb, people should comprehend not only the words, but also the situational circumstances in which that proverb was/is said. Usually it is easier to identify the cultural connection in place than in time. Hence the following definition of the proverb

given by the Finnish author: "Proverbs are combinations of socio-cultural context, people, emotions and information in various situations" (in Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 291).

Proverbs – meaningful words – come from a people's popular wisdom. A German proverb states that 'The proverb is wisdom of the street'; an American one that 'Proverbs are the wisdom of nations' and sometimes they fit perfectly a certain situation, event, person, etc. Ion Dodu Bălan points out that "proverbs are the fruit of the experience of all peoples; they are the common sense of all centuries reduced to formulae" (1974: IX); "proverbs are a way of converting the ancient wisdom of humankind into a thesaurus" (1974: VI).

Lucian Blaga (quoted in Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 17) reduces the 'wisdom of humankind' to the 'wisdom of experienced, suffering people': "In a proverb, the wisdom of the suffering man is uttered... Proverb is the wisdom of the hurt man, and not that of the experienced one who only sees the world as a mere spectator."

Gulian (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 30) defines proverbs as "generalized findings, as a sort of laws emitted by dozens and hundreds of similar happenings". For Chițimia<sup>93</sup> a proverb is "the short formulation of a finding with a great human value, expressed directly or figuratively". The famous Spanish writer Miguel de Cervantes<sup>94</sup> finds proverb a "short phrase extracted from a long experience", meanwhile the Romanian poet Lucian Blaga<sup>95</sup> considers that "proverbs are at the same time: fragments of philosophical systems, fragments of psychology, and fragments of great pamphlet".

Tabarcea (1982: 27) defines them as "simple poetical forms which, within a primary level of the development of the language and human culture, had the function of registering and preserving certain observations related to the very characteristics of linguistic structure that could have later generated poetical structures."

Due to its worldwide circulation, a proverb is also "a spontaneous agent" (Muntean, 1967: VII) of interaction and refreshment of cultures. "Proverbs", states Petru Rezuș (1974: 3), "- witticism, meaningful words - come to our lips as a synthesis of our living, as a symphonic end of our thoughts and feelings, as a necessity of expressing through others' or through our wisdom, what we discover to be true."

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<sup>93</sup> Quoted in Negreanu (1983: 31).

<sup>94</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem.*

A proverb is not a phrase said by chance, isolated. It appears within the framework of a story or it spreads from a true happening. For example, the Romanian proverb 'Unde este stârvul, acolo și vulturii' (lit. transl. 'Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles/ravens be gathered together') spreads from the following legend:

During an awful drought a mother cursed her two sons to become birds because they had eaten the dough of the bread that she was about to bake. After going through many adventures in looking for her brothers, the two boys' sister found them in a palace on the top of a mountain. When seeing the girl, they asked her to keep the secret for six years, after which they were supposed to become human beings again. Since the sister did not keep the secret, the ravens could not become humans again so they remained birds as their mother had cursed them. They had been eating wild dead animals instead of bread ever since (Coşbuc, quoted in Teodorescu, 1964: 291).

Another example is that of the Uruguayan saying 'Es como el mate de los Morales', having its origin in Cerro Largo area. According to Pereda Valdés (1998: 22) this proverbial phrase applies to an unfulfilled promise compared to the *mate* promised by the Morales, a poor family that could never produce the drink because they could not afford to buy the necessary herbs for its preparing.

Regarding the stories proverbs come from, Gonzalo Correas (quoted in Curiel, 2008: 67) believes that they are "cuentos fingidos que nacen a posteriori para explicar el refrán". According to this author, the process was the other way around that thought to be: first there was the proverb, then a story in which the proverb perfectly fitted has been created.

José María Iribarren (quoted in Curiel, 2008: 67) shares the same opinion. In his view, "la gente propende a dar por sentado que un dicho popular nació de una historieta, sin caer en la cuenta de que esa historieta más que una 'explicación' del origen del dicho, es una 'aplicación' muy posterior del mismo."

As Langlotz (2006: 44) points out

(...) a proverb or proverbial expression invokes a concrete situation (pulling strings, showing a flag, breaking ice) as the metaphorical model for a recurrent culturally significant situation involving abstract relations or entities (e.g. exerting influence, making one's opinions known, easing the formality of a social encounter).

However, Coşbuc has another theory. According to him (Tabarcea, 1982: 50) the same moral withdrawn from a happening can be told in different ways by different people who lived that experience. The wisdom which is told in the most plastic manner prevails and it turns into a proverb.

Proverbs probably exist in any language, and they often reflect the cultural values or attitudes of a particular society. They attempt to express a piece of practical advice or wisdom in a concise and memorable manner, and sometimes the same ideas can be found in different languages, but expressed in different ways.

Even though they may say that proverbs are not used very much, or almost at all, especially among younger people, it cannot be said that proverbs are on their way out. One might say that they are dying out, but in spite of their nowadays less frequent usage, they still exist. They have their place in a language and, even though they might be abandoned on a shelf, covered with dust, they are still there and their existence cannot be denied. They may be seen as the treasure of a language, as the heritage of a people from their ancestors. Furthermore, let us agree with Doval and emphasise that we are not talking about a hidden treasure ("un tesoro escondido"), but about a constantly growing richness ("una riqueza en curso"). This wealth, as the author says, "expresa cómo fuimos, cómo somos y, se quiera o no, cómo seremos" (1997: II). "Language begs off with its own folklore: 'Sticks and stones may break my bones but words will never hurt me'" (Bolinger, 1980: 68).

The truth is that there are languages richer in proverbs as well as proverbs more commonly used in everyday speech. According to Charteris-Black's study (1999) (quoted by Gramley, 2001: 149) proverbs are rarely used in their canonical or citation form, but variations of them appear. These variations refer to proverbs which:

- are contracted: 'He is refusing to give an inch' < 'Give him an inch and he'll take a mile'
- include substitution: 'The proof of the cake is the eating' < 'The proof of the pudding...'
- show up as antonym: 'All that glitters is gold' < 'All that glitters is not gold'
- are expended: 'Casting synthetic pearls before real swine' < 'Do not throw pearls before swine'

These findings show that proverbs are used in one way or another. As we shall see later on, much of the variation in proverbs is to be found in advertising and journalistic language. The very fact that such variation is so relatively frequent is a strong indication that cultural literacy in the field of proverbs is widely presupposed.

### 1.1.1. DEFINING PROVERBS THROUGH METAPHORS

If we take a closer look into proverbs and their use in context, we can subscribe to Lidia Sfirlea's statement (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 34) according to which "every element of a proverb is an absolute metaphor" even though "the figurative meaning of each element is given by its relation to the other elements". Cezar Tabarcea (1982: 35) considers proverbs to be "metaphors organized in rhetorical figures of speech, having the characteristic of applying to circumstances or linguistic contexts with which they have some features in common the moment when the correspond circumstance or context occurs."

Proverbs can thus be seen as metaphors themselves. Moreover, many authors define proverbs using metaphors, reflecting therefore the importance of the proverbs in language and society. Gibbs (2001: 167) names them "pearls of wisdom", while Calles Vales (2003: 7) uses the syntagm "small jewelry" (Sp. "pequeñas joyas").

The Finnish author Matti Kuusi (quoted in Mieder, 1993: 36) defines proverbs as "monumenta humana". A similar metaphor is used by Martínez Kleiser (quoted in Panizo, 1999: 8, and Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 53) who names proverbs "verdaderos monumentos del idioma". For Ralph Waldo Emerson (quoted in Junceda, 1955: 17, and Doval, 1997: II), "Proverbs, like the sacred books of each nation, are the sanctuary of the intuitions".

Herodotus refers to proverbs as "wise pieces of advice" (quoted in Rosetti, 1964: 194, Muntean, 1967: V and Grosu: 2007: 8) while Homer (quoted in Muntean, 1967: VI, Dodu Bălan, 1974: VI, Negreanu, 1998: 34 and Grosu: 2007: 8) designates them Lat. "epta pteroenta" (wingy words, Rom. *cuvinte înaripate*). Aristotle (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 16) says that proverbs are "the monuments of the primitive philosophy destroyed in the worst worries of humankind and preserved due to the concision and the matching of their opportunity".

The Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico (cited in Negreanu, 1983: 16 & 1998: 34 and Gheorghe, 1986: 13) sees proverbs as "the language of the gods", based on the fact that the oracles were expressed as advices and examples. L. Blaga (quoted in Dumistrăcel, 2001: 10) makes the same analogy of proverbs with the language of gods. According to him, there are Romanian proverbs which, "due to their refinement, seem words of a spiritual conversation which takes place mainly among rustic gods than among countrymen." Trench (quoted in Avram, 2011: 13) reiterates the relation of proverbs with divinity: "Proverbs are people's voice, so they are God's voice".

Romanian linguists refer to proverbs using meaningful syntagms like: "nestemate ale spiritului uman" (precious diamonds of the human spirit - Dodu Bălan, 1974, V); "lacrimi picurate din ochii fizici sau spirituali ai umanității de-a lungul vremii pe cărările întortocheate ale istoriei sale" (tears fallen from the physical or spiritual eyes of humankind within the tortuous paths of its history - Dodu Bălan, 1974: XV); "înțelepciune la îndemâna tuturor" (wisdom at hand of all people - Nicolescu, in Avram, 2004: 5); "semințe ale înțelepciunii" (seeds of wisdom) which, "planted in people's souls can bear the fruits of kindness, faith, dignity, diligence, compassion, loyalty, etc." (Grosu, 2007: 7). Tudor Vianu (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 153) called proverbs "citate generalizate" (generalized quotations) and Arina Avram (2004: 9) names them "adevăr etern valabil" (immortal truth) being always actual by the present tense used in the utterance.

Ovidiu Papadima (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 74, Dodu Bălan, 1974: X-XI, and Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 17) goes further than that when he considers proverbs "forme de viață" (forms of life), "as all the others forms of the popular art". As the association of proverbs with forms of life made by the Romanian author may seem a little exaggerated, we consider appropriate to give the entire quotation so that his metaphor can be better understood:

Proverbs are not pieces of advice. They are, as all the other forms of popular art, *forms of life*. Moreover they are essences of life. They formulate, in the most concentrated and striking possible way, an almost infinite number of life situations. Proverbs distil, so to speak, life. But they distil it in such a way that it loses nothing of its flavour. They distil, before everything, what is the most fleshy and juicy in life. Then they distil only as much as needed. The difference between proverbs and the premises of the classical logic is the very difference between drink and alcohol. In one, all the flavours of the flesh and juice of the fruit remain meanwhile in the other remain only the molecules of the cereal starch, chemically transformed by boiling. Therefore proverbs (...) wisely distil life situations. Consequently, they are not pieces of advice. But they can naturally go to wisdom. How? Very simple: helping you to understand everything that hits you when you contemplate life. (...) Proverb must make you see everything, the essential, at one glance. Proverb is a form of concentrated art. There are as many forms of a proverb as forms of the art of the word<sup>96</sup>.

A similar relativeness to life is also made by Gregorio Doval (1997: II) for whom proverbs are "elementos vivos" and by Felipe Maldonado (1987: 9) who compares them with "organismos vivos" que "se adaptan a la lengua de los tiempos que atraviesan". Enrique Saporta (quoted in Baños & Guardiola, 2001: 26) sees proverb as life itself:

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<sup>96</sup> Translation from Romanian.

Un trozo de verdad cotidiana, desnuda, objetiva y asequible; un trozo de filosofía pragmática y conveniente; una lección breve, desprendida y horizontal; una porción de psicología real, un retazo de sabiduría menor, de experiencia humana... El refrán, por lo tanto, no es sapiencia popular, sino el pueblo, el hombre, la vida.

According to the French researcher C. de Mery (quoted in Muntean, 1967: XVII), "proverbs are nations' richness and wisdom (...), children of time and experience". The Romanian poet and philosopher Lucian Blaga (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 9) states that "proverbs have always got the wisdom of an old man". He defines proverbs as "the aphorisms of the people (...). We have got proverbs that are whips of fire and proverbs which had been flowers before they became words" (quoted in Grosu, 2007: 7 and Rudică, 2004: 10).

Although proverbs may be considered old-fashioned and even out of use, they are, as Mieder (1993: ix) says, "not passé" and definitely "not dead". The author sustains the idea that "proverbs are never out of season", being still "actual bits of wisdom", with concrete examples of proverbs currently used in our present days. A very eloquent example is 'Garbage in, garbage out', a proverb which has its origin in the IT area - a sector that is undoubtedly a major part of our nowadays world.

The same positive attitude of Visetti and Cadiot (2006: 21) regarding the risk of proverbs becoming obsolete transmits us an optimistic message: "(...) le genre proverbial n'est pas mort et ne court pas en tant que genre le risque d'être oublié - en dépit du fait que nos contemporains en savent infiniment moins que les générations précédentes<sup>97</sup>."

A solid argument may be also that of Erasmus of Rotterdam according to whom "like wine, proverbs and sententiae get better as time goes by" (quoted by Charles Fantazzi in the *Preface* of Puig de la Bellacasa, 2008: 11).

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<sup>97</sup> Translation from French: "The proverbial gendre has not died yet and it is not running the risk of being forgotten - despite of the fact that our contemporaries have a poorer knowledge than the previous generations."



## 1.2. PROVERBS' FEATURES

The very definition of proverbs makes reference to their features: "proverbs are short, generally known sentences of the folk that contain wisdom, truths, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorizable form and that are handed down orally from generation to generation" (Mieder, in Green, 1997: 661).

Some of the above characteristics of proverbs are also mentioned by Mihai Pop and Pavel Ruxăndoiu (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 26):

- proverbs are short - they usually do not exceed the limit of a phrase. An exception is represented by dialogue proverbs or the explained ones;
- proverbs apply to concrete contexts that can be infinite in number;
- proverbs form a whole which expresses itself as a philosophical language within which the meanings are crossing or opposing reciprocally.

Doval (1997: III-IV) as well makes reference to what we can call generally mentioned and recognized features of the proverbs. As far as *refrán* is concerned, the author describes it with the following characteristics that can undoubtedly apply to what a proverb is in our understanding:

- a complete, independent and usually brief phrase; generally orally transmitted; known, accepted and employed by almost all the individuals of a concrete geographical and cultural area.
- an anonymous author, hence an unknown origin (or at least difficult to place in time and space).
- gathering and expressing a didactic conclusion, drawn out of a repeated and common experience. The impression, the deduction or the personal conclusion of the anonymous author acquire a general value.
- the form of a sententia and a jocose value; expressing, among other possibilities, a thought, an advice, a warning or a wish.
- a peculiar form or sonority for an easier understanding and memorization.
- usually, a two-phrased form, phrases that are often symmetrical.
- the use of many stylistic devices and rhetorical figures of speech.

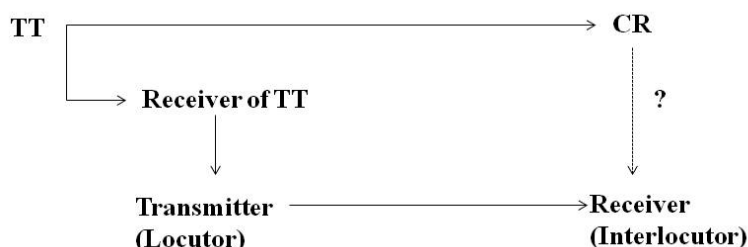
For Stănciulescu-Bârda (2003: 182) "proverbs have always been the most advanced manner ever used in order to express social consciousness". According to the author, proverbs have three main important features:

- validity in time and space. Related to this feature, Caudet Yarza (1998: 7) considers proverbs to be temporal, i.e. inside and out of time at once, due to their abstract and polysemous character which slows down their loss of validity and their old-fashioned becoming.

- accessibility to a vast mass of receivers;
- synchronism, proverbs being usually up-dated to masses and expressing certain convictions and feelings.

Referring to the social and political aspects of a certain period of time, proverbs have, as Stănciulescu-Bârda states, "the form of a type of an ethno-historical document". The same author refers to proverbs as "documents of human wisdom" due to their power of the synthesis of reflection on human life, and as "documents of language, of speaking", thanks to their transmissivity, their perpetuation from one generation to another (Stănciulescu-Bârda, 2003: 252).

Proverbs represent "the re-utterance of a pre-elaborated statement belonging to a concrete tradition" (Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 30). They imply "a relation [represented in the below diagram<sup>98</sup>] between a Tradition-Transmitter (TT) and a Collective-Receiver (CR). Re-uttered within a concrete communicative context, proverbs already contain certain significations enclosed by TT's intentions."



It is important to be mentioned here the fact that, even though the *locutor*<sup>99</sup> and the speaker usually are one and the same person, there is a possibility that they are different entities. This theory is signaled by Elvira Manero Richard<sup>100</sup> (in Conde Tarrío, 2007: 163-164) based on Ducrot's article "El decir y lo dicho: polifonía de la enunciación" (1986)

<sup>98</sup> Ruxăndoiu (2003: 31).

<sup>99</sup> J. Anscombe (quoted in Manero Richard, 2011: 104) uses the term "*Omni-locutor*" to refer to "ese autor anónimo y difuso de los enunciados genéricos tipificantes *a priori* (y otros enunciados, como las frases situacionales: *A otra cosa, mariposa*). Por el contrario, los enunciados genéricos tipificantes locales poseen un *L-locutor*, que es un autor concreto y conocido".

<sup>100</sup> In her article: "La representación de las figuras del emisor y el receptor en el refranero español de contenido metalingüístico" (pages 157-181).

according to which: "El sujeto hablante es (...) el ser del mundo real que crea el enunciado, un 'elemento de experiencia' (...) o 'ser empírico' (...). El locutor, por su parte, es el responsable del enunciado, por lo que a él puede imputarse la responsabilidad que se deriva de lo dicho (...)."

According to Granbom-Herranen (Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 289), when heard for the first time (in present use, not back at its origin), the proverb becomes the 'property' of the user (=owner). Thus, when the hearer will use this proverb later in his life, he will consciously associate it with its owner and the circumstance in which he got in touch with that proverb. In this process, the proverb passes from the anonymous author to the custody of an owner (=the person who uses it on a first time situation for a hearer). It converts thus in a heritage passing, as gifts, from one owner to another in different circumstances and for various uses and purposes. This fact is very well expressed by the following quote belonging to María Elisa Zurita (in Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 254-255):

Los refranes provienen de un tiempo remoto y, a menudo, son empleados en nuestros cotidianos actos de habla, para luego regalarlos a fin de que otros también los empleen, los abandonen o mediante la manipulación los recreen. Ellos plasman la identidad de los pueblos. Hoy mantenemos vigentes estas paremias, las actualizamos en nuestras conversaciones o las escuchamos en los medios locales o nacionales.

As Negreanu (1998: 32) remarks, "proverbs are placed at the limit between language and folklore, borrowing thus functions of the two". Moreover, for Irine Goshkheteliani (Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 281)

Proverbs constitute both language and culture. Culture exists in language and language exists in culture, culture is transmitted through language and learning language means learning the culture of the country, which is better acquired through communication.

Proverbs are used within different communicative circumstances in everyday language for practical purposes. Therefore proverbs can convey doubts, reproaches, ironies, warnings, explanations, excuses, consolations, regrets, interdictions, etc.

One of the most common proverbs' features commented upon by different international linguists is **shortness** (projected both on oral and written contexts). Authors of various nationalities, e.g. Quintilian, Greimas, Flydal, Whiting, Taylor, Pușcariu, etc. (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 103) refer to this essential characteristic of proverbs with the same term: (Eng.) *brevity*, (French) *bref*, (Lat.) *brevis*, (Italian) *brevità*, (Sp.) *brevedad*, (Rom.) *brevitate*, *brevilocvență*. This may be the most constantly used feature when linguists try to reduce the definition of proverbs to several important aspects. For Ridout (1969: 8) "Brevity is of course

an essential aspect of memorable sayings". According to Whiting, brevity is far from being a *sine qua non* condition of a proverb: "Proverb is usually short but it does not necessarily have to be so" (Tabarcea, 1982: 104). Still, this characteristic of the proverbs can be interpreted taking into account on the one hand the number of the words<sup>101</sup> contained by the proverb text and, on the other hand, the number of the sentences<sup>102</sup> included in the proverb statement.

In his article "On the Structure of the Proverb" (1975), Alan Dundes (cited in Mieder, 1993: 8 and Colombi, 1989: 18) points out that a proverb has minimum two words - **a topic** and **a comment**, e.g. "Money talks". According to him, "The proverb appears to be a traditional propositional statement consisting of at least one descriptive element, a descriptive element consisting of a topic and a comment."

For example, in the proverb 'One swallow does not make a summer', *swallow* and *summer* are topics, while *one* and *does not make* are the comments. If *a swallow*  $\neq$  *summer*, it means that *various/many swallows* = *summer* (Colombi, 1989: 19).

Referring to this two-membered structure of a proverb, Curiel (2008: 62) describes its elements as the **theme**, i.e. the referee or the physical image expressing a fact, and the **thesis**, namely the moral or exemplary proposed idea. The author offers the following example: 'Del árbol caído todos hacen leña' where 'the fallen tree' (*el árbol caído*) is the theme, the image, and 'all make firewood' (*todos hacen leña*) stands for the thesis. For Luis Martínez Klaiser (quoted in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 98) proverbs "have a body and a soul", i.e. their form and core.

Sevilla and Cantera (2002: 20) also point out that usually proverbs have a structure formed of two parts (Sp. *estructura bimembre*):

- the first one, with a descriptive value, may contain an action, e.g. (a) 'Siembra vientos...', a spatial reference point, e.g. (b) 'En casa del herrero...', or a temporal reference point, e.g. (c) 'A la vejez...', (d) 'A las diez...';
- the second part, being either the consequences of the first one, e.g. (a) '...y recogerás tempestades', (b) '...cuchillo de palo', (c) '...viruelas'; or representing and advice, e.g. (d) '...en la cama estés'.

<sup>101</sup> The result of a study made by Elena Slave on a corpus of 135 Romanian proverbs (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 105) demonstrated that the minimum of words in a proverb was three meanwhile the maximum was 14. This contradicts Leiv Flydal (mentioned later on in the same chapter) who considers the minimum of a Romanian proverb to be of two words - without giving a concrete example of such a proverb (according to Tabarcea, 1982: 104).

<sup>102</sup> The same Elena Slave's study made the author reach to this conclusion regarding Romanian proverbs: "There are very few proverbs formed of more than two sentences and the found examples are occasional, not very used" (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 107).

Brânzei (2000: 3) invokes the fact that a proverb has the form of one phrase: "A proverb is a discourse of wisdom reduced to one phrase, a side of truth that shines". Ridout (1969: 9) remarks that most of the popular proverbs are usually short, giving examples such as: 'Boys will be boys', 'Dead men tell no tales', 'Never say die', 'What must be must be', 'Practice makes perfect', etc. There are also proverbs that can be considered pretty long, e.g. 'Early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise.'

Among the main features of the proverbs, we very often hear '**collective creation**', '**anonymity**' (see Gheorghe, 1986: 18), and '**orality**' (see Rosetti, 1964: 195 and Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 37). Proverbs are collective creations; they are the heritage of people and have a large circulation by the popular means. Lord John Russell's definition, given in the nineteenth century (quoted in Mieder, 1993: xi, 13 and Doval, 1997: I), according to which proverbs are "The wit of one, and the wisdom of many", is still actual and acceptable. Paraphrasing Celdrán Gomariz (2009: 11), we can say that proverbs are

(...) frases hechas (...), hechas por alguien un día, y que cayeron en gracia, y sirvieron por ello a un fin expresivo y quedaron en el repertorio de muletillas, tics y recursos de los hablantes como reflejo de la intuición y la genialidad, ya que responden a las troquelaciones lingüísticas del pueblo, a su gracia creadora.

A similar definition is given by Delfin Carbonell Basset (2002: 13) who says that "Los refranes son frases que han caído en gracias y se han convertido en clichés que expresan una idea de manera concisa y rápida."

"Proverbs submit to the game played by tradition and innovation in which the former prevails" as Ruxăndoiu (2003: 37) states, and Negreanu (1998: 32) refers to this quality of the proverbs with the word '**adaptability**' (Rom. *adaptabilitate*) while, in terms of Ridout (1969: 14) who affirms that "proverbs are fluid and in a constant state of flux", we could call it '**fluidity**'. Mieder (1993: X) also refers to these two features of the proverbs, namely '**flexibility**' and '**adaptability**': "Proverbs are flexible and adaptable to ever new contexts and interpretations, because their metaphorical language is not limited to specific contexts. They contain plenty of truth, wisdom, and knowledge, which they express in a few colorful words."

Proverbs adapt themselves to times and new circumstances. As Muntean (1967: XXVII) says,

Being a *sui generis* encyclopaedia of people's life, of his thought, feeling and art, they [proverbs] are submitted to a constant transformation process, branching out, breaking, separating or synthesizing again to capture the mysteries of life, its new levels and the climbing of human understanding.

In this process, "the old proverbs are looking for new forms, proverbs are combined with other existing proverbs, and new proverbs are created by using old proverbs" (Granbom-Herranen in Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 291). As Negreanu (1998: 32) remarks, "They incorporate in new reference scheme being thus reinterpreted in meaning or use". For Mieder (1993: xii) "seemingly antiquated proverbs can be adapted very well to new contexts by changing and twisting them to fit the modern age". Due to this reason, their wide transmission gives birth to variations of the same proverb. E.g. Sp. *No hay mal que el tiempo no alivie su tormento.* / *No hay mal tan grave que si no acaba no se acabe.* / *No hay mal que por bien no venga.* Penadés Martínez et. al. (2008: 96-97) classifies these variations of proverbs in four categories:

- syntactic variations, e.g. 'Más vale malo conocido que bueno por conocer' with the variant 'Más vale **lo** malo conocido que **lo** bueno por conocer'.
- lexical variations, e.g. 'Cuando las barbas de tu vecino veas pelar, pon las tuyas a remojar' with the alternative 'Cuando las barbas de tu vecino veas pelar, **echa** las tuyas a remojar'.
- geographical variations, e.g. 'De tal palo tal astilla' with its variants 'Hijo de maguey, mecate' (used in Mexico) and 'Conforme es el indio, es la maleta' (found in Columbia).
- form variations, when a proverb is not uttered in its entire form, part of it being omitted, which does not impede the understanding of the proverb meaning, e.g. 'Cada loco con su tema, y cada llaga con su postema', very often found with this variant: 'Cada loco con su tema'.

Sometimes we can talk about international variations of the same proverb, e.g. *No hay mal que por bien no venga, ni bien que su mal no traiga/tenga* - variant of the above mentioned proverb(s) used in Columbia, Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico, registered by Sevilla Muñoz (2001: 219). Similarity of life experience may be the explanation of this phenomenon. Thus proverbs reach different regions of the same country or even different corners of the world.

On the opposite side, many proverbs (almost) disappeared, due to the same life experience that is constantly changing and take some proverbs out of use. 'Proverbs are like butterflies, some are caught, some fly away', a proverb itself describes this phenomenon. Petru Rezuş (1974: 3) refers to these proverbs with the syntagm (Rom.) "fosile populare" (folk fossils) while Álvarez Curiel (2008: 184) considers them (Sp.) "restos del naufragio de viejos refranes". They are seldom heard but hardly understood since they belonged to

different, maybe ancient, times and people. Gregorio Doval (1997: II) also makes reference to this relation with very old societies. For him, proverbs are (Sp.) "reliquias lingüísticas anquilosadas, antiguallas propias de sociedades ancladas en el pasado".

Regarding this matter, Mieder (1993: 13) considers that "Proverbs live in variants until the proper proverbial wording is found. Proverbs thus have their origin with an individual, but they are influenced by collective improvements over time." This causes a constant change of the paroemiological patrimony, a coming and going of proverbs, that is "(...) antiquated proverbs with messages and images we no longer relate to are dropped from our proverb repertoire, while new proverbs are created to reflect the mores and values of our time" (Mieder, 1993: 14).

Ion Dodu Bălan (1974: XX) believes that the anonymous authors of authentic proverbs are real poets and philosophers. In order to create a proverb, they make use of all their power of analysis, their judgment, fantasy, hallucination, dream, capacity of comparing and making hierarchies. From all of these, features of proverbs such the following derive: the quality of suggestion and synthesis, the plastic and generalizing character, the profundity of the statements and thoughts proverbs contain, the unique charm of their artistic expression or their great instructive and educational power.

According to Elena Slave (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 27), based on their contextual structure, proverbs have the following features: in the framework of their content, proverbs have a dichotomous structure; they contain semantically changed words in order to be more expressive; the paremiological structure of the proverbs contains a reduced number of elements.

Sevilla and Cantera (2002: 19) list the main features of the proverbs: common use, general and practical topic, generally two-elemented structure with mnemotechnical elements which make their memorization easier, metaphoric meaning, jocular character, simple vocabulary with archaisms insertions.

In a study<sup>103</sup> about Romanian paroemiology, the Norwegian linguist Leiv Flydal (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 28-29 and Tabarcea, 1982: 100-102) establishes ten main characteristics of the Romanian proverbs that can easily apply to English proverbs as well:

1. Proverbs are sometimes preceded by a (Rom.) *prezentativ*<sup>104</sup> (=introductory term) which has a double role: to point out a change of expression in the text and to give a certain prestige to that expression.

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<sup>103</sup> *Considérations sur les proverbes roumains. Essai de classification de quelques-uns de leurs traits formels.* Sinaia, 1971.

2. Proverbs are quotations; which means that they are relatively well known. For this reason Tudor Vianu considered proverbs "generalized quotations" (as seen before in chapter 1.1).

3. Proverbs are the segmentary basis for one or more of the nexus intonations (the author borrows the term *nexus* from the Danish linguist Jespersen, being a term which denominates the intonation of a complete statement vs. *junction* - used for an incomplete statement).

4. Proverbs are very short texts. The minimal proverb implies two words autonomous from the prosaic point of view, and two logic terms: a conditional term and a conditioned one.

5. Proverbs are soliloquized. They have a fixed form and belong to the lexicalized thesaurus of a language.

6. As far as the genre is concerned, proverbs imply a didactical meaning. The author uses the Romanian term "*minididacticon(s)*".

7. Proverbs can have the form of an assertion, a rhetorical question, a conjunctive, etc.

8. Proverbs express general truth with the use of certain linguistic means that particularize that truism.

9. The meaning of the proverbs is strictly related to social-ethnic relations.

10. Proverbs share the same characteristics of the belletristic genres.

Pavel Ruxăndoiu (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 98) groups the proverbs' features into two main classes:

- fundamental and global features: concision in relation to the relative independence of the message of the proverb; stability of the linguistic organization of the proverb; implication of a proverb in a general context and its obligatory projection to a concrete macrocontext; stylistic value of a proverb in that macrocontext.

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<sup>104</sup> The Spanish counterpart is *presentador* (Corpas Pastor, 1996: 137) defined as "a contextual deictic element" whose function is not only that of introducing the corresponding phraseological units, highlighting their paroemiological character, but also that of setting the transmitter free from his responsibility regarding the utterance. Examples of Spanish *presentadores premiológicos*: *refrán*, *dicho*, *como dice el refranero*, *como asegura el refrán*, *se dice eso de*, *ya lo dice el refrán*, *dicen que*, *ya se dice*, *como decía el poeta* (*mi abuelo*, *mi padre*, *etc.*), etc. Curiel (2008: 52) calls these terms Sp. *fórmulas introductorias* (e.g. *Como decían los antiguos...*, *Como dice el viejo refrán...*). Thus the proverb which is, according to Curiel "un dicho antiguo", turns into an adduced text (Sp. *texto aducido*). Julio Fernández-Sevilla (cited in Curiel, 2008: 52) states that these introductory formulae enable the hearer "detectar fácilmente que [el refrán] pertenece a otro registro de lengua y no pondrá en duda su carácter de texto aducido y no ocasionalmente creado".



- non-global features: rhythmicity, metaphorical value and syntactic stereotype of the proverbs.

The Italian author Alberto Mario Cirese<sup>105</sup> (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 99) also classifies proverbs' features in two groups: internal characteristics, referring to the form and the content of the proverbs, and external characteristics. The same division (*rasgos externos* and *internos*) of proverbs' essential features is found at Manero Richard (2011: 102).

Charteris-Black (1995: 2) states that "proverbs adhere to the four of the Co-Operative Principles: Quantity, Quality, Manner, and Relation". In terms of quantity, they are brief but informative. In terms of quality, they reflect what the speaker perceives to be true and for which they have evidence in the form of the conventional wisdom which they represent. Regarding manner, proverbs are brief and orderly. The frequent use of analogy and metaphor often makes their relation with preceding discourse somewhat obscure. In such case, the hearer resorts to conversational implicature. As Arora (quoted in Charteris-Black, 1995: 2) points out, "The listener's identification of a proverb is a two-fold process involving first the abstract notion of 'proverb' as it is culturally or ethnically conceived, and secondly a means of assigning individual utterances to that genre."

Proverbs express themes about everyday life alluding to general principles about intelligent or human behaviour. Among these principles are (Gibbs, 2001: 169):

- cause-effect reasoning, e.g. 'Spare the rod and spoil the child' or 'He who lies down with dogs will rise with fleas';
- reasoning from effects to causes, e.g. 'Where there is smoke, there must be fire' or 'Where bees are there is honey';
- reasoning by analogy, e.g. 'Grace is to the body what judgement is to the mind';
- reasoning from a specific instance to a more general conclusion, e.g. 'Once bitten, twice shy' or 'One swallow does not make summer.'

According to Calles Vales (2003: 8) proverbs' main features are: popularity, practical character, and generality. The first feature refers to the fact that proverbs have a common anonymous origin. It is people who create, modify, enlarge or even forget proverbs. It is believed that behind any proverb there was an anonymous author with a great artistic intuition who spoke in the name of his/her community whose experience he/she was resuming.

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<sup>105</sup> *I Proverbi: struttura delle definizioni*. Urbino, 1972.

Community on its turn, accepted the proverb, improved it and made it circulated. This spontaneous cooperation between the spokesman and his/her community, which uses and improves the creation, is the basis of the proverb's survival. This idea is clearly expressed by the English lord John Russell's definition of proverb, nowadays a proverb itself: 'One man's wit and all men's wisdom' (Flonta, 1992: 2).

The sense of popularity must be considered in a restrictive way, which means that a community, a region or people may create its own proverbs related to the specific circumstances of that region, to its geographical, social environment. Each community has its different structure, its customs, due to its moral sense or culture.

On the contrary, there are proverbs generally used. These are those proverbs that, according to their thematic content affect the human being, no matter which specific conditions are. So are those proverbs referring to morality or feelings.

A proverb is the fruit of experience, hence its **practical character**. It always makes reference to practice. From this point of view it is a method of the popular pedagogy. It is a teaching method. Social behaviour, moral concepts, natural resources, practical data for the common group life can be learned through proverbs. They represent a practical teaching method because they show us the world in its most genuine aspect. Proverbs are advertisement, advice, description, notice, and warning. They always signalise common customs and habits, refuse extravagancy and help social development, namely work, relationships, organization, health, etc. Proverbs have a strictly moral function according to which they try to impose a model of ethical behaviour within the limits of the social code of traditional society. Due to this feature proverbs have a restrictive and prohibitive character (Constantinescu, cited in Grosu, 2007: 11). The famous Romanian sculpture Constantin Brâncuși said that if he would have been a researcher of morality and would have had to make an ethical code, he would have made it based on proverbs (Munteanu, cited in Grosu, 2007: 13).

Proverbs are **empirical**. They are born out of the centuries of experience of a certain community or social group. So they give a general view regarding various themes in a short, concise and clear manner. A concrete fact makes reference to a general experience when it has been always repeated under the same circumstances and always with the same result. In a metaphorical and concise manner, proverbs summarize truisms, deep reflections and long life experiences of peoples, being thus the reflection of "the eternal humanity" (Rudică, 2004: 9). Proverbs are, as Sevilla and Cantera (2002: 23) state "un espejo en el que se ve reflejado

cómo es un pueblo, cuáles son sus costumbres y, en especial, su forma de enfrentarse a la vida."

Based on the fact that proverbs reflect reality and have a popular origin, another important feature of them is **universality**. As Julia Sevilla points out, "en todas partes aparece la sabiduría vulgar, que muchas veces traspasa los círculos sociales y es aceptada por todos" (quoted in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 48). The listener's identification of a proverb is a two-fold process involving first the abstract notion of 'proverb' as it is culturally or ethnically conceived, and secondly a means of assigning individual utterances to that genre.

Besides the above mentioned features, proverbs have a more attractive side, namely their **artistic content**. Alongside with their fixed, usually oppositional structure, their relative shortness, and their common use of metaphors, proverbs usually contain some if not all of the following stylistic features: alliteration, parallelism, rhyme, ellipsis, personification, hyperbole, paradox, etc. (see Chapter 3.4).

For Irene Goshkheteliani (in Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 276) **figurativeness** is the basic feature of proverbs. Thus, "proverbs are figurative verbal expressions in their sense that makes the speech emotively charged and expressive".

Juan Manuel Oliver (quoted in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 45-46) considers **polysemy** to be one of the proverbs' features, consisting in the fact that a proverb can acquire different meanings depending on whom and when it is used by. Hence proverbs are "frases hechas de carácter polisémico, cuyo sentido se concreta al relacionarlas con el contexto en el que se inscriben". But, the author adds

La base polisémica del refrán es de carácter abstracto; no se trata de que a cada uno de ellos le correspondan una serie de posibilidades significativas distintas, sino, por el contrario, de que poseen una única noción significativa inconcreta y vagarosa que se actualiza y llena de significación en cada contexto de forma diferente, de modo parecido a lo que ocurre con los ideogramas de la escritura oriental.

According to Gramley (2001: 150), proverbs could be recognized taking into account the following aspects:

- they consist of whole sentences, unless contracted;
- they may have an archaic syntactic structure, i.e. one that is not productive (e.g. 'Easy come, easy go');
- they may use rhyme, repetition, or alliteration and are often divided into two parts ('Easy come, easy go'; 'Early to bed, early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise');
- they are generic in reference (e.g. 'Eaten bread is soon forgotten', not this eaten bread, but eaten bread in general);
- they tend to make use of homely words (*bread*, etc.);

- they are often metaphorical (*eaten bread* = something enjoyed or used in the present);
- they express some sort of 'wisdom' or (commonplace) truth, a precept for life ('Eaten bread...' = 'Think about the future').

As it has been seen in this chapter, in spite of their brevity and due to their characteristics, proverbs are complex folkloric genres with a metaphorical and moral value: "Le proverbe participe certes de cette production folklorique, mais aussi s'en distingue: par son extrême concision, par la nature de son 'projet' pragmatique, argumentatif et moral, à orientation généraliste, et par sa reprise dans tous les registres discursifs où il est appelé à remplir des fonctions diverses<sup>106</sup>" (Visetti & Cadiot, 2006: 320). Moreover, as Muntean (quoted in Avram, 2011: 14 and 2004: 11) states,

Seen as a whole, proverbs (...) represent an extraordinary image of a people's life, of its fundamental attitudes, and of its relationships with world and life. From the prudence implied by their great generality we can deduce a chromatic painting of the human existence showed with its multiple faces.

The Romanian author Rudică (2004: 10) may be taking the risk of exaggerating when he dares to drop the conclusion that proverbs of all times and of almost all nationalities share the following three features which confer them a character of universal spiritual values:

- the outstanding power of judgement of ordinary men;
- the elevated sense of folk humour;
- the remarkable spirit of justice of folk communities for which truth, honour, and justice represent superior ethical values.

Defining proverbs remains an open task, a pretty difficult but challenging assignment for those who want to study them exhaustively. As Liisa Granbom-Herranen (in Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 287<sup>107</sup>) says, "Possibilities to define the proverb seem endless. There is always something more to be added without leaving anything out of the definition - and vice versa."

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<sup>106</sup> Translation from French: "Proverbs come out of a folk production, though some distinctions are to be noticed: by an extreme concision, its pragmatic 'project' sense, argumentative and moral, with a general orientation and by its use in all discursive registers, fulfilling various functions."

<sup>107</sup> In her article "Proverb - A literal phrase and a part of everyday speech" (pages 285-293).

### 1.3. DEFINING TERMINOLOGY.

#### PROVERBS AND OTHER FOLK NARRATIVES

Ever since the first philological approaches of proverbs we can see a great preoccupation of linguists and paroemiographers to delimit proverbs from other folk narratives, such as sayings, maxims, aphorisms, riddles, and so on. Aristotle is a pioneer in this respect. In his *Rhetoric* he mentions the distinction between proverbs and maxims. In the *Foreword* of his great work *Adagiorum Chiliades*, Erasmus of Rotterdam also tries to point out some differences between proverbs and proverbial comparisons.

Paroemiographers from different countries (see the Russian Permiakov, the Italian Cirese, the Romanian Roşianu et al., cited in Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 7-8, the Spanish Curiel, 2008: 49, Iribarren, 1994: XVI, Corpas Pastor, 1996: 149 and Panizo, 1999: 8) observe and mention the difficulty of drawing a precise line when they try to define proverbs in opposition to other 'gnomic devices', as Mieder (1993: 18) denominates them. Regarding this aspect, there are pessimistic and optimistic opinions. Thus Archer Taylor (quoted in Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 7) expresses his scepticism when he considers that "Defining a proverb is far too difficult to worth the effort. (...) So, no definition will allow us to clearly identify a phrase as being proverbial."

The difficulty in separating the folk narratives is also the starting point of the *Dictionary of Aphorisms, Proverbs and Refranes* (1982) where the reader finds the following warning:

Es muy difícil deslindar cumplidamente la diferencia que existe entre *aforismo* y cada una de las voces: *adagio*, *proverbio*, *refrán* y *apoteagma*, pues todas ellas incluyen el sentido de una proposición o frase breve, clara, evidente y de profunda y útil enseñanza. Ningún autor antiguo ni moderno ha logrado todavía exponer clara y terminantemente las diferencias entre unas y otras, y el mismo uso vulgar llano y corriente, según las épocas y los títulos que adoptaron sus autores y compiladores, ha llamado *proverbio*, *adagio*, *refrán* o *aforismo*, indistintamente, a una misma clase de expresiones de la sabiduría popular.

Roşianu speaks about the "heterogeneity of the paremiological phenomenon which determines also the heterogeneity of [proverbs] definitions". Iribarren (1994: XVI) considers that the concepts expressed by all these terms we refer to belong to

un vasto repertorio inclasificable no sólo desde el punto de vista formal, sino también desde el semántico, y es tan variada su procedencia y tan singular la historia de cada caso que para un análisis adecuado requerirían el auxilio de la historia, la etnografía, la literatura, la sociolingüística y muchas otras disciplinas que la actual tendencia a la especialización se resiste a combinar.

Tabarcea (1982: 52) is more confident regarding this issue. According to him, there are many characteristics "which help to outline some pretty clear borders" between proverbs and other folk narratives, all included in the same genre of folklore.

As far as these gnomic devices are concerned, further on we shall use also the term *paremia*<sup>108</sup> (Sp. *paremias*, Rom. *parimii* / (var.) *paremii*). Alongside routine formulae, *paremia* occupy an important place among idiomatic and folk genres in the phraseology system of language. The term *paremia* is synonym of proverb and a hyperonym of all the subgenres mentioned below on sections 1.3.1/2/3. Conde Tarrío (2007: 5) defines *paremia* as "a document which will enable us to get acquaintance with the life and the traditions of other times" and by which we can get closer to our ancestors' way of thinking. The same importance of *paremia* is pointed out by Julia Sevilla Muñoz (in Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 75<sup>109</sup>) who states that they "contain highly valuable cultural information, which is very useful for ethnologists and folklore researchers as well as linguists and language teachers".

### 1.3.1. PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

If we take just a brief look to paroemiological books, we can find many titles containing the syntagm "proverbs and sayings", (Sp. *refranes y dichos*, Rom. *proverbe și zicători*), e.g. Junghietu (2013), Barangă (2012), Grosu (2007), Carbonell Basset (2005), Calles Vales (2003), Candrea (2002), Bratu (1999), Rezuș (1974), etc.

In fact, as Chițimia (quoted in Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 18) points out, there is such a close connection between proverbs and sayings that "sometimes a proverb can turn into a saying and vice versa". Referring to the Spanish language, Arora (quoted in Colombi, 1989: 4) observes that "The terms *refrán* and *dicho* ('saying') are often used interchangeably, although for some informants *dicho* is a broader term, i.e. *refrán* is a *dicho* but not all *dichos* are *refranes*".

Horace's advice regarding sayings can be easily applied to proverbs underlying thus the close connection and similarity between them: "No dejes de oír el dicho antiguo, que es enseñanza de los padres de tus padres" (quoted in Celdrán Gomariz (2009: 7). The same

<sup>108</sup> The term *paremia* (plural form *paremiae*) is not recorded by English dictionaries, but we found it in many works of Spanish authors (see Corpas Pastor, 1996; Wotjak, 1998; Sevilla & Cantera, 2002; Hernando Cuadrado, 2010; Pamies Bertrán, 2011, Sevilla Muñoz, 2012: 3, etc.), both in English and Spanish languages. Thus we considered its use appropriate since it also appears in the Romanian language.

<sup>109</sup> In her article "Aspectos culturales y transculturales de la paremiología: el mínimo paremiológico" (pages 75-86).

phenomenon based on the similarities between proverbs and sayings is also noted by O. Bîrlea (quoted in Negreanu, 1998: 146): "A proverb can become a saying, the semantic binomial being amputated by the moment which characterizes it." A Russian proverb brilliantly expresses the difference between proverbs and sayings: 'Saying is the flower, proverb is the fruit'.

Many authors make no distinction between proverbs and sayings, emitting a common definition for the two folk narratives. In the *Foreword* of his book *Dacă poți râde, să rîzi. Proverbe și zicături din Banat* (If You Can Laugh, Laugh! Proverbs and Sayings from Banat), Petru Rezuș gives such a definition: "They [proverbs and sayings] contain an anonymous tear, joy and sadness, thought and human feelings. People life is their mother, and Romanians have a saying for every happening related to men, things or circumstances."

The same mixture of proverbs and sayings is found at Muntean (1967). Still, after talking all the time about *proverbe și zicături*, the author feels the necessity of explaining himself, stating that "it is difficult to decide whether a piece belongs to one folk narrative or another [proverb/saying]. Thus the only criterion remains the function and the context in which it occurred. The abuse must be avoided, but the example is necessary" (1967: XII-XIII). Moreover, he even tries to make a distinction between proverbs and sayings, affirming that the latter differ from the former by the fact that, "in spite of being often related to a conclusion, an attitude in its meaning, usually this is not expressed directly, it is only suggested. Sayings' main function would be that of characterizing concrete life situations or of underlining an advice, a finding, an idea, etc." (1967: XVIII).

The Romanian author Nicolae Iorga (quoted in Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 17) states that "Proverbs or sayings appear as remnants of a gnostic literature imprisoned within verses that are usually of a great beauty". On the back cover of his collection of "Proverbs and Sayings" (2013), Junghietu writes: "Proverbs and sayings are traditionally researched and published together. This procedure is justified by the fact that they are both... a quintessence of the human mind's wit. (...) They are also related by their form shortness and conciseness." Then he remarks that, in spite of all he mentions, there are features of proverbs and sayings which oblige us to treat them as separated genres. Still, in his collection he makes no distinction of the two, except the definitions given on the back cover:

A proverb is an independent genre of the folklore. Born from the life experience of the people, its expression draws - concise and plastically -, a thought, a counsel, an advice, a finding. Proverbs have the form of a finite thought from the grammatical and logical point of view.

Sayings are figurative expressions, without a finite sense, which imply their immediate use in an appropriate context. They are employed in spoken current language as well as in fiction and journalism with the aim of making the utterance more expressive.

There are even linguists, for example Stanciu Stoian and Petre Alexandru (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 32) who believe that it is not necessary to make a plain differentiation between proverbs and sayings, their argumentation being that "there is no such distinction in the current speech". Gheorghe (1986, 15) places proverbs, sayings, phrases, etc. on the same pedestal, considering them "artistic forms, sometimes concrete, other times universal, of language". Maldonado (1987: 7) defines proverbs as sayings with specific characteristics of the genre. For him, the proverb is "dicho sentencioso y a menudo socarrón, como corresponde a su carácter popular y al medio campesino en que vivió durante siglos, que está en boca de todos nosotros, jóvenes y viejos, de cualquier clase social y en distintas latitudes (...)." Later on (1987: 10) the author refers to saying as "the proverb's mate" explaining the function of each of them:

El refrán señala qué actitud conviene adoptar en determinada situación, o define la razón de una circunstancia; en cualquier caso entraña un fin didáctico, aleccionador, convirtiendo la anécdota humana en tema de reflexión. Su compañero, el dicho popular, tiene una misión descriptiva y pretende cifrar en sus cuatro palabras -a veces, menos- los términos de una situación compleja.

On the opposite pole, there are authors who do not welcome this mix-up of proverbs and sayings. For example, Celdrán Gomariz (2009: 8) considers that "La confusión entre dicho y refrán acarrea siempre malas consecuencias. El refrán puede resultar convincente a fuerza de repetitivo; la frase hecha, no."

Rosetti (1964: 193-200) dedicates an entire chapter to proverbs and sayings, entitled "Proverbele și zicătorile". It begins with a common definition of the two folk narratives:

Proverbs and sayings are wise words, poetical forms of folk wisdom expression. In order to understand them, one needs to know how a people speaks, how it interprets life and all its complex phenomena. They [proverbs and sayings] are concise and plastic statements, relatively stereotypic, expressing truisms, based on a wide and rich life experience, generalized and deeply rooted by each generation (...)<sup>110</sup>.

Right after, the author makes reference to the clear distinction between proverbs and sayings given by the fact that "Proverbs always contain a conclusion which implies knowledge or advice, being directly expressed by a general statement", meanwhile "Sayings also imply a conclusion which is not directly expressed. Its main function is the suggestive

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<sup>110</sup> Translation from Romanian.



characterization of concrete situations" (1964: 194). The difference between proverbs and sayings consists also in their structure. While proverbs are sentences (e.g. *The farthest way about is the nearest way home*) or phrases (e.g. *Old men go to death, death comes to young men*), sayings are shorter formulae, usually syntagms, seldom sentences, e.g. *to be raining cats and dogs*. "Proverbs are sentences, too" - states Ruxăndoiu (2003: 115) - "most of them assertive utterances, that contain a thought, thus they have a meaning".

Permiakov (quoted in Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 31-32) refers to the same aspect of structure, too. He uses the concepts of *closed sentences* (Rom. *propoziții închise*) and *unclosed sentences* (Rom. *propoziții neînchise*). The first ones make reference to proverbs. In this case, the terms of the sentence are constant; they suffer no change in the context and directly and totally express a complete judgement. Unclosed sentences are related to sayings because they do not make a sentence or a judgement by themselves.

Papadima (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 32 and Tabarcea, 1982: 86-87) measures the difference between proverbs and sayings in relations to the notions of *time* and *destiny*. Thus, sayings are "the plastic representation of a time situation" meanwhile proverbs are "the projection of a destiny situation".

Even though there is a certain similarity between proverbs and sayings - hence they are often used together - we may say that they complete each other, but are undoubtedly not identical. Vasile Netea<sup>111</sup> (Stahl, 1967: 421 and Tabarcea, 1982: 87-88) makes a distinction between the two:

(...) proverbs are always based on philosophical, ethical or social thought, formulated by sentences with a clear value of a verdict while sayings are more of an observation, an apostrophe, a finding, an advice or a curse, often expressed by simple interjections or by words denoting certain notions or kind of people.

Tabarcea (1982) felt the need of making a deeper analysis in order to establish an explicit border between sayings and proverbs. Thus, the great part of the Chapter 1.5. of his study, entitled *Proverbul și speciile înrudite. Proverb și zicătoare* (Proverb and the related folk narratives. Proverb and saying), is allocated to the difference between the two. After gathering together opinions of various linguists (many of them cited above) about this topic, Cezar Tabarcea reaches the following conclusion (1982: 93):

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<sup>111</sup> *Primele colecții de proverbe românești publicate* (The First Published Romanian Collections of Proverbs).

A saying is a fragment of a linguistic statement (whose centre is, in most cases, a verb) that is part of the logical-semantic structure of the whole statement in which it appears; the saying can interrupt the discourse generating a metaphoric synonymy with a term previously mentioned whom it usually substitutes<sup>112</sup>.

The author bases his definition on the following features of sayings:

- Even though they contain verbs, sayings are not structured linguistic statements.
- They do not include in their form a fixed logical-semantic structure.
- Sayings are usually introduced by distinguishing terms, e.g. Rom. *vorba ceea*, Eng. *as they say*.
- Out of the context, sayings are metaphors, while proverbs become metaphors in the moment of uttering.

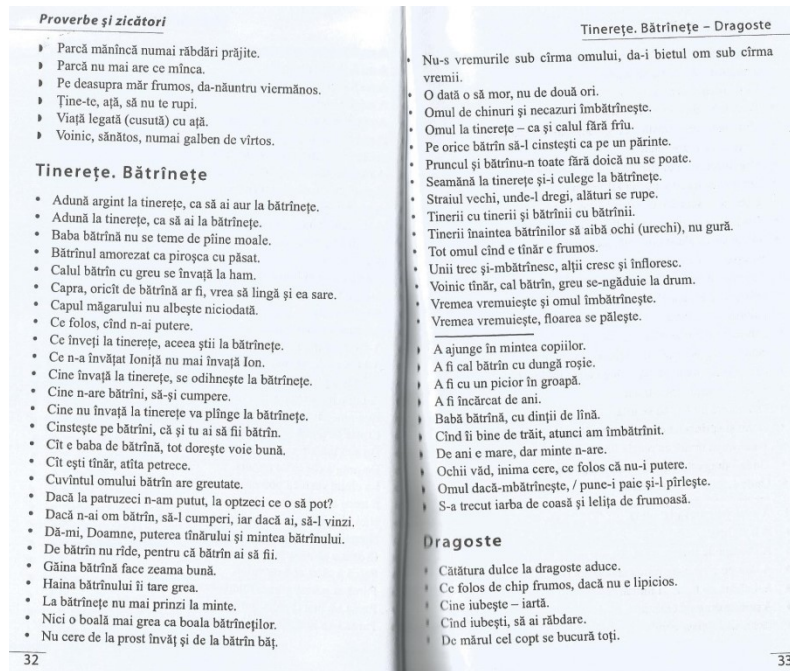
The French linguist Greimas (quoted in Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 27-28) emphasizes the difference between proverbs and sayings (Fr. *dictons*) with a list of defining characteristics of proverbs:

- the change of intonation - a feature which makes the distinction of the two in the spoken language;
- binary rhythmic structure - usually sustained by lexical opposition;
- connotation - a feature proper to proverbs since (Fr.) "les dictons sont...des éléments non connotés" (lit. transl. 'Sayings are... phrases with no connotations');
- the archaic character of the grammatical structure - which represents (Fr.) "une mise hors du temps des significations qu'ils contiennent" (transl. 'phrases in which the meaning of the words is not affected by the passing of time');
- the use of the present indicative or of the imperative as unhistorical time - which provides proverbs the value of expressing eternal truths.

Although most of the authors bring together proverbs and sayings in the same collections - in the best case with a modest attempt of drawing a limit between the two genres (usually in the *Foreword* of the collection) -, we can gladly notice that there are authors who make this distinction inside the corpus, too. For example, Elena Grosu (2007) not only defines proverbs and sayings at the beginning of her book (pages 14-15), she organizes her dictionary according to themes related to different dimensions and aspects of life; moreover each theme is divided in two groups graphically marked with dissimilar symbols in order to make a clear distinction between proverbs (marked with the symbol "•") and sayings (marked with "■"):

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<sup>112</sup> Translation from Romanian.



Grosu (2007: 32-33)

Ildefonso Pereda Valdés (1998) also divides part of his collection in *proverbios*, *dichos* and *refranes*. For example, in the chapter entitled "Refranes y dichos de origen campesino", the author lists 71 entries under the subtitle "Refranes" (1998: 63-72) and 34 entries under the class of "Dichos" (1998: 73-77). This is not the case of the chapter entitled "Proverbios, dichos y refranes de Lascano (Rocha-Lascano)" (1998: 79-82) in which the author registers 46 entries making no division or observation about the class they belong to.

### 1.3.2. PROVERB(IO)S AND REFRANES

While in the English and the Romanian languages the fence must be usually built between proverbs and sayings / (Rom.) *zicători*, in Spanish the major problem is raised by *proverbios* and *refranes* which are often confounded and considered synonymous concepts. Various authors tried to identify each of them and draw a precise line in order to separate these paremiae. Still, if we take a look at the definitions of the two, extracted from the same source (RAE), the issue becomes even more difficult since the conclusion we reach, according to the cited dictionary, is that "a *proverbio* is a *refrán*":

<u><b>proverbio</b></u>	<u><b>refrán</b></u>
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(Del lat. <i>proverbium</i> ).	(Del fr. <i>refrain</i> ).
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Sentencia, adagio o refrán.	Dicho agudo y sentencioso de uso común.
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This is also pointed out by Lázaro Carreter (quoted in Panizo, 1999: 8) who, in his *Diccionario de términos filológicos*, mentions that the *proverbio* and the *refrán* are not essentially distinguished.

María Moliner's *Diccionario del uso del español*<sup>113</sup> gives the following definition of a *refrán*: "cualquier sentencia popular repetida tradicionalmente con forma invariable". For Francisco Rodríguez Marín<sup>114</sup> a *refrán* is: "dicho popular, sentencioso y breve, de verdad comprobada, generalmente simbólico y expuesto en forma poética, que contiene una regla de conducta u otra cualquier enseñanza."

A more complete definition is provided by Julio Casares<sup>115</sup>: "Refrán es una frase completa e independiente, que en sentido directo o alegórico, y por lo general en forma sentenciosa y elíptica, expresa un pensamiento -hecho de experiencia, enseñanza, admonición, etc.- a manera de juicio en el que se relacionan al menos dos ideas."

And a more explanatory one, referring to proverbs' main feature - brevity -, is given by Fernando Lázaro Carreter (quoted in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 44):

el refrán es un género de lenguaje literal dirigido a un objetivo fundamental (perdurar intacto), y está constreñido por su propia brevedad, es decir, por un cierre a corto plazo, y por su carácter semántico inactual. La perduración, que es la finalidad a que se destinan todos los mensajes literales, está confiada, en el caso de los refranes, solo, o casi solo, a la memoria colectiva: sus registros escritos apenas si pueden ayudarle a sobrevivir. Y al servicio de tal destino, ese lenguaje repetible ha creado una serie de artificios que permitan su fijación en el recuerdo de los hablantes.

<sup>113</sup> Quoted in Curiel (2008: 49).

<sup>114</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 50; quoted also by Hernando Cuadrado (2010: 42).

The French linguist Combet (quoted in Penadés Martínez, 2008: 79, Corpas Pastor, 1996: 150 and Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 44) considers the *refrán* to be "una frase independiente, anónima y notoria que, en forma elíptica, directa o preferentemente figurada, expresa poéticamente una enseñanza o un consejo de orden moral o práctico." While the Spanish Almela Pérez and Sevilla Muñoz (Penadés Martínez, 2008: 80) define *refrán* as it follows: "una paremia popular que se caracteriza por una temática genérica, un sentido idiomático, elementos mnemotécnicos, un alcance universal y una morfosintaxis a veces arcaica."

For Caudet Yarza (1998: 6) the *refrán*

es el exponente más exacto y transcendente-intrascendente, de la filosofía popular. Es un vehículo de cultura y expresión dentro del contexto general de la cultura de un país. Es (...) un método sencillo de definir o concretar una situación cuando ésta quiere radicalizarse de algún modo, o cuando al orador sencillo y de pocos recursos se le quedan cortos el diccionario y la gramática a la hora de expresar de una forma contundente aquello que piensa, lo que quiere decir y no sabe decir.

Etymologically, the word *refrán* comes from the French *refrain* 'refrain, chorus' (RAE; Doval, 1997: III; Calles Vales, 2003: 7)<sup>116</sup>, more precisely, from the Occitan *refranh* (Sevilla y Cantera, 2002: 18), due to the fact that the chorus of many Spanish songs included proverbs or proverbial phrases. Hence Celdrán Gomariz's definition of a proverb (2009: 9): "(...) el refrán es el estribillo de una canción que el pueblo cargó de sentido y convirtió en axioma (...)".

Doval (1997: IV) summarizes the differences between *proverbios* and *refranes* in a list of five distinguished criteria given in the table below. According to him, proverbs, adages, sententias, maxims... are the *refrán*'s "big brothers" (Sp. *hermanos mayores*<sup>117</sup>) while idioms, expressions, proverbial phrases and sayings are its "little brothers" (Sp. *hermanos menores*).

<sup>116</sup> Curiel (2008: 67) has a different opinion according to which the origin of the Spanish *refrán* might have been the Latin *refero* from which another word - *relato* (Eng. *story*) - comes. Coll (2004: 6) also makes reference to the Latin term: "La palabra *refrán*, bien que de origen latino (*referre*), no es latina, y equivale exactamente a *proverbium*". Rodríguez Marín (quoted in Baños & Guardiola, 2001: 26) considers that the etymology of *refrán* is the Hebrew *marchal*, meaning 'similarity, parable'.

<sup>117</sup> The *hermanos mayores* syntagm also appears at Junceda (1995: 15) who includes in this category the maxim and the apothegm.

CRITERIA	<i>PROVERBIOS</i>	<i>REFRANES</i>
<b>ORIGIN</b>	As in the case of maxims, the author(s) of the proverbs is (are) usually known; if anonymous, at least the first use of the proverbs can be dated.	They usually have a folk, unknown and obscure origin.
<b>CHARACTER</b>	The proverb is the fruit of an intellectual reflection; it usually has a philosophical, meta-physical or moral character.	They usually come from spontaneous ingenuity, as an improvised response to a common collective experience.
<b>USE</b>	Their range of application is usually the intellectual sphere.	They are much more popular and used in the spoken language than the <i>proverbios</i> . This is due to the fact that they are the synthesis of the people's ordinary life experience.
<b>TRANSMISSION</b>	The <i>proverbios</i> are preponderantly transmitted by literary via.	They are always orally transmitted.
<b>FUNCTION</b>	They have a deeper meaning than the <i>refranes</i> , thus their function is more erudite and sententious.	They have a very expressive and humorous value.

Table 8: Doval's differences between *proverbios* and *refranes*

Caudet Yarza (1998: 8) observes that *proverbio* not only is used as a synonym of *refrán*, moreover it is usually employed as a substitute of the latter, as if we were referring to "the same person". For this reason the author feels the need to establish the difference between the two concepts. Thus he makes the following distinction:

	<i>PROVERBIO</i>	<i>REFRÁN</i>
<b>Definition</b>	"Proverbio que podríamos definir como literario". = axiom	"Proverbio con significación de dicho popular".
<b>Comments</b>	It is the product of reflection and the result of a non common culture.	It is ingenuous and of spontaneous origin.

Table 9: Caudet Yarza's differences between *proverbio* and *refrán*

Another attempt of establishing a difference between *proverbios* and *refranes* can be found in the DAPR dictionary (1982: 5-6):

	<b>PROVERBIO</b>	<b>REFRÁN</b>
<b>Definition</b>	"Expresión lacónica, fundada en la experiencia y de uso corriente".	"Dicho breve, sentencioso, anónimo, popular y conocido o admitido comúnmente".
<b>Comments</b>	The proverb implies a certain historical meaning.	The <i>refrán</i> can be considered as the first and the simplest folk art expression, present in all languages, places and times.
<b>Examples</b>	<i>No es por el huevo, sino por el fuero.</i>	<i>Parientes y trastos viejos, pocos y lejos.</i>

**Table 10: The differences between *proverbio* and *refrán* according to the DAPR dictionary**

For Eleanor O'Kane (cited in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 43), the Romance term *proverbio* refers to the sententious wisdom while the *refrán* designates the folk saying.

The paroemiographer Jonana (quoted in Pereda Valdés (1998: 19) makes the following distinction between *proverbios*, *refranes* and *adagios*: "(...) el adagio encierra una moral menos austera que el proverbio, (...) el refrán da siempre una instrucción por medio de una alegoría o metáfora (...), el proverbio ha de ser grave y seco; el adagio claro y sencillo. Y el refrán agudo y chistoso y muchas veces de un estilo bajo."

Another author who draws separation lines among the three terms is José M<sup>a</sup> Sbarbi (quoted in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 40) according to whom:

entran por lo regular en el *refrán*, como cualidades distintivas, el chiste, la jocosidad, alguna vez la chocarrería, y no pocas el simple sonsonete; en el *adagio*, la madurez y la gravedad propias de la moral sentenciosa; y en el *proverbio*, la naturalidad y sencillez peculiares al relato de algún suceso acaecido en tiempo anterior. En una palabra: el *refrán* es, por lo regular, festivo; el *adagio*, doctrinal; el *proverbio*, histórico.

### 1.3.3. PROVERBS AND OTHER PAREMIAE<sup>118</sup>

Beside sayings, proverbs also appear alongside (or can be confounded with) other folk narratives that are listed below. Apart from belonging to the same genre, they all share features like shortness, conciseness, anonymity or wise meaning. In French paroemiology, for example, the term *proverb* often comes together with: (Fr.) *sentence, maxime, adage, aphorisme, apophtegme, axiome, auctoritas, dicton, expression/locution proverbiale*, etc. (cited in Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 11). The same happens in Spanish, as stated in the *Introduction* of *El libro de los refranes* (quoted in Corpas Pastor, 1996: 149-150): "Asimismo, el refrán recibe varias denominaciones, todas ellas sinónimas (...): proverbio, adagio, máxima, axioma, dicho, sentencia, frase y moraleja". Still, taking into account the main similar feature - namely brevity - of all these folkloric genres, is not a sufficient criterion to categorize them in the same group.

Sevilla and Cantera (2002: 19) include proverbs into the category of "paremias propiamente dichas" divided in two groups: "paremias de uso popular (el refrán y la denominada frase proverbial)" and "paremias de uso culto (el proverbio, la máxima, la sentencia, el apotegma, el aforismo y el principio)".

The mixture and confusion of proverbs and other paremiae also happened in Latin where the term *dictum* applied to idioms, proverbs, proverbial phrases, *sententiae*, aphorisms, adages, apothegms, etc. that Celdrán Gomariz (2009: 8) defines as "linguistic creatures" (Sp. *criaturas lingüísticas*) and separates with certain distinguished particularities:

El refrán constata de experiencias fruto de la observación: 'En abril aguas mil'. El adagio da matiz poético: 'Bajo ruín capa puede yacer muy gran sabio'. El apotegma, agudo y breve, es tan válido como la autoridad de la persona que lo dice: 'Quien mal anda mal acaba'. La máxima tiene transfondo filosófico. La sentencia habla de ex cathedra. La frase basa su virtud en la autoridad y experiencia popular.

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<sup>118</sup> Not all the kinship relatives of proverbs have been included in this chapter. Our intention was to focus mainly on those of first-degree. Others, like simile, quotation, slogan, saw (old use for a well-known wise statement, a proverb - OED), etc.- to name only a few -, have been left aside on purpose since the issue can be easily converted into a stand-alone topic for a new work. Let us take for example, the study about Spanish proverbs and other paremiae of Eleanor O'Kane's - "On the names of the *refrán*" (1950) in *Hispanic Review*, XVIII; pages 1-14. The author (quoted in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 42-43) classifies all the terms related to the *refrán* into three main groups: "those associated with words - *verbo, parlilla, palabra, proverbio*; those associated with stories - *fablilla (hablilla), fazaña, ejemplo, conseja*; and those associated with popular quality or gossip value - *retraire, patraña, vulgar, brocardico*", stating that "all these medieval names emphasize the element of constant repetition - tale, fable, augury or parable, advice, gossip, byword, reproach, taunt".



Cărare (2003: 5) defines proverbs at the side of other folkloric genres:

Proverbs are, alongside fairy-tales, ballads, riddles, sayings, (...), etc. genres of folk literature which is considered as the first form of the national literature of a people. They are the result of rich life experiences and learnings that awake, now and always, the interest of those men who are willing to find out more about their nation.

In the *Foreword* of his *Dictionary of Commented Maxims* (1971), Tudor Vianu puts together maxims, sententiae, aphorisms and apothegms, which calls "manifestations of awakening from a sleep of the unknown, the routine, or the prejudice" (page 5). Still, he points out the particularities of each class<sup>119</sup>.

Orbaneja y Majada includes most of these groups in his collection (1998), a fact that he makes the reader conscious of from the very beginning by the *in extenso* title: *El saber del pueblo o ramillete. Formado con los refranes castellanos, frases proverbiales, aforismos, máximas, axiomas, pensamientos, sentencias, adagios, apotegmas y los proverbios más selectos Ingleses, Árabes, Turcos, Rusos, Latinos, Franceses, Indios, Escoceses, Alemanes, Daneses, Griegos, Italianos, Chinos y Persas*. Before listing the proverbs taking into account the country of provenance, the author designates a section to each class of paremia<sup>120</sup>.

According to Baños and Guardiola (2001: 27) who try to differentiate proverbs from other paremia,

(...) la sentencia declara y concluye, el apotegma es breve y gracioso y el apólogo<sup>121</sup> es largo, aunque todos ellos son más bien frutos de la elucubración individual que de la tradición. Además, si el dicho es vulgar se denomina refrán, pero si es culto recibe al nombre de adagio o proverbio; mientras el refrán es generalmente festivo, el adagio es más bien doctrinal y el proverbio tiene un carácter histórico.

■ **MAXIM (Sp. *máxima*, Rom. *maximă*)**, "a short saying recommending a particular form of behaviour" (BBC); "a well-known phrase or saying, especially one that gives a rule for sensible behaviour" (OED); "dicho sentencioso que procede del campo de la ciencia" (DAPR); "principe moraux d'orientation abstraite, souvent attribuable à un auteur ou à un personnage illustre" (Visetti & Cadiot, 2006: 14).

Orbaneja y Majada (1998: 21) defines maxim as "regla, principio o proposición, generalmente admitida por todos los que profesan una facultad o ciencia. Sentencia, apotegma o doctrina, buena para la dirección de las acciones morales."

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<sup>119</sup> These notes have been cited further on, under the appropriate category.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>121</sup> *Apologue* is a fable that is intended to teach a moral lesson, especially one that has animals as characters (EWED).

The close relation between maxims and proverbs has been pointed out in many occasions. There are authors who even consider maxims as being proverbs and vice versa. Thus, Montesquieu said: "La Rochefoucauld's maxims are proverbs of important people" (cited in Duduleanu, 1978: XI)<sup>122</sup> and Lucas<sup>123</sup> (quoted in Mieder, 1993: 33) considered that "A proverb is by definition a popular maxim"; while for Barangă & Pricop (2012: 129) "Maxims are those proverbs that formulate a truth or a simple observation".

Other linguists include maxims and proverbs in the same category, making no distinction between them. For example, Rudică (2004: 9) believes that

Proverbs, as well as maxims (...), appeared, on the one hand out of the man's need to understand, to better explain himself the psychological complexity of his nature - in which numerous qualities and defects coexist; on the other hand, they came out of the desire of making possible that each of us can objectively know oneself with the help of profound observations and reflections full of irony or sarcasm (...).

Tudor Vianu (1971) considers proverbs to be "the linguistic basis of the art of maxims" (page 6), "the folk foundation of cultivated maxims" (page 7). Moreover he thinks that maxims would not have appeared if it had not been for proverbs.

George Muntean (cited in Duduleanu, 1978: XI) underlines the close relation between proverbs and maxims: "Proverbs and maxims are sometimes closely related, other times they organically interfere. This is proved by the fact that many collections of maxims published in the European zone contain proverbs or phrases that have become proverbial common goods." While Ovidiu Bîrlea (cited in Negreanu, 1998: 146) marks the distinction between them: "Maxim is pre-eminently philosophical; proverb is a piece of poetry. The former states in opposition with proverb; proverb's function is to suggest."

A criterion of distinguishing proverbs from maxims could be, according to Tabarcea (1982: 94), the dimension, maxims being usually more extensive than proverbs. Still this measurable factor is not always decisive since there are cases when the delimitation between the two is impossible.

For Avram (2004: 9) proverbs are inspired by a common patrimony of wisdom while maxims are statements whose author assumes his responsibility. While proverbs repeat an already accepted opinion, maxims reconsider it or give it a new value. Brânzei (2000: 4) defines proverbs and maxims in a more plastic manner: "Proverbs are short conclusions

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<sup>122</sup> The same quotation appears cited by Muntean (1967: XIX) with a slight variation: "La Rochefoucauld's maxims are proverbs of spiritual men [Rom. *oameni de spirit* vs. Duduleanu's version: *oameni de seamă* 'important people']".

<sup>123</sup> In the article "The Art of Proverbs" (1965).

drawn out of long experiences. Maxims are condensed common-sense pills, used to treat character diseases. Colors grow dull, temples turn into ruins, empires fall apart, but the words of the wise men last for centuries."

■ **SENTENTIA** (Sp. *sentencia*, Rom. *sentință*), defined as "an opinion, idea, thought, or aphorism, whether written or spoken; a maxim or proverb"<sup>124</sup>.

Tudor Vianu (1971: 5) compares *sententia* with proverbs: "As far as *sententia* is concerned, the accent lies on the conciseness and the clearance of the statement. These make *sententia* easy to be remembered by readers and to have a wide spreading just like a proverb has."

While Orbaneja y Majada (1998: 14) points out the similarity between *sententia* and maxims (already seen in the *sententia* definition):

Las sentencias son máximas, consideradas bajo el punto de vista literario de la oratoria. (...) Si bien a primera vista parece que *sentencia* expresa la misma idea que *máxima*, existe una marcada diferencia entre ambas, pues si bien pueden ser consideradas las dos como la expresión de una verdad evidente e incontestable, la palabra *máxima* se aplica generalmente a aquella clase de verdades que forman reglas de conducta en moral, al paso que la de *sentencia* designa tan solo una verdad o una proposición evidente.

Calles Vales (2003: 9) defines *sententia* as "frase breve, intelectual, de índole filosófica o moral, en la que el autor expresa su opinión respecto a algún asunto". Based on this definition proverbs achieve the function of *sententia* with the only difference that the author is collective. Thus, according to the Spanish author, proverbs can definitely be considered "frases sentenciosas populares". In spite of his timid attempt of drawing a line between proverbs and *sententiae* since the title of the book - *Refranes, proverbios y sentencias* - required it, José Calles Vales does not succeed to make clear to the reader what the content of his book really includes. In the last paragraph of the *Introduction* he refers to his collection in three different ways:

- "Esta recopilación ha tenido presente estas características a la hora de ordenar y comentar los refranes".
- "En este volumen se examinan más de novecientos refranes y proverbios (...)".
- "La presente colección de refranes ofrece también un índice alfabético (...)".

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<sup>124</sup> Available from <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/sententia?showCookiePolicy=true>>.

We did not make this remark with the intention of criticizing Calles Vales' work but with the purpose of pointing out, once more, the difficulty of 'resolving' the issue regarding a strict delimitation between proverbs and other paremiae.

■ **ADAGE (Sp. *adagio*, Rom. *adagiu*)**, "a traditional saying that is accepted by many as true or partially true; proverb"<sup>125</sup>; "a well-known phrase that says something wise about human experience" (OED); "sorte de dictons et/ou maximes, d'apparence, et parfois même d'origine, juridique"<sup>126</sup> (Visetti & Cadiot, 2006: 14).

The term *adage* might have resulted, if we take into consideration Orbaneja y Majada's note (1998: 7), by the corruption of the Latin *ad agendum* ('to act'), term used by Julius Caesar in a collection of apothegms he wrote, as mentioned by an epistle of Cicero. *The Online Etymology Dictionary* makes no reference to this origin:

"brief, familiar proverb," 1540s, Middle French *adage*, from Latin *adagium* "adage, proverb," apparently from *adagio*, from *ad-* "to" (see *ad-*) + *\*agi-*, root of *aio* "I say," from PIE *\*ag-* "to speak." But Tucker thinks the second element is rather *ago* "set in motion, drive, urge."<sup>127</sup>

According to Orbaneja y Majada (1998: 13) the adage generally refers to ancient proverbs. He defines adage as follows: "Refrán, sentencia breve y familiar, proverbio, frase lacónica y sentenciosa comunmente recibida y casi siempre moral, especie de aforismo crítico doctrinal extraordinariamente popularizado y que regula la conducta que ha de observarse en determinados casos."

From the DAPR we find that "El *adagio* encierra un sentido doctrinal encaminado a proporcionar algún consejo para saber conducirse en la vida".

E.g. 'Haz bien y no mires a quien.'

In Luis Iscla's opinion (quoted in Baños & Guardiola, 2001: 27) "the adage proposes a certain rule of science or art" while "the proverb implies a moral or historical meaning". Erasmus of Rotterdam (quoted in Pereda Valdés, 1998: 19) explained that the difference between proverb and adage consists in the fact that the adage comes from oracles, writers,

<sup>125</sup> Available from <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/adage?showCookiePolicy=true>>

<sup>126</sup> Translation from French: "a kind of proverbs and/or maxims with similarities or the same origins -legal sector."

<sup>127</sup> Available from <[http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=adage&searchmode=none](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=adage&searchmode=none)>.

poets, wise men, etc., and it is not as popular as the proverb. Juan Lebón (quoted in Pereda Valdés, 1998: 19-20) also based the distinction between proverbs and adages on their origin:

El proverbio es (...) frase popular nacida en el pueblo; el adagio puede ser tomado de seis objetos distintos: de las cosas semejantes, de los animales, de los personajes fabulosos, de la comedia, de la historia, y de las naciones y estados y puede envolver una comparación: "Más rico que Creso", "Más severo que Catón".

Pereda Valdés (1998: 20) considers that the adage, in spite of its popularity, has an author while the proverb is popular too, but of anonymous origin.

Hernando Cuadrado (2010: 37) also makes reference to the similarity between proverbs and adages based on the quasi-synonymy of the terms *refrán*, *proverbio* and *adagio* in the common language. In this respect he cites Juan de Valdés (op. cit.: 38) who states that "los refranes son proverbios o adagios" and Sebastián de Covarrubias (op. cit.: 40) for whom "refrán es lo mismo que adagio, proverbio". In 1675 Jerónimo Martín Caro y Cejudo (quoted in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 40) intended to make a clear distinction between proverbs and adages: "aunque refrán y adagio es una misma cosa, ordinariamente en la glosa llamo refrán al castellano y adagio al latino".

■ **APHORISM (Sp. *aporismo*, Rom. *aporism*)**, "a short pithy saying expressing a general truth; maxim"<sup>128</sup>; "una sentencia lacónica y doctrinal que presenta en forma sintética lo más interesante de alguna materia, regla, principio, axioma o máxima instructiva" (DAPR).

Tudor Vianu (1971: 5) considers aphorisms "to have all the other folk narratives' [maxims, sententiae and apothegms] linguistic and stylistic characteristics; they are uttered with the intention of reviewing a common place, a strong belief." Orbaneja y Majada (1998: 15) also relates aphorisms with other folk categories. He defines aphorism as

una especie de sentencia, máxima general, breve y doctrinal a la vez, que presenta y recopila como en extracto lo más interesante de alguna materia, de alguna cosa: regla, principio, axioma, corrolario de la experiencia, producto de la observación y del estudio, instructiva y generalmente adoptada como verdadera.

For Blaga (quoted in Rudică, 2004: 13) "An aphorism is a simple grain of a precious metal, but it can have the weight of a whole world".

When associated to contradictory term, an aphorism can become a paradox. A lot of Greek authors' aphorisms turned into proverbs (Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 47). For example,

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<sup>128</sup> Available from <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/aphorism?showCookiePolicy=true>>.

Hippocrates' aphorism (Lat.) "Ad extremos morbos, extrema remedia exquisite optima" (Sp. "A enfermedades extremas, los últimos remedios exquisitamente insuperables") is the origin of the Spanish paremia "Enfermedades graves no se curan con paños calientes ni con jarabes, sino con remedios insuperables".

For an anonymous reporter of *Time* who wrote an article entitled "The Wild Flowers of Thought" (published in 1969, and quoted in Mieder, 1993: 33), proverbs are "aphoristic statements" as it can be seen in the following quote: "These lean, didactic, aphoristic statements, so varied in their language, seem to distill a universal wisdom... Can't it be that the proverb - literally, "before the word" - provides a clue to the common denominator of all human thought?" In his article "Proverbs or Aphorisms?" (1983), another reporter of *Time*, Stefan Kanfer, tries to make a distinction between the two genres by definitions such as: "The aphorism is a personal observation inflated into a universal truth, a private posing as a general. A proverb is anonymous human history compressed to the size of a seed" (quoted in Mieder, 1993: 35).

According to Nicolescu (in Avram, 2004: 5), proverbs become aphorisms when they put on a "philosophical coat". This phenomenon of proverbs' metamorphosis into aphorisms and vice versa is also identified by Mieder (1993: 36) who drops the conclusion that we thus have to deal with "hybrid genres". As to the question of which has more applicability to modern age - proverbs or aphorisms, Mieder has no doubt about its answer:

Personally I would say that proverbs because of their memorability win this contest with ease, especially when one considers the frequency of usage of proverbs in contrast to aphorisms. It should be pointed out, however, that the proverbial aphorism, a more or less intellectual game in the form of parodies of traditional proverbs, appears to gain in popularity. They are used by intellectuals, the mass media, and also by the general population as a type of anti-proverb, varying existing proverb texts according to modern needs but at the same time retaining their linguistic structures in most cases.

■ **AOPHTHEGM** or **APOTHEGM** (Sp. *apotehma*, Rom. *apoftegmă*), "a short cryptic remark containing some general or generally accepted truth; maxim"<sup>129</sup>. "Sentencia proferida por algún personaje célebre" (DAPR).

According to Tudor Vianu (1971: 5) "apothegms are connected to a historical event; they are the words of an illustrious man, said in an important circumstance. Due to their

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<sup>129</sup> Available from <[http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/apophthegm#apophthegm\\_1](http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/apophthegm#apophthegm_1)>.

generic value, they cover the recall of the author and of the moment on which they have been said."

For Orbaneja y Majada (1998: 22) the apothegm is: "frase memorable de un antiguo, o imitación de él, por ejemplo, los de los siete sabios de Grecia", "frase concisa, pero sentenciosamente notable".

The relation of proverbs with apothegms is briefly and objectively pointed out by Nicolescu (cited in Avram, 2004: 5) who explains that when they put on another type of clothes -namely the monastical garments-, proverbs can be called apophthegms.

■ **RIDDLE** (Sp. *adivinanza*, Rom. *ghicitoare*), "a puzzle in the form of a question or rhyme that contains clues to its answer" (EWED).

In Romanian folk literature proverbs are sometimes associated and included in the same collection with riddles, e.g. Rahmil (1957), Bărbulescu (1957) or Barangă & Pricop (2012), etc. Negreanu (1983: 32) points out some similarities and differences of the two folk narratives. They both contain a descriptive element, the differentiation consisting in the fact that, in the case of riddles, the referent needs to be guessed while in the case of proverbs the referent is already known. This resemblance had already been marked in 1894 by the Russian Ermakov (cited in Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 19).

Dundes (quoted in Colombi, 1989: 38), referring to oppositional and non-oppositional proverbs, marks the similarities and differences between proverbs and riddles:

The means of producing opposition in proverbs is strikingly similar to the means of producing opposition in riddles. However, whereas the oppositions in riddles are resolved by the answer, the oppositional proverb is itself an answer to a proverb-evoking situation, and the opposition is posed, not resolved. In this sense, proverbs only state problems in contrast to riddles which solve them.

Tabarcea (1982: 17) bases the close relation between proverbs and riddles on their similar philosophical content. Furthermore he considers that "the riddle can be a remnant of the prehistorical philosophy of humankind". He gives as examples the Romanian proverb *A băut apă după gheață* (He drank water after ice), and the riddle *Mama naște fata și fata pe mamă* (Mother gives birth to daughter and daughter gives birth to mother), referring to water and ice. This correlation between philosophy and riddles can be rooted into the Greek philosophy. Clearh, an apprentice of Aristotle, had a theory according to which riddles had been once the object of philosophy. This connection is reasonable since the Greek *αἶνος*

(*ainos* - story, sententia, proverb) is closely related to *αἰνιγμός, -μα* (*ainigmos, -ma* - enigma)<sup>130</sup>.

Avram (2004: 10) also places proverbs and riddles together because they are "short messages". Hence she includes them in the same category of "short folk narrativers" or "short genres". The author defines proverbs and riddles as "genres of transition between categories with an accentuated functional syncretism and categories that are not determined by concrete functional contexts."

Just like proverbs, riddles can be literal or metaphorical. Sometimes this quality makes riddles turn into proverbs (Cicerov, cited in Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 19).

■ **FABLE** (Sp. *fábula*, Rom. *fabulă*), "a traditional story which teaches a moral lesson" (BBC).

The epic qualities of the two genres or their moral meaning are only two features that make some authors relate proverbs with fables. Ruxăndoiu (2003: 234) remarks that "taken individually, proverbs can be seen as fables or short stories with their own value". Referring to the symbolism of the art form, based on comparisons whose starting point is the exterior, Hegel (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 71-72) considers proverbs "a middle step of this sphere", explaining that "proverbs can be converted sometimes into fables, others into apologues. They embody an individual case, most often from daily nature, that must then be interpreted taking into account its general meaning."

Another author that relates proverbs with fables is the Georgian linguist Irine Goshkheteliani (Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 275<sup>131</sup>) who states that "Proverbs are part of every spoken language and are related to such other forms of folk literature as riddles and fables that have originated in oral tradition."

Referring to the importance of the Greek-Latin world in the Spanish paroemiology, Sevilla and Cantera (2002: 50-55) mention also the fable among one of the roots of several Spanish paremiaes such as: 'Matar la gallina de los huevos de oro', 'Adornarse con plumas ajenas', etc. The same observation is pointed out by Muntean (1967: XVI) who talks about the important number of proverbs and sayings found in fables of famous authors such as the

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<sup>130</sup> According to the Dutch philosopher Johan Huizinga (*Homo ludens*, Bucharest: 1977: 192), quoted in Tabarcea (1982: 18).

<sup>131</sup> In her article "Cultural Implications in English and Georgian Proverbs" (pages 275-284).



Greek Aesop and Babrius, the French Jean de La Fontaine, the Russian Ivan Krylov or the Romanians Constantin Stamati and Grigore Alexandrescu.

### 1.3.4. SUMMARY

We consider important to underline the fact that proverbs are often associated to sayings and other related folk narratives. Undoubtedly, sayings occupy the first place in the ranking of these associations, especially as far as English language is concerned. An explanation of this phenomenon might be that given by Ruxăndoiu (2003: 8): "Proverb is a category of oral culture that has been recorded in written since early times; hence its massive interferences with similar phrases belonging to the scholar style."

These interferences can also be seen in the fact that proverbs share some of their distinguishable characteristics, - such as archetypal opposition, figurativeness, brevity, laconism, argumentativeness, rhyming, didactics, culture-implied folk-wisdom -, with other *paremiae*. Thus I. Goshkheteliani (in Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 278) observes that "figurativeness is common to idioms, riddles; verbal structure is characteristic to riddles, but not to idioms; laconism is a feature of maxims, idioms and riddles; didactic feature is characteristic to riddles as well; folk wisdom is the feature of idioms and riddles too, aphorisms are mostly authorized..."

As Stănciulescu-Bârda (2003: 252) points out, among all their related folkloric categories, proverbs are the most used folk narrative, even the most spread in time and in geographical and linguistic territories. Proverbs are, the author says, "an ideological necessity, an axiom of reflection and behavior, a law in front of which any counterargument - if not a proverb with an opposite meaning - has become speechless."

As a consequence of all we have seen so far we can indisputably agree with Granbom-Herranen (in Pamies Bertrán et. al., 2011: 291) in the fact that proverbs researching and interpretations are based on *emic* (referring to everyday life) and *etic* (referring to academic research) concepts. In this regard, the author presents both groups of concepts in two tables. The first one (op. cit.: 288) lists definitions of "concepts for *etic*-language, used in written texts and researches": aphorism, axiom, citation, dictum, doctrine, figure of speech, idiom, maxim, metaphor, phrase, proverb, quotation, saying, simile. Due to table one's extension and because it includes definitions of concepts most of which we have already seen before, we

will only reproduce the second table (op. cit.: 289) of "the most important way to refer to proverb in emic-language, used in oral and written narratives as well as in media":

**"is like something"**: figure of speech, metaphor, simile

**"proverb"**: dictum, proverb, quotation, saying

**"phrase"**: idiom, phrase

**"general guide"**: axiom, maxim, doctrine

**"somebody said"**: aphorism, citation.

Far from resolving the problem, this chapter intended to present different points of view of specialists in the field, underlining the difficulty in separate all the folkloric genres involved. As Dodu Bălan (1974: VI) observes "It is difficult, unspeakably difficult, to define proverb as a simple form of the expression of human spirit; that is why it seems more difficult to me the operation of framing it, rigidly and surely, in a class of traditional, literal genres." Regarding this issue, we subscribe to Luis Junceda's opinion (1995: 15) according to which

(...) el refrán (que no la máxima, y menos el apotegma, sus hermanos mayores) es fruto seminamente popular y por ello tan proteico y a menudo hasta asilvestrado, que cualquier intento de reducirle a términos conceptuales rigurosos es, por lo regular, empeño casi tan baldío como el de colar en sociedad, vestido de etiqueta, a un baúsán.

It seems that, back in 1842, Elias Lönnrot, one of the first Finnish collectors of proverbs, also confronted with the useless effort of any attempt to separate the proverb from its kinship relatives. Apparently he decided to throw his arms down since he wrote the following: "I leave all that has to do with dividing the proverbs into all kinds of subclasses like proverbs, sayings, phrases, comparisons, etc. to those who don't have anything better to do" (quoted by Liisa Granborn-Herranen in Pamies Bertán et. al., 2011: 288).

Which can be dropped as a conclusion is the undeniably heterogeneity of the phrases, sentences, expressions, etc. gathered together under the generic form of 'proverbial phrases'<sup>132</sup>.

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<sup>132</sup> Term used by Archer Taylor (cited in Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 22) to denominate all the types of statements with a paroemiological value.

A resuming table with definitions<sup>133</sup> of all the paremiae registered above is presented, in the three languages that make the object of our study:

PAREMIA	ENGLISH*	SPANISH**	ROMANIAN***
PROVERB/PROVERBIO/PROVERB	A short well-known saying that expresses an obvious truth and often offers advice.	Sentencia, adagio o refrán.	Învățătură morală populară născută din experiență, exprimată printr-o formulă eliptică sugestivă, de obicei metaforică, ritmică sau rimată; zicală, zicătoare, parimie.
SAYING/DICHO/ZICĂTOARE	Frequently offered piece of advice or information, or a frequently heard reflection on the way things are.	Palabra o conjunto de palabras con que se expresa oralmente un concepto cabal.	Frază scurtă, uneori rimată, asemănătoare maximei, prin care creatorul popular exprimă o constatare de ordin general, filozofic, un principiu etic, o normă de conduită etc.; zicătură, zicală, proverb.
MAXIM/MÁXIMA/MAXIMĂ	A succinct or pithy saying that has some proven truth to it.	Sentencia, apotegma o doctrina buena para dirigir las acciones morales.	Enunț formulat concis, exprimând un principiu etic, o normă de conduită etc.; aforism, sentință, adagiu.
SENTENTIA/SENTENCIA/SENTINȚĂ	A short memorable saying.	Dicho grave y sucinto que encierra doctrina o moralidad.	Maximă, aforism, adagiu.
ADAGE/ADAGIO/ADAGIU	A traditional saying that expresses something taken as a general truth.	Sentencia breve, comúnmente recibida, y, la mayoría de las veces, moral.	Maximă, sentință, aforism.
APHORISM/AFORISMO/AFORISM	A succinct statement expressing an opinion or a general truth.	Sentencia breve y doctrinal que se propone como regla en alguna ciencia o arte.	Cugetare enunțată într-o formă concisă, memorabilă; maximă, sentință, adagiu.
APO(PH)THEGM/APOTEGMA/APOFTEGMĂ	A terse saying that embodies an important truth.	Dicho breve y sentencioso; dicho feliz, generalmente el que tiene celebridad por haberlo proferido o escrito algún hombre ilustre o por cualquier otro concepto.	Maximă, sentință formulată de obicei de o personalitate celebră (din Antichitate).
RIDDLE/ADIVINANZA/GHICITOARE	A puzzle in the form of a question or rhyme that contains clues to its answer.	Enigma o adivinanza que se propone como pasatiempo.	Specie a literaturii populare, de obicei în versuri, în care se prezintă sub formă metaforică un obiect, o ființă sau un fenomen, cerându-se identificarea acestora prin asocieri logice; cimilitură.
FABLE/FÁBULA/FABULĂ	A short story with a moral, especially one in which the characters are animals.	Breve relato ficticio, en prosa o verso, con intención didáctica frecuentemente manifestada en una moraleja final, y en el que pueden intervenir personas, animales y otros seres animados.	Scurtă povestire alegorică, de obicei în versuri, în care autorul, folosind procedeul personificării animalelor, plantelor și lucrurilor, satirizează anumite moravuri, deprinderi, mentalități cu scopul de a le îndrepta.

Table 11: Trilingual definitions of proverbs and other paremiae

As to the common feature all the above paremiae share, we subscribe to Colombi's opinion (1989: 5) that "Los términos de uso actual como *adagio*, *proverbio*, *refrán*, *máxima*, *aforismo*, *apotegma*, *paremia*, etc. tienen una característica común y ésta es el que todos ellos son sentencias breves con un sentido doctrinal o sea moralista."

<sup>133</sup> \*Source of the definitions: EWED; \*\*Source of the definitions: RAE; \*\*\*Source of the definitions: DEX.

## CHAPTER II

### A BRIEF VIEW ON THE HISTORY OF PROVERBS

*"The wise of heart will receive commandments,  
but a babbling fool will come to ruin.  
Whoever walks in integrity walks securely,  
but he who makes his ways crooked will be found out.  
Whoever winks the eye causes trouble,  
and a babbling fool will come to ruin.  
The mouth of the righteous is a fountain of life,  
but the mouth of the wicked conceals violence".  
(Proverbs of Salomon, 10: 8,9,10,11)*

The use of proverbs is centuries old, dating probably from the time when wisdom and precept were transmitted by story and song. As far as the age of proverbs is concerned, Candrea (quoted in Negreanu, 1998: 125) asserts: "I think I do not get too far from the truth when I state that proverbs are as old as humanity", while Orbaneja y Majada (1998: 6) considers that "Datan los refranes de una antigüedad remota como la sociedad". "Parece como si el habla española ha vivido atestada de refranes desde siempre (...)", says Colombi (1989: IX). The same idea is taken over by Elena Grosu (2007: 8) who strongly believes that "Proverbs have been known in all times and by all peoples", even though with different denominations, e.g. *sebajt* at the Egyptians, *paroemia* at the Greeks, *sententiae* at the Romans, etc. Thus, many great works of humankind, as the *Bible*, the *Koran*, *Illiad* and *Odyssey*, the *Kalevala* - to name only a few -, contain paroemiological expressions. This belief is reiterated in the DAPR dictionary (1982: 7):

Ninguna creación de la mente humana ha excitado tanto como los proverbios y refranes, la atención de los grandes intelectuales de la humanidad, a lo largo de los siglos. Escritores, poetas, eruditos, pensadores y filósofos de todos los tiempos y de todos los países, se han complacido en recoger esta manifestación de la sabiduría popular, diseminando aforismos, proverbios y refranes en sus obras inmortales, ilustrándolos, e incluso compilándolos.

The importance of the *Bible* in humankind culture is undisputable. Translated into about 1.800 languages (Stănciulescu, 2005: 136), this masterpiece is known by people from all over

the world. The so called Wisdom or Sapiential Books of the *Old Testament*<sup>134</sup> contain numerous proverbs, maxims, proverbial phrases, etc. From all of them, the book of *Proverbs*, also called *The Proverbs of Solomon* (Hebrew *Mishle Shelomoh*, Greek *Paroimiai Salomontos*, Latin *Liber Proverbiorum*, Rabbinical Hebrew *Sepher Hokhmah*, meaning "The Wisdom Book"<sup>135</sup>, Spanish *Los proverbios de Salomón*, Romanian *Proverbele/Pildele lui Solomon*) is the most studied in the paroemiological field<sup>136</sup> due to the fact that - as its very title indicates - it represents a collection of about 3.000 proverbs attributed to Solomon, "the son of David, king of Israel", who lived between 971 and 931 B.C. and was a very wise man of his time:

Dios dio a Salomón sabiduría y prudencia muy grandes, y anchura de corazón como la arena que está a la orilla del mar. Era mayor la sabiduría de Salomón que la de todos los orientales y que toda la sabiduría de los egipcios. Aun fue más sabio que todos los hombres (...) y fue conocido entre todas las naciones de alrededor. Y compuso tres mil proverbios, y sus cantares fueron mil cinco (...) (Pikaza, 2007: 940-941).

The *Book of Proverbs* establishes the base of the simplest and the oldest sapiential form of literature: *māšāl*<sup>137</sup> - the Hebrew term for 'proverbs' according to *The Illustrated Bible of Jerusalem* (1975: 648). In *The Bible* (Barcelona, 1975: 626) we find the following definition of this concept:

*Mašal* designa, en efecto, toda expresión llamativa por la ingeniosidad de su forma o por la profundidad de su contenido: un refrán popular, una máxima sentenciosa, un razonamiento agudo, una parábola, una alegoría, un enigma. En su forma lapidaria, puede adoptar el tono de exhortación o de simple reflexión, y contener una enseñanza religiosa o un dato de la experiencia humana.

Here are some examples (in Spanish) of the proverbs of Solomon (extracted from *The Illustrated Bible of Jerusalem*, 1975: 870 & 874):

- El malo consigue un jornal falso; el que siembra justicia, un salario verdadero.
- Hay quien gasta y todavía va a más; y hay quien ahorra en demasía sólo para venir a menos.
- Quien busca el bien, se procura favor; quien va tras el mal, le saldrá al encuentro.
- Los malos se postran ante los buenos, los malvados a la puerta de los justos.

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<sup>134</sup> Depending on the religion and also of the language/version from which the *Bible* was translated, the number of the Wisdom Books varies from five to seven. Thus, according to *The Illustrated Bible of Jerusalem* (1975) and to *The Didactic Bible* (1996), there are five Sapiential Books - *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Wisdom (of Solomon)*, and *Sirach* or *Ecclesiasticus*. To these, usually two more are added: *Song of Songs* or *Canticle of Canticles* and *Psalms* (see for example *The Bible*, Barcelona, 1975).

<sup>135</sup> Available from <<http://www.rcrwebsite.com/provov.htm>>.

<sup>136</sup> See, for example, Daniel Brânzei (2000) or Sevilla and Cantera (2002: chapter 2, pages 29-45).

<sup>137</sup> *The Bible* (Barcelona, 1975) gives another spelling of this term: *mašal*.

- Incluso a su vecino es odioso el pobre, pero son muchos los amigos del rico.

The *New Testament* is also a source of many nowadays paremiae. For example, from the *Exodus* 21:24 "eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, bruise for bruise" we have today the very well known proverbial phrase 'Eye for eye, tooth for tooth' with its international equivalents:

Sp. 'Ojo por ojo, diente por diente'.

Rom. 'Ochi pentru ochi, dinte pentru dinte'.

Italian 'Occhio per occhio, dente per dente'.

French 'Oeil pour oeil, dent pour dent', and so on (Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 31).

Another example<sup>138</sup> is that of the following biblical quotation: "So give back to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's" (*Matthew* 22:21) which is nowadays used in many languages, e.g. Sp. 'Dar al César lo que es del César', Rom. 'Dați Cezarului ce este al Cezarului!'.  
Insisting no more on the importance of the *Bible* for the paroemiology, we put an end to this topic with Nicolae Dascălu's words<sup>139</sup> according to which "The paroemiological corpus with biblical origin (...) stands as a testimony of the fundamental characteristics of national spirituality, authentically Christian in its deep layers."

In Romanian language, proverbs represent a pretty rich branch of Romanian folklore. Like riddles, they come from ancient times and they are still used mostly by old people living in villages. That is why they say that old men are very wise, because they know lots of proverbs which they use to describe a certain situation, event, or to give somebody an advice, an admonition, a warning, etc.

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They also appear in writing and are less frequent in nowadays usage. This does not mean that they are out of use or that their use is strictly restricted to people living in the country. Of course not, they may be heard in famous contemporary writers, scientists, politicians, etc., intellectuals' speeches. The secret of a proverb's success is its proper use: 'The proverb puts spice to speech' (Somali proverb), 'A proverb is to speech what salt is to food' (quoted in Gheorghe, 1986: 13). A well-chosen proverb, said in a very proper moment or situation, may have a much stronger effect than a whole long, detailed pleading, in other words, one proverb may worth ten statements: 'One single proverb is worth a thousand pieces

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<sup>138</sup> For more examples of paremiae of biblical origin, see Sevilla and Cantera (2002: 31-45) and also <<http://www.deproverbio.com/bible.php>>.

<sup>139</sup> Literally translated, available from <<http://www.crestinortodox.ro/religie/ecouri-proverbelor-solomon-cultura-populara-romaneasca-69593.html>>.

of advice' (Turkish proverb). For example, 'Like father, like son' is sufficient to characterize one person, to portray someone making reference to his father, saying by this more than describing this person's (usually) bad qualities. As the English philosopher William Penn (quoted in Avram, 2002: 11) said, proverbs "save time and words, and sometimes they can be the most complex and effective answers".

English language is also rich enough in proverbs. As it has been pointed out before, though they are not so frequent in everyday language, especially in spoken language, they still exist and their importance is still the same though they tend to lose ground in front of idioms which are extremely frequent in nowadays spoken English.

Due to the huge amount of works in the paroemiological field, our intention is not to present a detailed history of paroemiology, just to outline some reference points in this direction. For a detailed presentation of the Romanian history and bibliography of proverbs, we recommend Constantin Negreanu's (1998) cited work and also the *Preface* of Ion Cuceu's dictionary (2007). As far as Spanish language is concerned, we propose Sevilla and Cantera (2002, chapters 2-4, pages 29-127) and Hernando Cuadrado (2010, chapter III, pages 53-73).

According to Negreanu (1983: 16), proverbs' first use is dated in the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC in a poem of the Greek poet Hesiod. Then rhetoricians as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Quintilian et. al. inserted a lot of proverbs/sententiae in their works. But the oldest known civilisation to have made use of proverbs - discovered on cuneiform inscriptions -, seems to be, according to Flonta (2001: IX), the Sumerian one. One such proverb is, the Latin 'Canis festinans caecos parit catulos' (Eng. 'The hasty bitch brings forth blind whelps', Rom. 'Căţeaua de pripă îşi naşte căţei fără ochi').

The first English written proverbial sayings date from the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Later on proverbs became more and more frequent, lists of Latin proverbs appearing. Rhetoricians had a great influence when illustrating their dicta by proverbs.

The 13<sup>th</sup> century points out the entrance of the foreign proverbs in English language, due to the big interest in Latin and Greek writings, as well as in French literature. Regarding medieval period, proverbs were very frequent in Gower, Chaucer and Lydgate's works.

During this period the *Hava-Mal* (variant *Hávamál*, meaning "The Words of the High, or the words of Óðinn, the chief god of the old Æsir religion of the Northern people of

Europe"<sup>140</sup>) appeared in *Codex Regius* (Eng. 'The Royal Book'), a collection of Old Norse poems from the Viking age. It is a gnomic poem containing, according to Orbaneja y Majada (1998: 8-9), "all of the Scandinavian proverbs".

The 16<sup>th</sup> century is, in England, the century of the height of proverbs fashion. The use of proverbs represents an expression of the folk character of the Elizabethan theatre as well as a humanism reflex (Erasmus' *Adagia* appeared in 1500). Erasmus from Rotterdam is one of the modern paremiology's forerunners. His collection of proverbs put the basis of an intense activity of the collection and study of proverbs. So they began to be spread all over the world and translated from one language into another, becoming thus to be used in foreign languages teaching.

In Spain, the first proverbs collection, consisting of 715 proverbs, appeared in 1508 in Seville, under the baton of Don Íñigo López de Mendoza y de la Vega, Marquis of Santillana and Master of Hita y de Buitrago<sup>141</sup>, and was entitled *Refranes de Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana recogidos en el siglo XV a ruego del Rey Don Johan, que dicen las viejas tras el fuego e van ordenados por el orden A. B. C. que se encuentran a su vez en el refranero de este libro*<sup>142</sup> (Pereda Valdés, 1998: 90).

From the Spanish authors of proverbs collections in the 16<sup>th</sup> century we mention Juan de Mal Lara (*Philosophia Vulgar*, 1568), Dimas Capellán (*Refranes glosados*, 1510), Alonso de Melgar (*Refranes glosados y proverbios*, 1524), Pedro Vallés (*El Libro de los refranes. Compilado por el orden del ABC*, 1549), Hernán Núñez (*Refranes o proverbios en romance*, 1555), etc. An important reference point in the field is represented by Blasco de Garay's work *Cartas en refranes* (Toledo, 1541). As the author explained, this masterpiece "no pretende ser una recopilación, sino un pasatiempo agradable, piececilla literaria con que deleitar al lector y amonestarle juntamente" (quoted in Maldonado, 1987: 12).

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<sup>140</sup> Available from <<http://www.simnet.is/gardarj/havamal.htm>>.

<sup>141</sup> Marquis of Santillana's authorship of this work was questioned by Urban Cronan (in his article "Refranes" in *Revue Hispanique*, XXV, 1911, p. 134) whose opinion was disputed later on by F. Sánchez Escribano (in the article "Santillana y la colección de Refranes, Medina del Campo, 1550" in *Hispanic Review*, X, 1942, p. 254) (cited in Maldonado, 1987: 11-12).

<sup>142</sup> The academic bibliography in the field records this book with variants of its title: *Refranes que dicen las viejas tras el fuego, esto es calentándose a la lumbre, por orden de a. b. c.* (Panizo, 1999: 9); *Proverbios que dicen las mujeres al amor de la lumbre, pero por el orden del A. B. C.* (Orbaneja y Majada (1998: 7-8); *Refranes que dicen las viejas tras el fuego* (Iribarren, 1994: XXII; Maldonado, 1987: 11); *Refranes que dicen las viejas tras el fuego* (DAPR: 9; Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 99; Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 55); *Íñigo López de Mendoza, a ruego del rey don Juan, ordenó estos refranes que dicen las viejas tras el fuego e van ordenados por la orden del a, b, c.* (*Los Mejores Refranes de la Lengua Castellana*, 2011: 5).



In 1522 appears in Krakow *The Life of Aesop the Phrygian*, written by the poet Biernat of Lublin, the first secular work in Polish literature, a collection of verse fables including hundreds of Polish proverbs (Grosu, 2007: 8).

Towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Italian researcher Giovanni Florio publishes a six thousands proverbs collection which will be used for the Italian language teaching to English students.

In 1546 John Heywood's *Dialogue of Proverbs* is published, 'containing the number in effect of all the prouerbes in the englishe tongue' (Lefter, 2002: 5), whose popularity is confirmed by the six consecutive editions appeared by 1598. The Elizabethans' passion for proverbs is illustrated by their frequency in the time comedies or by the fact that the poet Michael Drayton (1563-1631) wrote the sonnet *As Love And I* with all the lyrics being proverbs:

### As Love And I

*As Love and I, late harbor'd in one inn,  
With proverbs thus each other entertain:  
"In Love there is no lack," thus I begin;  
"Fair words make fools," replieth he again;  
"Who spares to speak doth spare to speed," quoth I;  
"As well," saith he, "too forward as too slow";  
"Fortune assists the boldest," I reply;  
"A hasty man," quoth he, "ne'er wanted woe";  
"Labor is light where Love," quoth I, "doth pay";  
Saith he, "Light burden's heavy, if far borne";  
Quoth I, "The main lost, cast the bye away";  
"You have spun a fair thread," he replies in scorn.  
And having thus awhile each other thwarted,  
Fools as we met, so fools again we parted<sup>143</sup>.*

A poem with the same characteristics, namely all the lines being proverbs (in their original form or slightly modified) was written centuries later by the Romanian poet Ștefan I. Nenițescu (1897-1979)<sup>144</sup>.

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<sup>143</sup> Available from <<http://www.sanjeev.net/poetry/drayton-michael/sonnet-lix-as-love-and-i-181428.html>>.

<sup>144</sup> The poem is entitled *Proverbe* ("Proverbs") and it appeared in the *Revista Fundațiilor* magazine, VII, 1940, n° 8, p. 286-291. A fragment of this poem is reproduced in Tabarca (1982: 55): "*Toate vulpile / La blănar ajung. / Toate culmile / Bolta o împung. / Drumul cel mai scurt / Este cel mai lung / Darul este furt / Lipsei care-i strung. / Mămăliga e / Slana să ți-o ungi. / Un ban singur e / Pentru multe pungi*".

The first paroemiological dictionaries date from the 17<sup>th</sup> century: Megisero (Leipzig, 1605) - *Paroemiologia pollyglottos, Proverbia et sententiae*; Howell (London, 1660) - *Lexicon tetraglotton* (English, French, Italian and Spanish).

This is also the century of great Spanish masterpieces written by famous authors who made a great use of proverbs in their works: Miguel de Cervantes (*Don Quijote de la Mancha*, 1605-1615), Francisco López de Úbeda (*La pícara Justina*, 1605), Lope de Vega (*La Dorotea*, 1634), Pedro Calderón de la Barca (*El alcalde de Zalamea*, 1642).

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the attitude begins to vary, the popularity of the proverb declines in the work of educated writers. Some authors despise these 'vulgar sayings', others praise them. Among the Spanish names worth noted during this period there are Friar Martín Sarmiento (*Costumbres, etiquetas, ceremonias, juegos, observaciones y vulgaridades que se practican en diferentes partes de España. Refranes, frases, dichos y hechos que hoy se aplican a otros, y de los que hay alguna noticia en autores antiguos*, 1730) and Antonio Valladares y Sotomayor (*Colección de seguidillas o cantares de los más instructivos y selectos. Enriquecida con notas y refranes en cada uno, para hacer más fácil su inteligencia*, 1799).

Kelly quotes on the title page of his work *Scottish Proverbs* (1721) Bacon's dictum that the 'Genius, Wit, and Spirit of a Nation, are discovered by their Proverbs' (Wilson, 1990: IX). Robert Lovelace, the hero of Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* (1748), is congratulated on his approaching marriage and advised to mend his foolish ways. His uncle writes: "It is a long lane that has no turning. – Do not despise me for my proverbs" (quoted in Simpson, 1990: x). Swift, in the introduction to his *Polite Conversation* (1738), remarks: "The reader must learn by all means to distinguish between Proverbs, and those polite Speeches which beautify Conversation: ... As to the former, I utterly reject them out of all ingenious Discourse" (quoted in Simpson, 1990: X).

It is interesting to remark that, even though there is a slow decrease of proverbs' use in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, phenomenon which seems to continue nowadays, many great proverbs collections are published during this period of time. So are, for instance, Iuliu A. Zanne's *Proverbele Românilor (Romanians' Proverbs)* consisting of ten volumes published between 1895 and 1903 (Negreanu, 1983: 14), containing more than 26.800 proverbs<sup>145</sup>; José M<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> The work impresses by two major facts: first, that its author was neither philologist nor ethnographer, but an engineer passionate about the folklore; and second, not by its extension (9 volumes of about 700 pages each, and the tenth one of more than 400 pages), but by the huge effort consumed for the collecting and the classification of the recorded entries. If the initial number of collaborators was at first 190, this number increased by the year

Sbarbi's *El refranero general español, parte recopilado y parte compuesto*, also in ten volumes published between 1874 and 1878; the great 1.425.000 proverbs collection of the Finnish Language Institute of Helsinki University, finished before 1930 (Flonta, 1992: 2), or Vladimir I. Dahl's Russian work of more than 30.000 proverbs *Poslovitsi russkogo naroda* (Dahl's Russian Proverbs in Two Volumes), published in Moscow between 1861-1862.

The first study in the Romanian paroemiological field belongs to Gem Teodorescu. Entitled *Cercetări asupra proverbelor române (Cum trebuiesc culese și publicate). Studiu critic și bibliografic* [Research on the Romanian proverbs (How they need to be collected and published). Critical and bibliographical study], the work appeared in 1877 and establishes a serie of criteria required in order to have proverbs properly collected and published. This is a reference year in the history of the Romanian paroemiology due to the appearance, at Sibiu, of Hîntescu's work *Proverbele Românilor (Romanians' Proverbs)*. It represents the first attempt of a corpus of this folk genre, including 3.169 paroemiological texts, classified into 116 thematic groups. In 1882 this collection is translated into Hungarian by Moldovan (Negreanu, 1998: 93-95).

As far as the first Romanian paroemiographical collection of proverbs - *Proverbe românești (Romanian Proverbs)* - is concerned, this is attributed to George Baritiu who, in 1840, publishes it in his cultural magazine *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură (Paper for mind, heart and literature)*. But it seems that the term *proverb* appeared for the first time in the Romanian language, in 1814, used by Dimitrie Țichindeal in his volume entitled *Filosoficești și politicești prin fabule moralnice învățături (Philosophizing and politicizing through moralizing advices)* (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 37).

We consider worth mentioning here also the interest of foreign paroemiographers in Romanian folklore. Hence the publication of some international works in the field, for example: Johann Karl Schuler (Sibiu, 1852) - *Aus der Walachei, Rumänische Gedichte und Sprichwörter (From the Romanian Country. Romanian Poems and Proverbs)*; Ida Von Düringsfeld (Leipzig, 1872, 2 volumes) - *Sprichwörter der Germanischen und Romanischen Sprachen (Proverbs in German and Romanian Languages)* (Negreanu, 1998: 76-77); Helene Falcoyano (Bucharest, 1882-1883) - *Proverbes roumaine (Romanian Proverbs)* (Negreanu, 1998: 116).

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1903 to 340 collectors. The team was formed mainly by schoolteachers and priests from small villages but also by intellectuals (folklorists, lawyers, officers, teachers, students, etc.) from the urban environment (Cuceu, 2007: 18-22).

In the same century proverbs appear in novels written by famous writers such as Dickens, Trollope, Hardy, Scott. Dickens had a great predilection for metaphorical language that is why in his novels he included dozens of proverbial sayings to dramatize his characters' speech and actions. Gibbs (2001: 174) gives the following examples from four of Dickens' novels:

Where's the good of putting things off? Strike while the iron's hot; that's what I say.  
(*Barnaby Rudge*)

Let me see! he would say. I save five pounds out of the brickmaker's affair; so, if I have a good rattle to London and back in a post-chaise, and put that down at four pounds, I should have saved one. And it's a very good thing to save one, let me tell you: a penny saved is a penny got. (*Bleak House*)

You and me know what we know, don't we? Let sleeping dogs lie- who wants to rouse 'em? I don't. (*David Copperfield*)

Observe me well, gentlemen, it's true. That which glitters is not always gold, but what I am going to tell, it's true. (*The Uncommitted Traveller*)

Dickens employed proverbs to question themes by "pulling them this way and that to shake out the humbug that has gathered in their folds" (Edgecombe, quoted in Gibbs, 2001: 174). 1906 is the year when Gonzalo de Correias publishes his *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales y otras fórmulas comunes de la lengua castellana*, work that was reprinted in 1924.

In 1909, in Bucharest, Candrea publishes a *Dictionary of Proverbs and Sayings* (*Dicționar de proverbe și zicături*) including more than 6.000 paremiae alphabetically ordered according to the key word of each entry. Related to proverbs, in the *Preface* of this work, the author makes an interesting remark: "The entire psychology of a nation is reflected, as in a mirror, on these sometimes lapidary sententiae which generations pass from father to son as wise advices and judicial remarks - the result of the long experience of many disappeared centuries" (literally translation from Negreanu: 1998: 125).

In 1935, the first edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* is published, compiled by Smith.

In medieval times and later they were constantly on men's lips as accepted wisdom, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and much of the 17<sup>th</sup> century they were an essential ornament in a fashionable writer's or talker's equipment (...). Yet everyday we still hear proverbs, many of ancient origin, many transmitted in print, many debased to clichés. (Wilson, 1990: VII)

In 1943 the *Gran diccionario de refranes de la lengua española. Refranes, adagios, proverbios, modismos, locuciones y frases proverbiales recogidos y glosados por el autor* of José M<sup>a</sup> Sbarbi is posthumously published under the coordination of Manuel José García.

The year 1960 is an important one for Romanian paroemiology. It is the year when Chițimia publishes a manifesto entitled *Paroemiology* (Rom. *Pareomiologia*), after an unproductive period for the Romanian paroemiology since the II World War. The same year, in France, Algirdas Julien Greimas publishes the article "Idiotismes, proverbes, dictons" in *Cahiers de Lexicologie*, 2, pages 41-61 (quoted in Sevilla Muñoz, 2012: 5), an essay about idioms and proverbs.

Nowadays both paroemiology and paroemiography are well represented by famous researchers in this field. One of the most famous American paroemiographers is Wolfgang Mieder who, in 1986, publishes the *World Encyclopedia of Proverbs*. Since 1984 he is also the editor in chief of the *Proverbium*<sup>146</sup> review, published for the first time in Finland, in 1964. This publication has its counterpart in the Spanish *Paremia* founded in 1993 by Julia Sevilla Muñoz (Professor at Complutense University of Madrid). Last, but not least important, it is the third international paremiaie electronic review *De Proverbio*, which was created in 1995 for the Romanian Teodor Flonta, Professor at The University of Tasmania, Australia.

Another important name in the field is that of the folklorist, literary historian, and philologist Archer Taylor with his work *The Proverb* (Mieder, in Green, 1997: 664). He approaches the proverb with an international and cross-cultural perspective. Similar volumes have been published in Finnish, French, German, Russian, Spanish, and other languages, which proves that proverbs are still a field of a great interest.

Among the Romanian paroemiographers we consider worth to be mentioned here, due to their importance for this work, there are the following ones: Cezar Tabarcea (1982), Constantin Negreanu (1983), Dumitru Stanciu (1983), Gabriel Gheorghe (1986), and Pavel Ruxăndoiu (2003).

We would also like to acknowledge and at the same time to congratulate the efforts and the success of the people responsible for concrete international important events in the paroemiological area, such as:

- *I International Congress of Paroemiology*, celebrated in Madrid in 1996.

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<sup>146</sup> This review appeared at Helsinki in 1964 and it was established by Matti Kuusi. Studies of Romanian authors were published in the journal. For example, Sanda Golopenția-Eretescu's following articles (quoted in Stănciulescu-Bârda, 2003: 268): "Paradoxical proverbs, paradoxical words" (1971) in *Proverbium*, Helsinki, XVII, 626-629; "Infinite proverbs" (1970) in *Proverbium*, Helsinki, XXV, 454-455; or Stănciulescu-Bârda (1988): "Une prestigieuse collection roumaine de proverbes et un grand éditeur: Gheorghe Marin" in *Proverbium*, 5, 167-172, etc.

- II International Congress of Paroemiology, celebrated in Cordoba in 1998.

- III International Congress of Phraseology and Paremiology & II Brazilian Congress of Phraseology, which took place in Fortaleza, at the Federal University of Ceará, in December 2013.

Actions like the ones above, but at a smaller extent, also took place in Romania in the '80s, on Constantin Negreanu's initiative and coordination. Thus, four paroemiological symposia came about in 1983, 1986, 1988 and 1989 with the participation of a lot of great names in the field<sup>147</sup>. Due to this undisputable achievement, the Romanian Academy founded a paroemiological section in Drobeta Turnu Severin, the city where these actions occurred. In 1991, unfortunately the Romanian paroemiographer passed away and the chain of the paroemiological congresses broke. Fortunately, the four actions remained recorded in a same number of issues of the first Romanian paroemiological review titled *Proverbium Dacoromania*. Also the work of this author gained the well-deserved intellectual's respect and admiration, not only in his country but also abroad. Thus, Wolfgang Mieder publishes in his magazine, several articles of and about the Romanian paroemiographer, e.g. Dumitru Stanciu (1992): "Constantin Negreanu" in *Proverbium* 9, 267-270; Mieder, Wolfgang (1992): "A selected bibliography of the works of Constantin Negreanu" in *Proverbium*, 9, 270-272; Constantin Negreanu (1987): "Two Romanian Symposia (1983 and 1985)" in *Proverbium*, 4, 243-248, and the list can continue. Moreover, in 1984 the editor-in-chief of the *Proverbium* academic journal recognized the work of the Romanian paroemiographers and let his readers know that a significant research on the paroemiological field was taking place in Romania, activity that, due to their importance and great value, should have been accessible to all the scientists interested in theoretical paroemiology (Negreanu, 1998: 142).

There are so many the authors, linguists, paroemiologists or intellectuals from different areas and from all over the world, that it is impossible not to err in leaving many of them outside this chapter. Far from considering the mentioned ones being above the 'ignored' ones, this is due to the extension of the topic that could easily be the subject of a standalone article (see for example Sevilla Muñoz, 2012, who refers to the phraseology and paroemiology, mainly in Spain, between 1950 and 2011). We could also be suspected or accused of allocating more space to the Romanian authors. Again, with no intention of detracting from

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<sup>147</sup> In the chapter *File din istoria paremiologiei românești. Dezvoltarea paremiologiei românești după al II-lea Război Mondial* (Pages from the history of the Romanian paroemiology. Romanian paroemiology development after II World War), Stănculescu-Bârda (2003: 267-293) provides detailed information about all the presenters and their articles, and also about Constantin Negreanu.

the merit and importance of the authors of other nationalities, this is due to the following: first, because this is a contrastive study and secondly, because we think useful to bring to front Romanian researches and sources in the field since this material can be less known and accessible to the Spanish reader.

## CHAPTER III

### THE TYPOLOGY OF PROVERBS

*"Proverbele sunt lacrimi picurate din ochii fizici și spirituali ai umanității de-a lungul vremii pe cărările întortocheate ale istoriei sale. Sunt lacrimile de bucurie, de durere, de nădejde și deznădejde. Lacrimile împlinirilor și ale căderilor ei"*<sup>148</sup>.  
(Ion Dodu Bălan, 1974: XV)

As we have seen in the previous chapter, nowadays there are many phrases called proverbial, which are not proverbs. For example, we may refer to the proverbial 'fly on the wall' or say that something is 'as dead as the proverbial dodo'. This confusion is explained by Simpson (1990: ix) who says that it dates from before the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the term *proverb* also covered metaphorical phrases, similes, and descriptive epithets. Referring to proverbial expressions, Ridout and Witting (1969: 14) explain how such a phrase can turn into a proverb by incorporating it in the form of an advice. For example, the idiomatic expression 'to cry for the moon' which "on its own offers no advice and gives no warning", turns into the proverbs 'Don't cry for the moon' and 'Only fools cry for the moon'.

As far as the typology of proverbs is concerned, many classifications have been made by scholars in the field, the most frequent ones being based on the themes proverbs are related to. Others are linked with the functional value of the proverbs, others with their structure, etc.

Simpson (1990: ix) groups proverbs in three main categories:

- proverbs with the form of abstract statements expressing general truths, e.g. 'Absence makes the heart grow fonder' or 'Nature abhors a vacuum';
- proverbs using specific observations from everyday experience to make a point which is general, e.g. 'You can take a horse to the water, but you can't make him drink'; 'Don't put all your eggs in one basket';

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<sup>148</sup> *Lit. transl.* from Romanian: "Proverbs are tears fallen from the physical and spiritual eyes of humankind within the tortuous paths of its history. They are the tears of joy, pain, hope and despair. The tears of its [of humanity] ups and downs".



- proverbs from particular areas of traditional wisdom and folklore. These are traditional country proverbs which relate to husbandry, the seasons, and the weather, such as 'Red sky at night, shepherd's delight; red sky in the morning, shepherd's warning'; 'When the wind is in the east, 'tis neither good for man nor beast'; or health proverbs, e.g. 'After dinner rest a while, after supper walk a mile'; 'Feed a cold and starve a fever'.

Pavel Ruxăndoiu<sup>149</sup> (Negreanu, 1983: 26) establishes a **functional typology of the proverbs**. Thus, he distinguishes the following types of proverbs:

- a. The prescriptible proverb (norm/indication);
- b. The attitudinal proverb (positive/negative);
- c. The informative proverb (general/concrete).

A similar classification is made by Lloréns Barber (1986: 26-27) who groups his proverbs related to the fruits of the field in ten categories: 1. Normative/perceptive; 2. Practical/realistic; 3. Futuristic/foresighted; 4. Optimistic/pessimistic; 5. Selfish/opportunistic; 6. Critical; 7. Religious; 8. Truthful/contradictory; 9. Current/Out-of-date; 10. Costumbrist.

### 3.1. THEMATIC PERSPECTIVE

Proverbs are usually classified according to their content, some major common groups being:

- legal proverbs, e.g. 'One law for the rich and another for the poor', 'Every law has a loophole', 'Let the buyer beware', 'Possession is nine points of the law';
- medical proverbs, e.g. 'Desperate diseases must have desperate remedies', 'One man's meat in another man's poison', 'An apple a day keeps the doctor away', 'Stuff a cold and starve a fever';
- weather proverbs, e.g. 'Never cast a clout till May be out', Sp. 'Marzo ventoso y abril lluvioso traen a mayo florido y hermoso', 'Make hay while the sun shines', 'Lightning never strikes twice in the same place'.

There are authors (for example Alan Dundes<sup>150</sup>) who consider "that most weather proverbs are not proverbs at all but rather superstitions couched in proverbial language"

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<sup>149</sup> *Funcția socială a proverbelor* (The Social Function of Proverbs) in *AUBLLR*, XXII, 1, 1973, p. 85.

(quoted in Mieder, 1993: 12). Tabarcea (1982: 93) calls this type of proverbs 'meteorological' (Rom. *proverbe meteorologice*). They are, in many cases, mere meteorological remarks with a practical character, with no metaphorical value, being literally interpreted. According to the Romanian author, this observation "is 'the proper name' of a certain circumstance while the proverb is its 'nickname'" since the meteorological comment refers strictly to the denominated event/phenomenon without the interference of that generalization system which is the mediator between the proverb and the situational or the linguistic context proverb appears in. For example, the proverb 'Red sky at night, sailor's delight' can be considered just a superstition since it is interpreted *ad litteram*. On the other hand, many of these superstitions or meteorological remarks turned into proverbs, e.g. Rom. 'Ziua bună se cunoaște de dimineață' (lit. transl. 'A fine day is known by the morning'; English equivalent: 'A good beginning makes a good ending'); Rom. 'Nu e soare fără umbră' (lit. transl. 'There is no sun without a shadow').

We can also have proverbs dealing with topics such as body ('The eyes are the windows of the soul', 'You should never touch your eye but with your elbow'), health ('Prevention is better than cure', 'Health is better than wealth'), marriage ('Marry in haste, repent at leisure', 'Better to marry than to burn'), work ('He that washes an ass's head, loses both his soap and his labour', 'No gain(s) without pain(s)').

It is also important to mention that a proverb may be included in more than one thematic class according to a key concept or word of the proverb structure. Tabarcea (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 49) refers to this phenomenon with the mathematical term *intersection*. For instance, the proverb 'The face is the index of the heart' may be part of the proverbs related to human body and at the same time of those concerning health.

Orbaneja y Majada (1998: 10) considers that proverbs can be divided in two groups:

- proverbs of universal morality (Sp. *de moral universal*) which are "a guide for the practice of the virtue". Proverbs included in this category are, according to this author, identical in meaning, not in form, all over the world. For example:

Eng. 'Whom God loves, his bitch brings forth pigs'.

Sp. 'A quien Dios quiere bien, la perra le pare lechones'.

Rom. 'Când vrea Domnul vine și dracu' cu colaci'.

French 'À l'homme heureux son boeuf lui fait des veaux'.

Italian 'A chi ha fortuna, il bue gli fa un vitello'.

<sup>150</sup> "On Whether Weather 'Proverbs' are Proverbs" in *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship*, 1, 1984, 39-46.

Portuguese 'A quem Deus ajuda o vento lhe junta a lenha'.

- peculiar proverbs (Sp. *particulares*) that have their origin in "a historical event, a local tradition or a concrete adventure". Thus, their main characteristic is their origin. For instance, this proverb with Greek origin: 'Not all people are able to visit Corinth', or the Spanish 'No hay buena sopa sin cardo, ni buen sermón sin citas de S. Agustín'.

A similar division is found in Zanne's collection of Romanian proverbs (quoted in Negreanu, 1998: 118-119) who distinguishes between universal proverbs (Rom. *proverbe universale*) which "express a truth recognized anywhere and anytime"; and peculiar proverbs (Rom. *proverbe particulare*) which "rely on a truth rooted by a special and local experience".

Most of the collections of proverbs are structured according to the thematic perspective. For example, in his collection of proverbs (2003), Calles Vales orders and comments the proverbs taking into account the two traditional concepts that characterize human activity: virtue and vice. According to him, everything related to human beings could be classified into these two opposed categories. So he groups the proverbs under the following virtues and vices: *prudence, hope, charity, courage, moderation, faith, humility, avarice, luxury, anger, greed, envy, laziness, and haughtiness*.

Ion Mărculescu (2004) structures his anthology of proverbs and other paremiai in two parts, one related to foolishness and the other to wisdom: *The Book of the Fool. The Book of the Wise Man...* is the title of his collection.

Classifications of this kind have been made since early times. Thus Erasmus of Rotterdam structured his great work *Adagiorum Chiliade* on such contradictory themes (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 67), e.g. (Lat.) *Pudor - Imprudentia, Puditia - Impuditia, Originis - Nobilitas obscuri*, etc. Kuusi<sup>151</sup> (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 19) considers the binary opposition system to be the most consistent element on which the proverbs' classification is based. Thus, any proverb is "a choice between two alternatives".

The number of themes in which collections of proverbs are organized usually varies from one author to another. Gregorio Doval classifies his *Refranero temático español* (1997) in the following ten themes (with sub-classes): 1. *La condición humana*; 2. *Desgracia y felicidad*; 3. *Razón y sinrazón humanas*; 4. *El hombre en acción*. 5. *El poder del dinero*. 6. *El hombre en relación*; 7. *Amor, matrimonio y familia*; 8. *Organización social*; 9. *Salud, higiene y alimentación*; 10. *Miscelánea de temas*.

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<sup>151</sup> "Towards an international type-system of proverbs" in *Proverbium*, 19, 1972.

Pereda Valdés (1998: 24) groups proverbs in eleven thematic categories: 1. *Meteorología*, e.g. 'A invierno lluvioso, verano abundoso'. 2. *De consuelo*, e.g. 'Más vale tarde que nunca'. 3. *De desprecio*, e.g. 'No dejes para mañana lo que puedes hacer hoy'. 4. *De previsión*, e.g. 'Cuando el río suena, agua trae'. 5. *De desconfianza*, e.g. 'No plantes uvas en el camino, porque todo aquel que pasa corta un racimo'. 6. *De advertencia*, e.g. 'Hombre prevenido o advertido, vale por dos'. 7. *De experiencia*, e.g. 'A golpes de aprende'. 8. *Optimistas*, e.g. 'A grandes males, grandes remedios'. 9. *Pesimistas*, e.g. 'Quien gasta lo que tiene a pedir viene'. 10. *Zoomórficos*, e.g. 'El ojo del amo engorda al caballo'. 11. *Fitomórficos*, e.g. 'El que siembra abrojos no puede recoger flores'.

Sevilla & Cantera (2001: 12) categorize proverbs in the following groups: moral, e.g. 'Entre dos muelas molares, nunca metas tus pulgares'; meteorological, e.g. 'Abril, aguas mil'; proverbs related to time, e.g. 'Entre mayo y abril, o viene el cuco o vien la fin'; superstitious, e.g. 'En martes, ni te cases ni te embarques'; geographical, e.g. 'Quien no ha visto Sevilla, no ha visto maravilla'; and proverbs related to work, e.g. 'Por San Martín, mata tu guarrín y destapa tu vinín'. One year later, the same authors (2002: 27) include the previous classes (except the moral group) into a larger category, namely that of *refranes de alcance reducido*, reduced range proverbs versus general range proverbs, Sp. *refranes de alcance general* (2002: 25) that are proverbs related to universal themes, such as love, friendships, economy, etc.

In Conde Tarrío (2007) twelve authors present their works based on various thematic classifications of proverbs. For example, Anahjour groups proverbs in five sections related to human degradation and crisis of values, hypocrisy and the power of appearance, love, death or the very author; Aneiros Gómez focuses on the trip topic inside proverbs, including themes such as accommodation, guests, transport means, route, hospitality, etc.; Aparicio Morgado approaches the law and justice themes; Crespo Jiménez deals with proverbs related to home, theme which he frames in eleven sections, e.g. location, property, house and woman, etc.; while Echevarría Isusquiza pays attention to those proverb related to women, etc.

As far as the Romanian paroemiological corpus is concerned, Zanne is considered the pioneer of its thematic classification. Thus, the author establishes a system of nine categories divided in sub-classes (Tabarcea, 1982: 63), system that can undoubtedly apply to nowadays proverbs: Physical nature (with the following sub-classes: Year, Seasons, Stars, Clocks, Days, Celebrations, Time, Climatic changes, Elements, Earth, Metals, Stones, Plants, Fruits, and Earthwork); Animals; Human beings and their organs; Physical life; Social life; Historical

proverbs; Beliefs, superstitions, traditions; Intellectual and moral life; Advices and perspectives, maxims, sententiae, philosophical advices.

### 3.2. STRUCTURAL AND LOGICAL-SEMIOTIC PERSPECTIVE

Depending on structural and semiotic considerations, paroemiographers have begun to group proverbs more systematically, according to linguistic and logical types. Based on this methodology, proverbs of the same structure may be grouped together, for instance:

- 'Like X, like Y', e.g. 'Like father, like son.'
- 'Where there's X, there's Y', e.g. 'Where there's smoke, there's fire.'
- 'No X without Y', e.g. 'No gain without pain.'
- 'One X does not make a Y', e.g. 'One swallow does not make a summer.' (Gibbs, 2001: 168),

or proverbs of the same logical pattern, i.e. texts based on oppositions such as *one-two* or *short-long* (Mieder, in Green, 1997: 662).

A classification of the same type is that of Alan Dundes' (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 34-35) who distinguishes between:

- **Emotional proverbs**, based on identity, and structured by the following formulae:
  - $X = Y$ , e. g. 'Business is business', 'Enough is enough'. With the derived formulae: • **What is X is Y**, e. g. 'He laughs best who laughs last'.  
• **Where there is X there is Y**, e. g. 'Where there's a will there's a way'.
  - $X \neq Y$ , e. g. 'Time is money', 'Seeing is believing'.
- **Oppositional proverbs**, structured on the formula  $X \neq Y$ , and based on:
  - **negation**, e. g. 'One swallow does not make a summer'.
  - **contradiction**, e. g. 'When the cat's away, the mice will play' - in which the opposition *absence-presence* is obvious.

By the same token, Sanda Golopenția-Eretescu<sup>152</sup> (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 24) establishes the following classes of proverbs which, as well as Negreanu, we consider difficult

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<sup>152</sup> "La structure lingvistique des proverbes équationnels" in *CLTA*, II (1965), 43-52.

to decipher, since the author offers no examples in order to ease the task (we tried to find some appropriate examples, but it was not possible for all the proposed types):

A. 1. 'X is X (...)', e.g. 'Business is business.'

'what is X is X (...)', e.g. 'A friend in need is a friend indeed.'

'X, X', e.g. 'So many heads, so many wits.'

2. 'X is X (and) Y is Y'

'X, X (and) Y, Y', e.g. Rom. 'Viii cu viii și morții cu morții' (lit. transl. 'Those alive with the alive ones and those dead with the dead ones').

'X is X-os (and) Y is Y-os'

B. 3. 'X NOT is NOT-X', e.g. 'Lucky at cards, unlucky in love.'

'NOT-X is not X'

C. 4. 'X is not Y (...)', e.g. 'Plenty is no plague.'

'X is not Y (and) Z is not W', e.g. Rom. 'O rândunică nu aduce vara, nici un copac nu face pădurea' (Sp. Ni un dedo hace mano, ni una golondrina verano').

The Russian author Permiakov (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 33 and Ruxăndoiu, 2003: 98) proposes four semiotic models he bases his proverbs' classification on:

**a.  $P(x) \rightarrow P(y)$** , referring to the relation of the object with its features, namely if an object (P) has a feature (x), then it has the (y) feature as well. E. g. 'Every man has his cross to bear'.

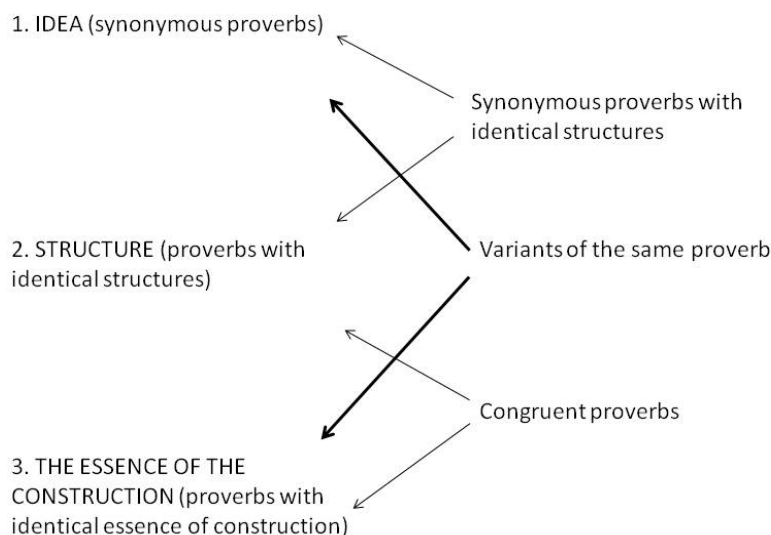
**b.  $P \rightarrow Q$** , referring to the relation between two objects, i.e. if there is a 'P' object then there is also a 'Q' one. E.g. 'No pleasure without pain'.

**c.  $(P \rightarrow Q) \rightarrow P(x) \rightarrow Q(x)$** , pointing the relations between the various features of the objects according to the relations between the objects, meaning that if the 'Q' object depends on the 'P' object which has an (x) feature, then the 'Q' object has also the (x) feature. E.g. 'You cannot sell the cow and drink the milk'.

**d.  $(P \rightarrow x) \wedge (Q \rightarrow \bar{x}) \rightarrow (P > Q)$** , referring to the relation between the objects according to the existence of some determined features, that is if the 'P' object has an (x) feature which the 'Q' object does not have, then 'P' is superior to 'Q'. E. g. 'A living dog is better than a dead lion'.

Analysing the structure of proverbs, Matti Kuusi (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 33) distinguishes the following categories based on three criteria: idea, structure and the essence of the construction (see the chart below). The author also classifies proverbs in two groups - **simple** and **compound** - taking into account their three types of componential elements:

- fundamental (essential) elements formed by the remaining part after the withdrawal of the other elements (related to filling and form);
- filling elements, consisting of improvised additional words which have no relevance for understanding the main idea of the proverb;
- form elements that are frame words of a group of proverbs with identical structures.



Source: Matti Kuusi, "Ein Vorschlag für die Terminologie der parömiologische Strukturanalyse" in *Proverbium*, 5, 1966, 97-104 (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 33).

To the above types of proverbs Kuusi (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 34) adds those formed by contamination, meaning by the union of elements belonging to two different proverbs. For example, the following two Romanian proverbs combined are both expressed by a well-known one:

'Un prieten la nevoie este mai valoros decât un ban în pungă' (lit. transl. 'A friend in need is better than a coin in the bag').

'E mai bun un prieten la drum decât un ban în pungă' (lit. transl. 'Better a friend on a trip than a coin in the bag').

'Prietenul la nevoie se cunoaște.'  
( 'A friend in need is a friend indeed.' )

### 3.3. MORPHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

From the morphological structure point of view, English, Spanish and Romanian proverbs have a lot in common. Thus, the most representative element of their composition is undoubtedly the **substantive**. Fundamental concepts of life proverbs refer to are usually abstract nouns, but their expression is generally made through concrete nouns. Another important characteristic of substantival elements of proverbs is that singular number is much more frequent than the plural forms.

The concrete nouns expressing the concepts of life are usually described by **adjectives**. They generally appear with no grade of comparison, the latter being less frequent cases, e.g. 'We are usually the best men when in the worst health', 'The better gamester, the worst man'. It is also noticeable that usually a noun is accompanied by only one adjective, being very rare the situations when two or more adjectives determine the same noun, e.g. '(Women are) Fair and sluttish, black and proud, long and lazy, little and loud, fat and merry, lean and sad, pale and pettish, red and bad'.

With regard to the **verbs**' presence inside proverbs, two observations are to be made here: the use of the Present Simple Tense in almost all of the cases and, usually, the employment of the third person singular. This is due precisely to the universal and generic value of the proverbs, tense known as "gnomic present" (Negreanu, 1983: 112; Penadés Martínez et. al., 2008: 83) because, as Barbu says, "it has been, it is and it will always be like this"<sup>153</sup>, a timeless tense used to formulate unexpiring veracities.

Even though less frequent than nouns, adjectives and verbs, and raising no peculiar questions, **pronouns** and **numerals** can also be found in proverbs' structure, the former being more recurrent than the latter:

E.g. 'He laughs best that laughs last', 'He is rich enough that wants nothing', 'I thank God and my cunning', 'If you would wish the dog to follow you, feed him', 'It never rains but it pours', 'We must live by the living, not by the dead', 'Two in distress make sorrow less'.

Below we shall only deal with the flexible parts of speech which are the most frequent and raise certain problems that will be briefly discussed.

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<sup>153</sup> *Sintaxa limbii române. După metoda istorico-stilistică* ("The Syntax of Romanian Language. According to the Historic-Stylistic Method"), 1945: 70 (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 112).



### 3.3.1. NOUN

If we take a brief look to collections of proverbs in English, Spanish and Romanian languages, we can easily notice that nouns stand for the most represented part of speech inside proverbs. This proportion must not astonish us since, as we know, nouns designate things and abstract ideas "whose number is, theoretically, unlimited" (Iorgu Iordan, cited in Negreanu, 1983: 88) and as we have seen before, proverbs are thematically related to a multitude of abstract concepts, such as wisdom, work, nature, etc.

Consequently, English proverbs abound in **common nouns** denominating, for example, concrete terms related to:

- things we get in contact with daily: *money, book, door, key*, etc.

E.g. 'Time is money', 'A book that is shut is but a block', 'A golden key opens every door'.

- flora<sup>154</sup>: *herb, apple, hay, rose, corn*, etc.

E.g. 'The rotten apple injures its neighbors', 'There is no rose without a thorn', 'He that sows good seed, shall reap good corn', 'Make hay while the sun shines'.

- fauna: - domestic animals: *cat, dog, cow, sheep, horse, lamb, pig*, etc.

E.g. 'One sheep follows another', 'As the old dog barks, so the young', 'All cats are grey in the dark', 'The worst pig often gets the best pear'.

- wild animals: *wolf, fox, lion*, etc.

E.g. 'The wolf must die in his own skin', 'Foxes when sleeping have nothing fall into their mouth', 'Better be the head of a mouse than the tail of a lion'.

- birds: *crow, sparrow, raven, owl*, etc.

E.g. 'Two sparrows on one ear of corn make an ill agreement', 'One beats the bush and another catches the birds', 'An evil crow, an evil egg', 'The raven said to the rook: stand away, black-coat', 'The owl thinks all her young ones beauties'.

- elements of nature: *wind, rain, sun, cloud*, etc.

E.g. 'Sow the wind and reap the whirlwind', 'The sun shines upon all alike', 'Every cloud has a silver lining', 'April weather, rain and shower both together'.

- feelings: *fear, love, hatred, pity, envy*, etc.

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<sup>154</sup> Constantin Negreanu (1983: 92-98) presents the results of a study made on 5.994 Romanian proverbs regarding the frequency of concrete terms referring to fauna and flora. Thus, in the analysed corpus, 589 proverbs contained a term related to fauna, 137 proverbs contained two such terms, 4 proverbs contained three terms and two proverbs four terms. As far as those nouns related to flora, the results were the following: 134 proverbs containing a term related to flora, 22 proverbs containing two such elements, and one proverb containing three nouns related to flora.

E.g. 'Better be envied than pitied', 'Love is a sweet torment', 'Fear keeps the garden better than the gardener'.

- human beings and professions<sup>155</sup>: *father, wife, doctor, architect, gardener, etc.*

E.g. 'The father a saint, the son a devil', 'Every man is the architect of his own fortune', 'Fear keeps the garden better than the gardener'.

- parts of the body: *head, neck, eye, mouth, tongue, belly, ear, etc.*

E.g. 'The tongue ever turns to the aching tooth', 'A full belly neither fights nor flies well', 'A lie has no legs', 'For mad words deaf ears', 'Beads about the neck and the devil in the heart'.

- food and drink: *meat, milk, water, mustard, vinegar, honey, pudding, pie, bread, butter, etc.*

E.g. 'After meat, mustard', 'Honey catches more flies than vinegar', 'It's no use crying over split milk', 'Better some of a pudding than none of a pie', 'They that have no other meat, bread and butter are glad to eat'.

As far as **proper nouns** are concerned, they are less frequent than common nouns. When these appear, they are the expression of concrete situations which became general, for example:

■ English: 'Even Homer sometimes nods', 'Do not rob Peter to pay Paul', 'Help yourself and God will help you', 'I cannot be at York and London at the same time', 'Either Caesar or nobody'.

■ Spanish: 'Hablando del rey de Roma, por la puerta asoma' (Eng. 'Speak of the devil and he is sure to appear'), 'Con lo que Juan adolece, Sancho y Domingo sanan' (Eng. 'One man's meat in another man's poison'), 'Nadie se acuerda de Santa Bárbara hasta que truena' (Eng. 'When it thunders, the thief becomes honest').

■ Romanian: 'A fugit de Stana și a dat peste Satana' (lit. transl. 'Running away from Stana, bursting into Satan'), 'Azi Stan, / Măine căpitan' (lit. transl. 'Today Stan / Tomorrow a captain').

Referring to this kind of proverbs, namely those including proper nouns that "cannot be translated" into other language, Irine Goshkheteliani (Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 282) uses the syntagm "non-equivalent language units", acronymically named NELU. According to the author, "In such proverbs NELU act as national cultural linguistic units, including proper

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<sup>155</sup> In the same study referred to in the previous footnote, Negreanu (1983: 99-105) reaches the following conclusion about the frequency of nouns denominating professions: 339 Romanian proverbs out of 5.994 contained terms related to professions and trades.

names rich with various associations and connotations, but have already transferred meaning and are used in a lot of situations as stable figurative verbal proverbs."

One of, if not, the most widespread anthroponym found in English proverbs is *Jack*, e.g. 'Jack of all trades and master of none', 'Every Jack must have a Jill', 'A Jack is as good as his master', 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy', etc.

But NELU also include topographical proper nouns, for example 'Something is rotten in the state of Denmark', 'All roads lead to Rome', 'When in Rome do as the Romans do', etc. An eloquent example is the following English proverb with its Spanish, Portuguese and Romanian equivalents, where the proper nouns (the underlined words) denominate places of great importance as reference points to the users of the corresponding languages:

Eng. 'He who has not seen Seville has not seen a wonder'.

Sp. 'Quien no ha visto Sevilla, no ha visto maravilla'; 'Quien no ha visto Granada, no ha visto nada.'

Portuguese 'Quem não viu Lisboa, não viu coisa boa.'; 'Quem não viu Coimbra, não viu coisa linda.'; 'Quem não viu Abrunhosa, não viu coisa formosa.'

Rom. 'Cel ce nu vede București și nu încalecă pe cal alb, nu știe ce e frumos în lumea asta' (lit. transl. 'He who does not see Bucharest and does not ride a white horse, does not know what is the beauty of this world').

### 3.3.2. ADJECTIVE

Less frequent than nouns, the adjective found in proverbs' structure are usually expressing qualities of the denominated objects. Thus, proverbs include adjectival elements expressing or related to different concepts such as:

- qualities: *bad, good, naughty, false*, etc.

E.g. 'A bad Jack may have as bad a Jill', 'A good tree brings forth good fruit', 'Naughty boys sometimes make a good man', 'Better an open enemy than a false friend'.

- size: *big, little, small, large, short, long*, etc.

E.g. 'Big fish eat little fish', 'A great shoe fits not a little foot', 'A long tongue is a sign of a short hand'.

- colour<sup>156</sup>: *golden, green, black, red*, etc.

E.g. 'A golden key opens every door', 'The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence', '(Women are) Fair and sluttish, black and proud, long and lazy, little and loud, fat and merry, lean and sad, pale and pettish, red and bad', 'Silence is golden, speech is silver'.

- age: *old, young*, etc.

E.g. 'Better an old man's darling than a young man's warding', 'Young men think old men fools, and old men know young men to be so'.

### 3.3.3. VERB

More complex than the previously mentioned parts of speech, verbs have a bizarre characteristic, namely the fact that they are sometimes absent from the proverbs' structure:

E.g. 'After death, the doctor', 'After meat, mustard', 'New lords, new laws', 'No joy without annoy', 'No bees, no honey; no work, no money'.

This phenomenon is very frequent in the case of the copulative verb *to be*. The absence of the verb from both parts of the proverb structure is due, on the one hand, to the antonymous value of the two clauses and, on the other hand, to the presence of the formula *better ... than*.

E.g. 'Better an open enemy than a false friend', 'Better aught than naught', 'Better some of a pudding than a none of a pie'.

The results of the analysis of a corpus of 1.000 Spanish proverbs made by Álvarez Curiel (2008: 61) showed that 85% of the proverbs had the form of a sentence (e.g. 'El hábito no hace al monje', 'Cabellos y virgos, muchos hay postizos', etc.), while 15% has the form of (usually nominal) phrases, i.e. they lacked the verb (e.g. 'A mal tiempo, buena cara', 'Aquí paz, y después gloria', etc.).

Sometimes the verb is present in the first part of the proverb, but absent in the second, e.g. 'Better be envied than pitied', 'Better be the head of a mouse than the tail of a lion', 'Better pay the butcher than the doctor', 'The bird is known by his note, the man by his words'.

This ellipsis of the verb is, according to Iorgu Iordan (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 111) "a characteristic of proverbs and sayings of all kinds inside which (...) we do not feel (or

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<sup>156</sup> As a result of his study on 5.994 Romanian proverbs, Negreanu (1983: 109) discovers that the colour spectrum is not so wide in the analysed proverbs, being reduced mostly to the rainbow colours. The opposite pair *white - black* seems to be the most frequent, found in 12 cases.

maybe we are no longer feeling) the intervention, even though distant, of the affection without this interference attenuating their power of expression (...)."

Another characteristic of the verbs present in the proverbs' structure is their form, which is usually affirmative, seldom negative, e.g. 'You cannot sell the cow and drink the milk', 'You cannot see the wood for the trees'.

As far as number and person are concerned, as it has been mentioned before, the third person singular prevails, e.g. 'A wonder lasts but none days', 'After joy comes sorrow', 'Every little helps', etc. On rare occasions, we found verbs in second person singular: 'You should never touch your eye but with your elbow'; first person plural: 'We only live once', 'We must do as we may, if we can't do as we would' or third person plural: 'All cats are grey in the dark', 'Birds of a feather flock together'.

There are cases when, due to the 'fluidity' feature of the proverbs mentioned in the first chapter of the second part of this work, there are variants of the same proverb in which the only variable is the predicative verb, e.g. 'Dead dogs bite not' with the alternative 'Dead dogs bark not'.

### 3.4. STYLISTIC PERSPECTIVE

As anticipated in the previous chapters, artistic content is one of the proverbs' features. This quality is expressed by a series of figures of speech, metaphor being the most important and frequent one. Thus proverbs can be seen, as Negreanu (1983: 154) states, like "images, i.e. pure metaphors and comparisons that convey plasticity, colour and life to familiar and folk language, the same way that figures of speech enliven the poetical language."

There are authors who consider that the number of metaphoric proverbs is much larger than the not metaphorical ones. For example, Ovidiu Bîrlea (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 159), who states that "the lack of any trace of a metaphor makes proverbs extremely clumsy and insipid". Others take for *bona fide* proverbs only the metaphorical ones (Mieder, 1993: 9).

Beside metaphors which are the expressive bases of the proverbs, other figures of speech have a great relevance for proverbs' expressivity. These are parallelism, e.g. 'First come, first served', 'A penny saved is a penny earned'; personification, e.g. 'Love laughs at locksmiths', 'Necessity is the mother of invention'; hyperbole, e.g. 'It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God' (Matthew 19:24);

paradox, e.g. 'Absence makes the heart grow fonder', 'No news is good news'; alliteration, e.g. 'Many a little makes a mickle', 'Live and let live'; etc.,

Rhythm gives proverbs a certain beauty, as well as intonation and accent do. Rhyme e.g. 'No pains, no gains', is also a specific element of proverbs' structure, playing an important mnemonical role in proverbs' acquisition. There are also cases of parallelism with internal rhyme, e.g. 'No gain without pain', 'A friend in need is a friend in deed'.

Regarding proverbs' structure according to the stylistic perspective, as Caudet Yarza (1998: 7) emphasises "El léxico es sencillo, llano y gráfico, como corresponde al lenguaje popular, pero fuertemente expresivo y se apoya en recursos conceptuales, tan gratos a nuestra idiosincrasia a lo largo de los tiempos, por lo que con frecuencia hallamos en ellos calambures, metáforas, paronomasias, ironía, etc." And Kenneth Burke (quoted in Mieder, 1993: 10) underlines that "Proverbs are strategies for dealing with situations. In so far as situations are typical and recurrent in a given social structure, people develop names for them and strategies for handling them. Another name for strategies might be attitudes."

But, no matter which these figures of speech are, the aim of the proverbs remains the same, its moral value being always fulfilled. As Barangă & Pricop (2012: 8) say "The pedagogy of proverbs uses different means, from the fragrance of the wisdom of yore to the biting thorn of irony; still the final aim is the same: the ennoblement of man through morality"<sup>157</sup>.

### 3.4.1. METAPHOR

This "queen of the figures of speech" (Negreanu, 1983: 155) which "impregna la vida cotidiana, no solamente el lenguaje, sino también el pensamiento y la acción" (Lakoff & Johnson, quoted by Carlos Alberto Crida Álvarez in Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 119), metaphor, plays an essential role inside proverbs, the importance of metaphorical proverbs being clearly pointed out by Mieder (1993: 10):

Metaphorical proverbs (...) give us the opportunity to communicate in an indirect or figurative way rather than always calling a spade a spade, that is, stating everything in a direct way. By translating a realistic situation into a metaphorical proverb, we can generalize the unique problem and express it as a common phenomenon of life.

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<sup>157</sup> Lit. transl. from Romanian: "Pedagogia proverbelor utilizează mijloace variate, de la mireasma înțelepciunii bătrânești până la ghimpele usturător al ironiei, însă scopul final este unul singur: înnobilarea omului prin moralitate".

The presence of metaphors in proverbs can be better understood taking into consideration their similarities. Just as in the case of proverbs, "In metaphors and metaphoric expressions the originality and the genius of a language lie. They reflect the characteristics of the spirit of a nation" (Lazăr Șăineanu, cited in Negreanu, 1983: 156).

Another solid argument of proverbs implying metaphors is formulated by Ovidiu Bîrlea (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 161) who considers that, beside the fact that proverbs express a truth through images, "they are the target of the person who utters them".

There are proverbs which stand entirely for a metaphor, called by Negreanu (1983: 157) *metaphor-proverbs*, which imply a complex transition from concrete to general, e.g. 'The rotten apple injures its neighbours', 'A fool's tongue is long enough to cut his own throat', 'One mule doth scrub another', 'The wolf may lose his teeth, but never his nature'.

In the above examples it is obvious that the terms *apple*, *tongue*, *mule*, *wolf* represent the nucleus of the proverbs, having symbolic connotations; hence the entire contexts they are used in are metaphors. As we have seen in the above examples and as Penadés Martínez et. al. (2008: 93) points out, "para crear metáforas es muy frecuente recurrir al mundo animal, aplicando sus características a la esfera del ser humano".

### 3.4.2. COMPARISON and ANTITHESIS

Considered "an abbreviated metaphor" (Negreanu, 1983: 161), comparison is also an important figure of speech which confers proverbs their figurativeness feature. Proverbs such as 'Like father (X), like son (Y)' have a two-termed structure, where:

- X = the comparing term
- Y = the compared term, which acquires X's feature(s).

Usually thought of a figure of speech implying two terms, comparison is seen by Ion Coteanu (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 162) as a three-termed relation:

Even though, at first sight, comparison has two terms because an object or a being is/behaves as another object or being, an action takes place as another action, etc., comparison has, in fact, three terms; the third being the common feature of the objects, beings or actions alike. This feature can be expressed or not.

Antithesis is another rhetorical device in which two opposite ideas are put together in proverbs to achieve a contrasting effect emphasized by parallel contrasted terms, phrases or clauses.

E.g. 'Man proposes, God disposes', 'Love is an ideal thing, marriage a real thing', 'Speech is silver, but silence is gold', 'Patience is bitter, but it has a sweet fruit', 'Money is the root of all evils: poverty is the fruit of all goodness', 'You are easy on the eyes, but hard on the heart'.

### 3.4.3. REPETITION

Literary device consisting of repeating a word or a group of words in order to emphasize a quality or an action, this figure of speech is also pretty frequent in proverbs.

E.g. 'Love me love my dog', 'Nothing venture, nothing gain', 'A good tree brings forth a good fruit', 'To give a thing and take a thing is to wear the devil's gold ring', 'To sell the bear's skin before the bear has been caught'.

Sometimes repetition is double or triple, meaning that two or three terms are repeated in the second part of the proverb's structure, for example:

'Young **men** think old men fools, and old men know *young men* to be so'.

(1) (2) (3) (2') (3') (2'') (1') (2''')

Note also that the term *men* is repeated three times (once in the first part and twice in the second part of the proverb). This conveys a perfect symmetry to the structure of the proverb. And it is also important to mention that the repeated terms change their syntactic functions, which intensifies the expressive value of the proverb.

As we have just seen in the previous example, repetition in proverbs is closely related to symmetry<sup>158</sup> and parallelism<sup>159</sup>, e.g. 'Easy come, easy go'.

<sup>158</sup> Analysing the stylistic structure of proverbs, Negreanu (1983: 172-185) presents *en détail* the symmetry in Romanian proverbs, distinguishing between **associative** (Rom. *asociative*) and **oppositional** (Rom. *opozitionale*) **proverbs**.

<sup>159</sup> In his book related to the *Proverbs of Solomon*, D. Brânzei (2000: 11-12) identifies three types of parallelism inside the biblical paremiae: **1. Repetitive parallelism**, in which the affirmation of the first verse is underlined by its repetition with other words in the second verse, e.g. 'Judgments are prepared for scoffers, / And blows for the back of fools' (*Prov.* 19:29); **2. Antithetic (contrastive) parallelism**, where the utterance of the first verse is underlined by its comparison with the contrary truth, e.g. 'The light of the righteous rejoices, / But the lamp of the wicked goes out' (*Prov.* 13:9) and **3. Synthetic parallelism**, in which the utterance of the first verse is strengthened in the second verse, e.g. 'The terror of a king is like the growling of a lion, / He who provokes him to anger forfeits his own life' (*Prov.* 20:2).



The presence of such a variety of literary devices inside proverbs has a great importance not only for the paroemiological studies, but also for the study of any language from the points of view of the linguists or of the simple learner of a foreign or native language. Referring to the Spanish language, Juan de Valdés (quoted in Lloréns Barber, 1986: 24-25) says that "lo más puro que tenemos en castellano son los refranes".

The richness of proverbs from their stylistic importance point of view is markedly underlined by Lloréns Barber (1986: 24) whose observation can undoubtedly be applied to English and Romanian languages:

El refrán ha echado mano de todos los recursos literarios, de los giros y vocablos familiares, de los tropos, de las figuras de dicción y de pensamiento. Y es, por tanto, una fuente inagotable para el estudio de todo ese lenguaje figurado que la gramática y la retórica han ido definiendo en sus preceptivas literarias. La metáfora, la sinécdoque, la metonimia, la anáfora, la lítotes, la paranomasia, el ceugma, aliteraciones, pleonasmos, calemboures, gradaciones, entre otras figuras y tropos, se pueden estudiar con profusión de ejemplos en el refranero.

### 3.5. PROVERBS SUBGENRES

► Another proverb subgenre is **Wellerism** (Sp. *wellerismo*, Rom. *wellerism*), "a traditional expression that includes both a quotation and a purative speaker of that quotation", e.g. "‘I see’, said the blind man, as he picked up his hammer and saw" and "‘Neat but not gaudy’, as the monkey said when he painted his tail blue"; the quotation element may be itself a proverb as in "‘All’s well that ends well’, said the monkey when the lawnmower ran over his tail" (Caro, in Green, 1997: 839). The term is derived from the name of Samuel *Weller*, the witty servant of Mr. Pickwick in the story *Pickwick Papers* (1836–37) by Charles Dickens, who used such proverbial utterances. It is "an expression of comparison comprising a usually well-known quotation followed by a facetious sequel (as "‘every one to his own taste,’ said the old woman as she kissed the cow")"<sup>160</sup>.

► A Spanish proverb subgenre is the **refrán perrogrullesco** which expresses "Verdad o certeza que, por notoriamente sabida, es necedad o simpleza el decirla" (RAE<sup>161</sup>). Similar to Wellerism, the term comes from the name of a popular character called Pero Grullo (Curiel, 2008: 75) who used to say very seriously obvious and well-known truths. His proverbs are known as "The truth of Pedro Grullo, when his hand is closed, he calls it a fist" (Sp. 'Las

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<sup>160</sup> Available from <<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/wellerism>>.

<sup>161</sup> Available from <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=perrogrullada>>.

verdades de Pedro Grullo, que a la mano cerrada llamaba puño'). A list of examples of such *perogrullescos refranes* is given by Curiel (2008: 75-77), e.g. 'En la paz y en la guerra, al que matan, muerto queda', 'Una cosa rara sucedió a la muerte de mi tía: que un rato antes de morir, aún vivía', 'Cuando llueve, todo el mundo se moja', 'Entre dos hacen un par', etc.

► Another thing to be mentioned is that there are subgenres of proverbs, i.e. proverbial phrases which are metaphorical utterances that do not contain any complete thought of wisdom:

- proverbial expressions, e.g. 'To hit the nail on the head', 'To kick the bucket', 'To cross the bridge when we come to it'
- proverbial comparisons, e.g. 'As drunk as a skunk', 'As mad as a hatter', 'Dead as a doornail'
- proverbial exaggerations, e.g. 'He is so tight, his eyelids squeak when he winks'
- twin (binary) formulae, e.g. 'Safe and sound' (Mieder, in Green, 1997: 662; Caro, in Green, 1997: 668)

These are very much alike proverbs, they add colour and expressiveness to oral and written communication, but they differ in that they cannot stand alone as proverbs do.



## CHAPTER IV

### PROVERBS' IMPORTANCE. RANGE OF APPLICATION

*"(...) sé más refranes que un libro y vienenme tantos  
juntos a la boca que habla que riñene por salir  
unos con otros, pero la lengua va arrojando  
los primeros que encuentra, aunque no vengan  
a pelo, más yo tendré cuenta de aquí adelante  
de decir los que convengan a la gravedad de mi  
cargo que en casa llena pronto se guisa la cena  
y quien destaja no baraja, y en buen salvo está el  
que repica y el dar y el hacer sólo es menester".  
(Miguel de Cervantes - Don Quixote<sup>162</sup>)*

#### 4.1. (DIS)/(MIS)/(AB)/(OVER)USE OF PROVERBS

It is sometimes said that a proverb is out of fashion (see for example, Antonio Burgos<sup>163</sup>, quoted in Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 258), or that degenerated into a cliché<sup>164</sup>. Such an opinion is that of Combet, quoted below and contradicted by Gloria Corpas Pastor (1996: 166) who gives as concrete data Arnaud & Moon's study about the use of proverbs according to which in the fiction English texts proverbs predominate: "Hoy día (...) las paremias están en claro retroceso en la mayor parte de las lenguas europeas: el empleo de estas unidades se resiente sobre todo en las jóvenes generaciones, pues las paremias se perciben como marca de retraso cultural y de inferioridad social."

Hernando Cuadrado (2010: 65) also believes that proverbs' use has diminished nowadays:

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<sup>162</sup> Quoted by Pereda Valdés (1998: 99-100).

<sup>163</sup> In his article "Refranes de nuestro tiempo" in *Blanco y negro*, 1990: 138.

<sup>164</sup> For example, Rémy de Gourmont (1858-1915) (quoted in Dumistrăcel, 2001: 10) considers proverb "an immutable and rigid cliché": "le type de cliché, c'est le proverbe, immuable et raide". Permyakov (quoted in Colombi, 1989: 1) also incorporates proverbs in the category of clichés: "The lexical stock of any language includes a fair number of so-called complex clichés, i.e. set word combinations which are reproduced in a form fixed once and for all. These include various idiomatic phrases, e.g. at one's finger-tips, complex terms, e.g. atomic weight, all kind of proverbs, proverbial phrases, winged words, quotations and folk aphorisms, newspaper and literary clichés and the like".

El uso del refrán en la lengua hablada en la actualidad ha disminuido considerablemente. Las personas mayores los emplean cada vez menos y los jóvenes apenas los utilizan, llegando a reconocer, como mucho, alguno que otro cuando los oyen o los ven citados en algún texto impreso.

Sevilla & Cantera (2002: 13) even offer an explanation for this phenomenon based on the fact that proverbs "reflejan un mundo irreversiblemente pasado" (2002: 256). Regarding proverbs, they believe that

(...) su presencia va disminuyendo en los últimos decenios, debido a que muchos de los consejos contenidos en los refranes aluden a una sociedad rural y no responden a la actual época tecnológica. Han ido desapareciendo de la lengua hablada y, al no oírlos, no almacenamos en la memoria estas manifestaciones del lenguaje repetido, cuya comprensión y memorización nos resulta también difícil por los arcaísmos o palabras en desuso que contienen en muchos casos.

Such views overlook the fact that while the role of the proverb in English literature has changed, its popular currency has remained constant (Simpson, 1990: x). It may be true that, as Ridout and Witting (1969: 7) say, "(...) a proverb may have disappeared in one part of the English-speaking world and yet be very much alive in another. Then within a single country a certain proverb may still be in use among rural people though it has completely disappeared from the cities."

Sevilla and Cantera (2001: 13) share the same opinion and, if previously they had noticed some proverbs' fallen into desuetude, they remain optimistic by stating that

Si bien muchos de ellos [proverbs] ya no se emplean, no se puede afirmar que estemos asistiendo a la muerte de las paremias populares, ya que los refranes morales siguen vivos, así como bastantes frases proverbiales, gracias a su sentido alegórico o idiomático que les permite aplicarse a multitud de situaciones.

With the same certainty Regino Etxabe (2012: 8) asserts that proverbs are still alive and the paroemiological field is in a constant change, being enriched with new paremiae:

(...) el refrán no ha muerto. Las fórmulas tradicionales no han desaparecido y siguen apareciendo nuevos dichos que sintetizan el saber popular. Los refranes, lejos de convertirse en reliquias lingüísticas, siguen rematando discursos de políticos, zanjando discusiones entre amigos e ilustrando consejos dados por los padres a sus hijos. Es decir, siguen siendo elementos llenos de contenido y expresividad: están vivos.

Proverbs' importance and survival in time is also underlined by Casado Conde et. al. (1999: 6) in the following quotation:

Esta herencia ancestral que constituyen los proverbios representa un bagaje de inestimable valor, imprescindible para interpretar la realidad de la vida misma. Son semblanzas humanas y divinas. Vivencias recurrentes de eterna actualidad. Filosofía

de recia hondura que versa sobre la vida y la muerte. El tiempo pasa, la lengua cambia, los proverbios permanecen.

The computer world has given us a potential classic, 'Garbage in, garbage out', and economics has supplied us with 'There's no such thing as a free lunch'. Proverbs continue to provide the sauce to relish the meat of ordinary speech (Simpson, 1990: xi). They survived throughout centuries and adapted to our modern, urbane and classy society, being thus seen like "old wisdom in new clothing", as Mieder (1993: 58) calls them. Nowadays new proverbs continue to appear based on actual referees and regarding present society we live in. As Etxabe Díaz (2012: 8) points out

Tanto en el ámbito coloquial como en los medios de comunicación, pueden escucharse nuevas fórmulas que reproducen la estructura básica de los refranes pero que, adaptándose a los tiempos en que vivimos, toman nuevos referentes para aludir a situaciones y sentimientos universales (amor, ambición, relaciones laborales, etc.).

And the author gives examples such as: 'A entrenador nuevo, victoria segura', 'Dime con quién chateas, y te dire quién eres', 'A preguntas embarazosas, respuestas anticonceptivas', 'Si trabajas por tu cuenta, nunca te salen las cuentas', 'Cuando el disco de tu vecino veas formatear, pon el tuyo a escanear'.

In spite of the possibility of some being criticized due to their cynical ('Marriage is a lottery'), fatalistic ('Call no man happy till he is dead'), misogynistic ('A bad woman is worse than a bad man'), etc. value, "proverbs can only be judged as a whole, and as a whole they cover an astonishingly wide range of human experience" (Ridout & Witting, 1969: 18). A critical opinion regarding proverbs' influence on people belongs to Crépeau (quoted by Germán Conde Tarrío<sup>165</sup> in Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 7) who considers that the proverb "ejerce una 'autoridad tiránica', pues tiene como fin último dirigir directa o indirectamente el comportamiento de los individuos en función de los ideales y de los valores compartidos por todo el grupo."

Nonetheless, as Mieder (1993: 54) points out, "Proverbs continue to be effective verbal devices and culturally literate persons, both native and foreign, must have a certain paremiological minimum at their disposal in order to participate in meaningful oral and written communication", because proverbs are, in fact, "un tratado de normas que tienen como finalidad facilitarnos el camino en esta vida, dada su experiencia" (Conde Tarrío, in Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 7). As already seen in the previous chapters,

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<sup>165</sup> In his article *El refrán y el humor: la paremia hagiográfica*.

Proverbs contain the practical wisdom of a culture it has accumulated through the centuries. They deal with social situations and their uses are manifold: to strengthen our arguments, express certain generalizations, influence or manipulate other people, rationalize our own shortcomings, question certain behavioural patterns, satirize social ills, poke fun at ridiculous situations. (Mieder, quoted by Irine Goshkheteliani in Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 277).

Despite their important features, their moral and pedagogical function, the overuse of proverbs has been condemned ever since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, by authors like Erasmus of Rotterdam or the French grammarian Estienne who militated for a moderate use of proverbs: "les beaux proverbes bien appliqués ornent le langage" (quoted by Conde Tarrío in Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 8).

The great Cervantes was also against the excessively use of proverbs. He expressed his standpoint through Don Quixote's famous words:

No te digo yo que parece mal un refrán traído a propósito; pero cargar y ensartar refranes a troche y moche, hace la plática desmayada y baja. (Quoted in DAPR, 1982: 6; Pereda Valdés, 1998: 100; Caudet Yarza, 1998: 7; Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 115).  
No has de mezclar en tus pláticas la muchedumbre de refranes que sueles, que puesto que los refranes son sentencias breves, muchas veces las traes tan de los cabellos que más parecen disparates que sentencias. (Quoted in Pereda Valdés, 1998: 99 and Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 114-115).

A pretty odd point of view regarding proverbs' use is expressed by Alfonso Reyes (quoted in Curiel, 2008: 55-56):

Quieren muchos decir que tienen los proverbios, "los pequeños evangelios", grandísima utilidad práctica y que sirven para orientar la conducta de la gente sin ley; pero yo mejor los entiendo como manifestaciones desinteresadas, independientes de móviles de acción, que nacen por una necesidad estética de reducir a fórmulas la experiencia, pero no para usar de ellos en los casos de la vida, sino para explicar y resumir situaciones ya acontecidas. Así intentarían retratar el mundo tal como es, que no proponer como debiera ser. (...) Los refranes, además, se contradicen unos a otros. Decir por ello que los refranes rigen la conducta o pueden regirla es cosa pueril y yo mantengo que sólo sirven para narrar, para explicar, para discutir. El refrán no tiene más fin que servir a las conversaciones e ilustrarlas.

In conversation, proverbs -"unidades atemporales y atópicas" (Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 46)-, give speakers a special ability to persuade the listener, because of their moral, timeless authority. An Ibo proverb thematically summarizes that 'Proverbs are the palm-oil with which words are eaten' (Gibbs, 2001: 174). Julio Fernández-Sevilla (quoted in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 46) considers proverbs to be "unidades de lengua, que están fijadas y forjadas y que el hablante ha memorizado y aduce cuando lo cree oportuno". As Mieder (1993: XVII) states, "when we use proverbs, we wish to strengthen our arguments or

explanations with traditional wisdom that supposedly has withstood the test of time." Thus, proverbs become, according to Fausto Díaz Padilla (quoted in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 46),

comodines de que dispone la lengua, susceptibles de ser empleados en las más diversas situaciones y de los que se desprende siempre una enseñanza para el interlocutor; pueden ser utilizados para esta función cuando su adecuación a las circunstancias en que aparecen es la apropiada a su significado. Mediante ellos el hablante resume lo dicho, justificándolo con una cita que le confiere autoridad debido a su vigencia en el pueblo.

Moreover, as Sevilla and Cantera (2001: 25) say, proverbs "ayudan a salir airoso de las situaciones difíciles, ya que cualquier aspecto de la vida humana se ve reflejado en ellos, su campo de aplicación presenta una gran variedad dada su amplitud temática."

In oral communication, in certain social situations, proverbs may be used as verbal strategies to express someone's thoughts without assuming the responsibility of his words, if it may be said so, these being attributed to someone else that may be either a specific person (in the case of Wellerisms, e.g. the mother in "'Nothing is lost for asking', as my mother used to say") or an anonymous one, referring to a whole community, people, etc. Let's take, for example, the following brief exchange between a boy and his father, in which the father's use of a proverbial expression allows him to avoid a direct, unpleasant confrontation with his son:

Teenager: 'But dad, why can't I have the car tonight?'

Father: 'Ah, my son, the words of the elders are like the droppings of the hyena. Grey at first, they become clear with time.'

(from Haiman, quoted in Gibbs, 2001: 171)

The *listener* knows that the proverb used by the *speaker* was not made up by that person. It is a proverb from the cultural past whose voice speaks truth in traditional terms. It is the 'One', the 'Elders', or the 'They' in 'They say', who direct. The *proverb user* is but the instrument through which the proverb speaks to the audience. (Arora, 1995: 1)

Proverbs have a distinctive manner of characterizing abstract themes in concrete ways. They can create a special bond of intimacy between speakers and link them to past speakers and community norms. As Bakhtin (quoted in Gibbs, 2001: 173) argued, no word or utterance can be spoken without echoing how others understand and have used it before:

The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intentions, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words!), but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's concrete contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own.



This suggests that meaning does not depend on each speaker and listener alone. The use of proverbs allows speakers to convey their personal meanings by echoing a whole tradition of wisdom and beliefs shared by members of their cultural community. In each language group there are proverbs that have the highest frequency, which means that they are the most known and used by the speakers of that language. This number of proverbs has been called by Grigorii L'vovich Permiakov the "paroemiological minimum"<sup>166</sup> (Mieder, in Green, 1997: 666). This minimum has been established through questionnaires for the Russian and German languages, and it consists of about 300 proverbs and proverbial expressions that native speakers know well. Ruxăndoiu (2003: 232) considers that "To be used in an ad hoc context (a concrete communication act), proverbs must exist in the memory of the individual and of the group (s)he belongs to, as independent units, in relation to a generic context (within the coordinates of a certain cultural horizon)."

When uttering a proverb, the user is, in fact, citing another person, as Colombi (1989: 3) points out:

Los refranes como enunciados-hechos (fijos, invariables) constituyen un inventario dentro de la lengua. Un hablante cuando usa un refrán está apoyándose en todo un bagaje tradicional de enunciados-hechos. Vistos de esta manera los refranes son una especie de "cita", salvo la diferencia que, cuando un hablante usa un proverbio, está citando al otro y a todos al mismo tiempo.

This inventory of proverbs, i.e. the paroemiological minimum, is, using Chosmky's terminology (Colombi, 1989: 3), "parte de la 'competence' de cada hablante y su realización o 'performance' es al acto práctico".

Proverbs must not be randomly used; the user must take into account also their function. According to Corpas (quoted by Elvira Manero Richard in Conde Tarrío, 2007: 160), the proverbs "constituyen fundamentalmente actos de habla informativos y actitudinales (...), es decir, asertivos y directivos (...)." Thus, Manero Richard (in Conde Tarrío, 2007: 160) distinguishes between:

- proverbs with a descriptive meaning, which are assertive and are the most frequent, e.g. 'A word to the wise is enough'.
- proverbs with a prescriptive meaning or imperative actions, which are usually "norms of behavior", e.g. 'Don't bite off more than you can chew'.

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<sup>166</sup> Julia Sevilla Muñoz (in Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 77) defines the paroemiological minimum (Sp. *mínimo paremiológico*) as "conjunto de enunciados sentenciosos estables más conocidos por una mayoría significativa de los hablantes de una comunidad sociocultural concreta. Dicho mínimo paremiológico está integrado principalmente por refranes y frases proverbiales".

Norrick (quoted in Colombi, 1989: 50) classifies proverbs taking into account their functional role in conversation. Thus, according to him, proverbs are:

- evaluative comments with didactic tone;
- evaluative arguments within longer speeches;
- proverbs that apply directly to a situation, syntactically independent of their text/context and with no evaluative function.

Colombi (1989: 53) represents Norrick's classification of proverbs with the following table:

Proverbs	Evaluative	Change of the conversation topic
Comments	+	+
Arguments	+	-
Descriptions	-	-

Table 12: Norrick's classification of proverbs

The situations proverbs appear in determine their function which varies according to the context they are used in. Thus, Ruxăndoiu (2003: 138) establishes a connection between the role a proverb acquires in certain circumstances and the corresponding context:

FUNCTION	FUNCTIONAL CONTEXT
Of a guide	Human problems
Of an adviser	Practical life, actions
Consolatory function	Difficult circumstances
Of a norm	Human interrelationships in everyday life
Generalizing function	Individual /group experiences
Of perlocutionary effects	Concrete speech acts
Style enriching function	Discourse
Underlying function	Discourse
Explanatory function	Concrete happenings (situations)
Exemplifying function	Concrete happenings (situations)

Table 13: The role of proverbs in functional contexts

The same author (2003: 201-202) considers that the proverbs' functions also vary according to their position in the contexts they are used in. Therefore, placed in an initial position, a proverb anticipates the meaning of the context it is used in. Thus, the interlocutor

is prepared for the coming message. E.g. "They say a cat has nine lives and an amazing story of survival in New Jersey certainly supports that. Police..." (*CBS New York*, NY, 9 Feb 2004, US; cited in Carbonell Basset, 2005: 49).

Positioned in the middle of the context, a proverb has a stronger power of argumentation, of talking the interlocutor into the message of the context. Sometimes, it can have also the effect of an epiphonema, being a conclusion of the previous part of the context and a foresaying of the following part. E.g. "...installing burglar alarms if burglary weren't illegal. It's putting the cart before the horse. If email carries a pricetage..." (*King5.com*, WA, 3 Feb 2004, US; cited in Carbonell Basset, 2005: 48).

A proverb sited in final position has a conclusive function, the message expressed by the context being confirmed by the proverb. E.g. "We're focusing on the employees, not the residents. We're putting the cart before the horse here." (*Henderson Gleaner*, KY, 3 Feb 2004, US; cited in Carbonell Basset, 2005: 48).

For the proper use of a proverb, for its a hundred percent effect on the target public [=the interlocutor(s)], the utterer must choose the correct proverb from the paroemiological minimum he has knowledge of because, as Gonzalo Torrente Ballester observes in the *Prologue* of the dictionary of Luis Junceda (1995: 9)

La experiencia de la vida no es uniforme ni coherente; a veces, sus conclusiones son contradictorias, y los resúmenes en que se expresan, los refranes, llevan el mismo color, a veces blanco, a veces negro, de tal manera que para la misma situación o el mismo suceso podemos encontrar el sí y el no, según convenga.

Besides, one must be a lot more cautious since, when uttering a proverb, he speaks in the name of a whole community, even a people. This is clearly pointed out by Torrente (quoted in Junceda, 1995: 10) who states:

El valor objetivo de los refranes es discutible. A veces son o no pasan de ser fórmulas sintéticas de verdades obvias; otras, su alcance o sus pretensiones son de más profunda enjundia y bien escogidos y ordenados pueden servir de sostén de toda una filosofía de la vida, que a su manera expresan, encerrando un sentido, una sabiduría, o un consejo que solo de esa manera impersonal, tradicional, nos atrevemos a dar. No es nadie el que habla, sino todos; no es un saber de ahora, sino de siempre.

The same idea that the user of a proverb converts himself into the spokesperson of a collectivity, a "tribe", is reiterated by Álvarez Curiel (2008: 56) who considers that

Los refranes son un producto social. Forman parte de la competencia lingüística de los hablantes, se asumen como elementos constitutivos y característicos de la lengua de una comunidad y, si toda lengua es reflejo y producto del "genio de las naciones", sirven de vehículo para transmitir, corroborar y confirmar, consciente o inconscientemente, la visión que un pueblo -los refranes son las "palabras de la tribu"- tiene del mundo, de las relaciones humanas y de los valores que hay que preservar.

When using a proverb one is running a risk since, as Pereda Valdés (1998: 28) remarks, "Es muy difícil determinar el uso de los refranes. (...) si los refranes son *vox populi* son también *vox diavoli*, tanto en lo que respecta a su origen como a su significación y alcance."

Proverbs and proverbial language have a great manipulative power in **political discourse** (debates, speeches, interviews); this leads to the abuse of proverbs. In his *World Encyclopedia of Proverbs* (1986) Mieder notes: "It is a known fact that interpreters at the United Nations prepare themselves for their extremely sensitive job by learning proverbs of the foreign languages, since politicians often argue or attempt to convince their opponents by use of a native proverb" (Quoted in Flonta, 1992).

Proverbs can be used as a very effective political tool, turning into dangerous verbal weapons:

The authority of tradition and the inherent claim of expressing truth and wisdom give proverbs in political argumentation a rhetorical power that can make them into manipulative and aggressive weapons. (Mieder, in Green, 1997: 665)

In such debates the proverbs take on serious meanings and are used by intelligent people to strengthen their arguments with the emotions and spice of traditional wisdom. (Mieder, 1993: 31)

And Mieder gives the example of the Nazi regime's use of proverbs as slurs against the Jewish people. Related to this topic, the author published an article "... as if I were the master of the situation". Proverbial Manipulation in Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*<sup>167</sup>.

American politicians have employed proverbs in his discourses since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. One example is the biblical proverbial saying 'A house divided against itself cannot stand' used by Abraham Lincoln in 1858:

A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved- I do not expect the house to fall- but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. (Quoted in Gibbs, 2001: 173)

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, West German chancellor Willy Brandt echoed Lincoln in several speeches. A 1998 computer search revealed 373 titles of books and articles with some reference to the proverb mentioned above. This demonstrates the great power that proverbs have to communicate a complex set of moral beliefs.

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<sup>167</sup> Available on [www.deproverbio.com](http://www.deproverbio.com),  
<<http://www.deproverbio.com/display.php?a=4&f=DPjournal&r=DP,1,1,95/HITLER.html>>.

Another example of proverbs' abuse is the manipulation and censorship applied to proverbs by the former Soviet and Romanian communist regimes. Thus, according to Flonta (2001: XI), under Ceausescu, in 1985, a new edition of Hintescu's collection (1877) *Proverbele românilor* was published, its content being seriously modified. Thus "more than 150 proverbs were eliminated or changed in order to respond rigidly to the communist ideology". The same happened in the former Soviet Union, in 1957, when in Vladimir Dal's collection of Russian proverbs, the number of proverbs containing the word *God* was reduced from 283 to seven.

## 4.2. PROVERBS AND LITERATURE

As it has been mentioned in Chapter II, literature is one of the main fields proverbs are used in. There are many great literary works that exploit the rhetorical power of proverbs. Gibbs (2001: 174-177) offers various examples of them, commenting on how proverbs convey within these works new insights on old 'pearls of wisdom'. Dickens' novels previously cited, Achebe's<sup>168</sup> novels *Things Fall Apart* (1958), and *No Longer at Ease* (1961) – "a reservoir of rich proverbial images" (Patnaik, quoted in Gibbs, 2001: 175); Stevens'<sup>169</sup> novel aphorisms are some of the literary works that Gibbs makes reference to.

Lists of proverbs found in the works of a particular author have been published by literary proverb investigators (see for example Mieder's *Proverbs in Literature: An International Bibliography*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1974). Such impressive studies exist on writers as Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Geoffrey Chaucer, Agatha Christie, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, François Rabelais, William Shakespeare, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy.

In the English language, **Shakespeare** is undoubtedly a great literary source of many nowadays proverbs that survived in their original form, e.g. 'Brevity is the soul of wit', 'Sweet are the uses of adversity', 'Cowards die many times before their deaths'. There are proverbs which are adaptations from Shakespearian quotations (Ridout & Witting, 1969: 12), e.g. 'A rose by other name would smell as sweet'. Moreover, not only he used proverbs in his work, he even used them as titles of two of his well-known comedies: *Measure for Measure* and *All's Well That Ends Well*.

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<sup>168</sup> Chinua Achebe is a 20<sup>th</sup> century African writer.

<sup>169</sup> Wallace Stevens is a 20<sup>th</sup> century American poet.

Shakespeare must have been the greatest, but there are other authors that used proverbs in their works. For instance the following poets:

- Robert Herrick in his poem *To the Virgins, to make Much of Time*: 'Gather ye rosebuds while ye may';
- Alexander Pope in his *Essay on Criticism*: 'A little learning is a dangerous thing';
- Thomas Gray in his *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*: 'Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise';
- John Keats in his *Endymion*: 'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever'<sup>170</sup>.
- the French François Villon in his *Ballade des proverbes*<sup>171</sup>.
- John Heywood who wrote six hundred *Epigrams upon Proverbs* which are short and rhymed proverb poems, e.g.

### *Of Wits*

*So many heads, so many wits: nay, nay!  
We see many heads and no wits, some day*<sup>172</sup>.

- Samuel Taylor Coleridge who also wrote an epigram entitled *Reason for Love's Blindness* which is elaborated on the proverb 'Love is blind'<sup>173</sup>:

*I have heard of reasons manifold  
Why Love must needs be blind,  
But this the best of all I hold -  
His eyes are in his hand.  
What outward from and feature are  
He guesseth but in part;  
But that within is good and fair  
He seeth with the heart.*

- Eliza Cook who wrote the poem *There's a Silver Lining to Every Cloud* - a six stanzas poem with a peculiar characteristic, i.e. the proverb-title is repeated at the end of each stanza.

The list of such examples may continue (for more poets and their proverb poems, see Mieder, 1993: 72-79), but our intention is not to exhaust the topic, but to point out the importance of proverbs in this great area of application which poetry and implicitly literature, represent. This is undoubtedly a field which offers lots of resources waiting to be discovered and extrapolated to other languages, such as Spanish and Romanian.

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<sup>170</sup> Examples taken from Ridout and Witting (1969: 12).

<sup>171</sup> The text of the poem is available from

[<http://poesie.webnet.fr/lesgrandsclassiques/poemes/francois\\_villon/ballade\\_des\\_proverbes.html>](http://poesie.webnet.fr/lesgrandsclassiques/poemes/francois_villon/ballade_des_proverbes.html).

<sup>172</sup> Cited in Mieder (1993: 72).

<sup>173</sup> *Ibidem*.

In the Romanian literature, which has a very rich folkloric branch, we find multitude of works based on, inspired of or including proverbs. In this respect, we will only name some of the authors of such important literary masterpieces.

The most representative author in the history of the Romanian literature is undisputedly **Ion Creangă** (1837-1889) who was considered as good folklorist as writer. Jean Boutière (quoted in Negreanu, 1998: 96), the author of the first monograph about Creangă's life and work, was fascinated by the great number of proverbs found in his writings, especially in his best known *Childhood Memories* (Rom. *Amintiri din copilărie*) which contains more than 70 proverbs and a lot of other proverbial phrases, and *Harap Alb*, a story that covers 48 pages and includes 80 proverbs and sayings (according to a study of Ovidiu Bârlea on Creangă's use of proverbs and other paremiae). The same statistics made by Bârlea showed a frequency of more than one proverb/proverbial phrase per page. Some concrete examples are children's literature stories like *Dănilă Prepeleac* (12 pages - 26 proverbs) and *The Goat and Her Three Kids* (Rom. *Capra cu trei iezi* - 9 pages - 20 proverbs)<sup>174</sup>.

Costache Negruzzi (1808-1868) wrote a story entitled *Scrisoarea II (Păcală și Tândală)* ('Letter II. Păcală and Tândală') in which the wise Păcală teaches Tândală, the other main character of the story, how to behave, creating thus an admirable moral portrait of man and life. Most of all of these advices are, of course, proverbs.

Petre Ispirescu (1830-1887) had a great contribution to Romanian paroemiology and paroemiography. He had three approaches of proverbs, using them in his stories and writings, gathering them in his collection *Legende și basmele romanilor. Ghicitori și Proverburi* (1872, 'Romanian Legends and Folk Tales. Riddles and Proverbs'), and studying theoretical problems in the Romanian paroemiological field.

Regarding Spanish literature, the first place in the ranking of the authors using proverbs is occupied by unanimity of votes, by **Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra**. Américo Castro<sup>175</sup> (quoted in Lloréns Barber, 1986: 12) affirms that "los refranes están en Cervantes como un tema legado por el humanismo". José Coll y Vehí gathered and alphabetically ordered the 263 proverbs found in *Quixote* (and other works of Cervantes: *Persiles*, *La Galatea*, *Exemplary Novels*, *Journey to Parnassus*) in a volume entitled *Refranes del Quijote* (Barcelona, 1876). The great Spanish author left us a big treasure, also paroemiological, materialized in his *Don Quixote* (1605, 1614). Don Miguel de Cervantes -it is said in the *Preamble* of DAPR (1982: 9-10),

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<sup>174</sup> For more details about proverbs in Creangă's work, see Negreanu (1998: 96-101).

<sup>175</sup> In *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (1973). Barcelona: Noguer.

en su azarosa vida, unas veces en los mesones y posadas, y otras en los caminos y calles, aprendió el ingenio caudal de frases proverbiales y refranes que se leen en sus obras, donde, como llevados de la mano, los pone en boca de sus personajes, que parecen como piedras preciosas engastadas sobre ricas joyas, lo cual revela que sólo quien los aprendió de la gente del pueblo, pudo aplicarlos con tanta oportunidad y maestría en todas sus inmortales producciones, como si él mismo los hubiese creado.

The *Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea*, well-known as *La Celestina*, published in 1499 by Fernando de Rojas, is also a literary work very rich in Spanish proverbs that "No sólo son muy numerosos [more than 350], sino que además aparecen citados con maestría y buen gusto" (Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 95). To illustrate the great exploitation of proverbs in this masterpiece of the Spanish medieval literature, we will only mention the list of the nine consecutive proverbs related to singularity, found in *Act VII* (quoted in Sevilla & Cantera, 2001: 95-96): 1. 'No hay cosa más perdida que el mur que no sabe sino un horado'; 2. 'Una ánima sola ni canta ni llora'; 3. 'Un solo acto no hace hábito'; 4. 'Un fraile solo, pocas veces lo encontrarás en la calle'; 5. 'Una perdiz sola, por maravilla vuela'; 6. 'Un manjar solo continuo, presto pone hastío'; 7. 'Una golondrina no hace verano'; 8. 'Un testigo solo no es entera fe'; 9. 'Quien sola una ropa tiene, presto la envejece'.

Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Baltasar Gracián, López de Úbeda, etc. are some of other famous Spanish classical writers whose works are samples of proverbs' usage in literature. Julia Sevilla and Jesús Cantera (2001) allocate an entire chapter - *El refrán en la literatura clásica española* - to these authors and their most representative works with concrete examples of proverbs found in them.

The same humoristic value of proverb found in *Quixote* has also been exploited by French playwrights like Molière (1622-1673) or Georges Feydeau (1862-1921). "The greatest honour a comedy may acquire is that of producing proverbs" said Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657-1757).

The French literature gave us the *Proverbes dramatiques* genre (related to the Italian *Commedia dell'arte*) which has its origin in the times of Louis XIII of France (1601-1643) when small comedies based on a proverb were presented on stage. Among authors of this genre we mention: Adrien de Montluc, known as the Count of Cramail, with his *Comedie de Proverbes*; Madame de Maintenon who wrote about forty dramatic proverbs for young girls at the school of Saint-Cyr, her writings being lessons in morals and good behaviour, issuing warnings about the dangers of society; Étienne Gosse, Théodore Leclercq, the author of two



series of *Proverbes dramatiques* (photo A<sup>176</sup>); Octave Feuillet, etc. But maybe the most famous of them was Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle, known as Carmontelle (1717-1806) whose dramatic proverbs were published in eight volumes between 1768 and 1781.

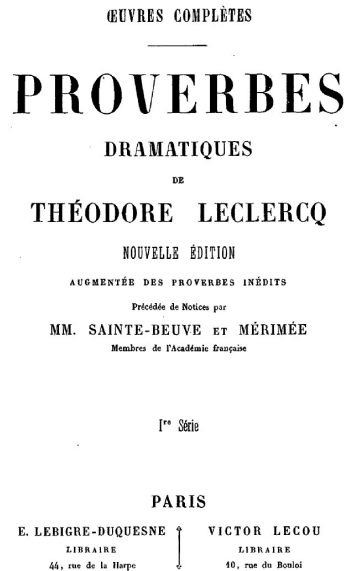


Photo A

A play belonging to the same genre was written by the Romanian author Alexandru Macedonski, in 1876, entitled *Gemenii, proverb original într-un act* ('The Twins, an Original Proverb in One Act').

### 4.3. PROVERBS AND PAINTINGS

One of the various forms of art in which proverbs appear is painting. Painters of different times treated in their works and expressed in a personal artistic manner, basic human problems. A masterpiece of the kind, frequently mentioned in studies and collections of proverbs, is undoubtedly Pieter Brueghel's (also Bruegel, Breughel, known as Pieter Brueghel the Elder, 1525-1569 - EWED) picture 'Netherlandish Proverbs' (dated 1559, at present exhibited in Gemäldegalerie of Berlin):

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<sup>176</sup> Available from <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k200655v>>.



Source: <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Netherlandish\\_Proverbs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Netherlandish_Proverbs)>

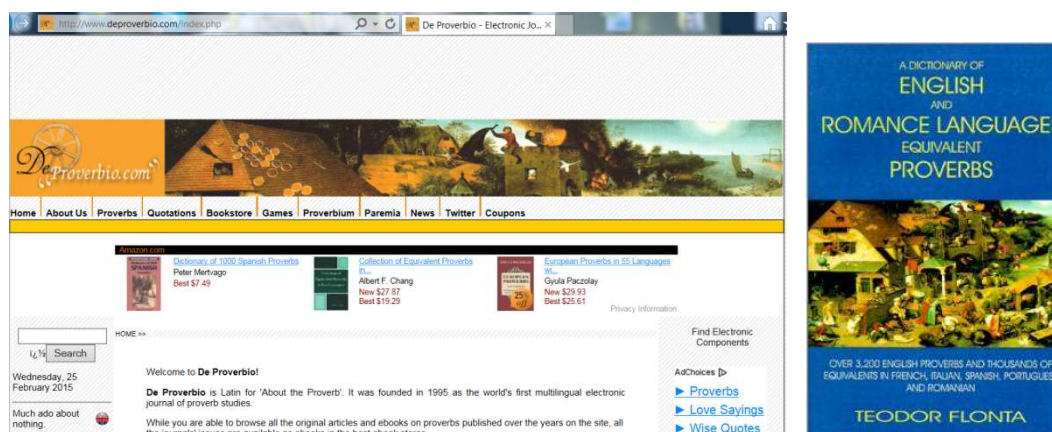
Based on several studies of this painting made by different authors (e.g. Wilhelm Fraenger, Jan Grauls, Franz Roh, Alan Dundes, Claudia Stibbe - quoted in Mieder, 1993: 59), the picture includes about 115 illustrations of European and Dutch proverbs and proverbial expressions, such as 'To bang one's head against the wall', 'To be as patient as a lamb', 'To bell the cat', 'What is the good of a beautiful plate when there is nothing on it?', 'Two dogs over one bone seldom agree', 'The pig is stabbed through the belly', etc.<sup>177</sup> It is interesting to mention that a sequence of the painting may illustrate more than one proverb, e.g.



- 'To bell the cat'
- 'To be armed to the teeth'
- 'To put your armor on'

<sup>177</sup> A chart listing the proverbs illustrated in the painting, with a snapshot of that particular part of the picture, can be found at <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Netherlandish\\_Proverbs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Netherlandish_Proverbs)>. And an explanatory video can be seen on <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tboRw6CPXjI>>.

The great expressivity and artistic value of this painting aroused the interest of many scholars from the paremiological field. Thus, Teodor Flonta uses the picture as the banner for the *DeProverbio.com* website, as well as on the front cover of his *Dictionary of English and Romance Languages Equivalent Proverbs* (2001), as it can be seen below:



Source: < <http://www.deproverbio.com/index.php>>.

The same picture also appears on the front cover of Rudică and Costea's cited work (2004, Photo 1) and that of Sonia Gómez-Jordana Ferary's work (2012, Photo 2):



Photo 1

Photo 2

Brueghel's tradition of illustrating proverbs has been continued in modern times. Thus, in 1975, the first poster (Photo A<sup>178</sup>) of the collection *Proverbidioms* of Thomas E. Breitenbach (born 1951) appeared; the collection has been increased up to the present days with several other posters alike<sup>179</sup>. Breitenbach's first poster presents over 300 proverbs and proverbial phrases and was surely inspired by Brueghel's work. Just as in his picture, the painted proverbs and sayings are illustrated literally, having a comical and strange appearance

<sup>178</sup> Source: Breitenbach's official website: <<http://tebreitenbach.com/index.html>>.

<sup>179</sup> More information about the artist and his posters can be found on the previously mentioned website.

for those who do not know what the picture is about. For example, 'You are what you eat' is represented in the painting by the image of a carrot eating a carrot (Photo B<sup>180</sup>).



Photo A



Photo B

In the chapter 'Old Wisdom in New Clothing' of his book *Proverbs Are Never Out of Season: Popular Wisdom in the Modern Age* (1993: 61-63), Mieder makes reference to other authors (e.g. William Belder, Sebastian Brant, etc.) of works framed in the same genre, namely pictures with multiple proverb scenes named *Wimmelbilder* or 'The blue cloak' after the central proverb scene presented in Brueghel's "Netherlandish Proverbs" illustrating the proverbial phrase 'To hang the blue cloak on the husband', i.e. 'to commit adultery':



The Spanish painter Francisco de Goya (1746-1828) also left us a legacy, dated 1824, of twenty-two grotesque etchings collected under the name of *Proverbios* (Proverbs), also known as *Los Disparates* (The Follies) or *Sueños* (Dreams). This series was first published by the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando in 1864. The imprints are expressive illustrations with proverbial titles, such as the below ones<sup>181</sup>:

<sup>180</sup> Available from <[http://easyartsymbols.blogspot.com.es/2013\\_06\\_01\\_archive.html](http://easyartsymbols.blogspot.com.es/2013_06_01_archive.html)>. See also a video on <<http://www.tebreitenbach.com/av/youtube-ppro.htm>>.

<sup>181</sup> Available from <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Los\\_disparates](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Los_disparates)>, where the titles and the photos of all of the 22 etchings can be seen.





*Modo de volar (A way of flying)*



*Los ensacados (Folly in sacks)*

#### 4.4. PROVERBS IN MASS MEDIA AND ADVERTISING

Proverbs are also an important part of contemporary language. Beside literature, proverbs appear in many other contexts, such as **mass media**, especially in journalism (as newspaper and magazine headlines - two concrete examples are the photos below), advertising (as traditional or innovative slogans), popular songs (folk, country and western, rock-and-roll), illustrations (cartoons, comic strips, caricatures), book titles, etc.



Source: *Ce se întâmplă doctore? (What Is Happening, Doctor?)*<sup>182</sup> 114/December-January 2016

<sup>182</sup> Article entitled *19 Proverbs about Healthy Nutrition* which offers advices about how to eat healthy taking into account ancient recommendations included in the nineteen proverbs, for example: 1. 'Breakfast is yours, share lunch with your friends and give dinner to your enemies'; 2. 'Breakfast makes life longer'; 3. 'Water is the only drink for the wise man'; 10. 'An apple a day keeps the doctor away', etc.



Source: Mercado del dinero newspaper Issue n° 230, January 2013, pages 12-13.

Mieder's *Dictionary of American Proverbs* (1992) lists thousands of entries collected from oral speech between 1945 and 1985, and Whitney's collection *Modern Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings* (1989) contains almost six thousand entries taken from 20<sup>th</sup> century books, magazines, and newspapers. Carbonell Basset's *The New Dictionary of Current Sayings and Proverbs, Spanish and English* (2005) offers a list of 700 English and Spanish proverbs and sayings with 1.800 real, contemporary citations from newspapers, Internet and contemporary books. This clearly illustrates proverbs and sayings' existence and usage today.

People working in mass media became aware of the proverbs' main features and their great power of influence on the public. They either used proverbs in their purest form as titles of their articles (A) or played with proverbs, using parts of them in order to 'manipulate' the public's opinion (B). Cezar Tabarcea (1982: 54-55) gives a series of such examples taken from the Romanian press of the 70's, for example:

(A) 'Adună cu firul ca să ai cu grămada' ('A penny saved is a penny gained') in SC, 12 XII, 1974; 'Până nu faci foc nu iese fum' ('No fire, no smoke') in SC, 2 V, 1974.

(B) 'Minciuna are picioare scurte și totuși, uneori, adevărul șchioapătă' ('Lies have short legs; still, sometimes truth limps') in SC, 16 III, 1974; 'Până nu faci foc...' ('No fire...') in SC, 19 V, 1974.

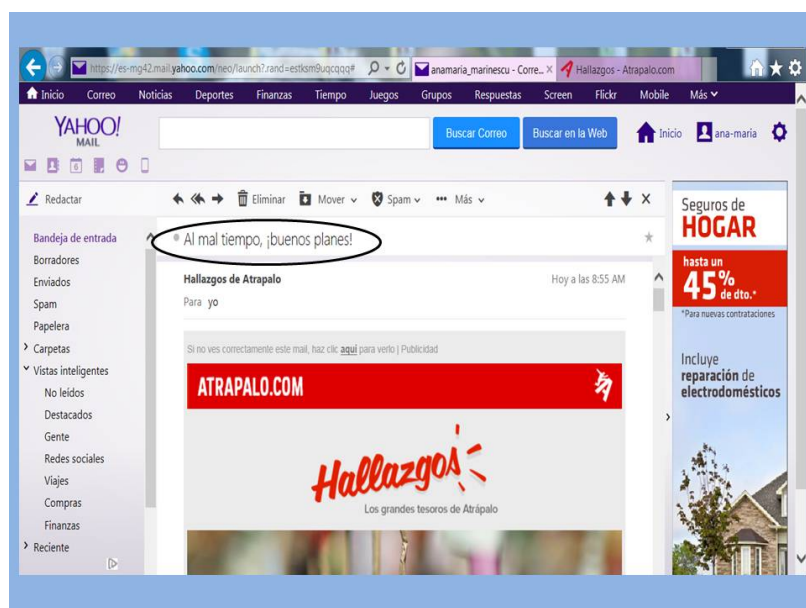
Sometimes proverbs are not literally uttered, they are inferred in the text and the reader must make use of his paroemiological knowledge in order to correctly decode the meaning. For example, in the following excerpt from a Spanish newspaper, one must know the proverb

'A río revuelto, ganancia de pescadores' (Eng. 'It's good fishing in troubled waters') which appears camouflaged in the article: "Pero basta revolver un poco el río de la convivencia catalana para que los pescadores políticos se dispongan a sacar ganancias electorales" (*La Vanguardia*, 26/II/1994, cited in Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 267).

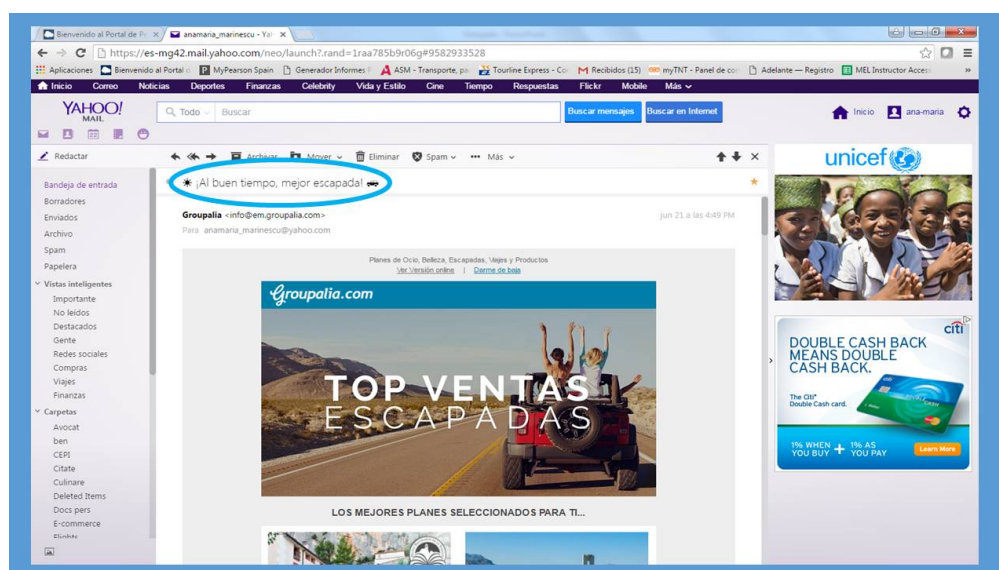
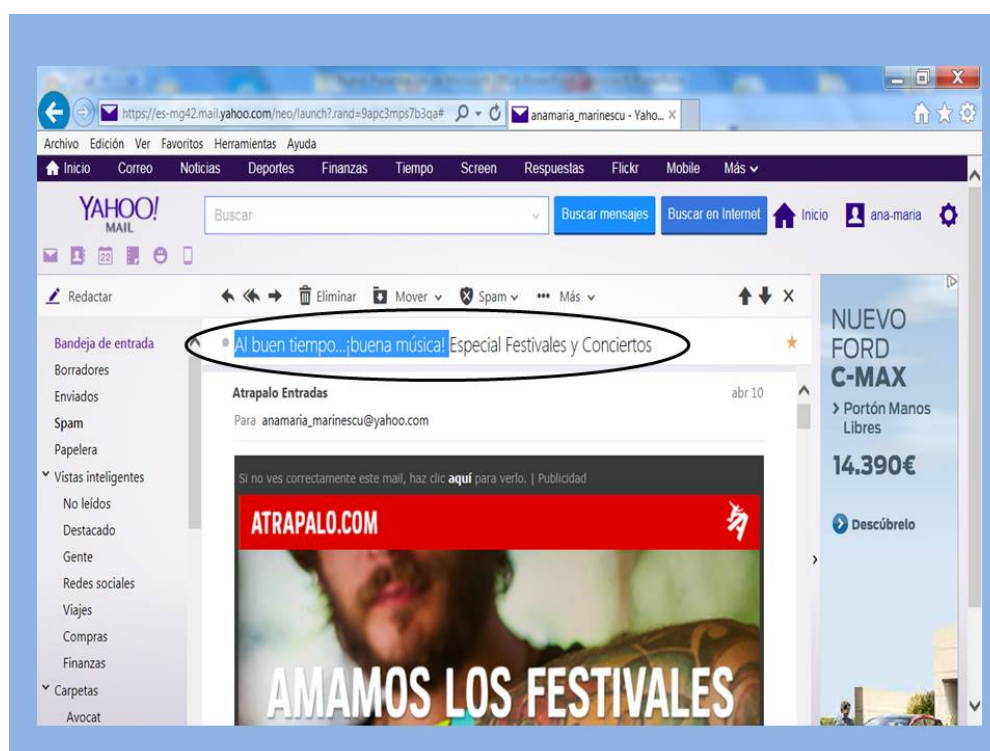
Other times proverbs appear unfinished, mainly because of their length and due to the limited space in the written press. In this case, the journalist also compels the reader to switch on the paroemiological minimum and cultural literacy. E.g. "En boca cerrada..." (integral proverb 'En boca cerrada no entran moscas' - Eng. equivalent 'Least said, soonest mended'), used in the article "Breverías" in the Spanish newspaper *ABC Madrid*, 4<sup>th</sup> September 2001, p. 68 (cited in Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 269-270).

On **television**, the Spanish programme of Joaquín Calvo Sotelo, entitled *La bolsa de los refranes* (quoted in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 70), is worth to be mentioned. It was a transmission about proverbs, from the 70's, with a great success at that time. Within each broadcast a proverb was commented upon and viewers were sending about 7.000 letters a week with their comments (according to Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 264). The proverbs of the programme were gathered in a homonymous book, published in 1992.

In **advertising** proverbs represent a tool that is taken advantage of. Just as in the case of the written press, they either appear in their entire form or are often changed and paraphrased. For example, some commercial e-mails received on February 6<sup>th</sup>, April 10<sup>th</sup> of 2015 and June 21<sup>st</sup> of 2016 drew our attention due to their subjects: *Al mal tiempo, ¡buenos planes!*, *Al buen tiempo... ¡buena música!* [...], *¡Al buen tiempo, mejor escapada!*, which immediately made us think of the Spanish proverb 'Al mal tiempo, buena cara':







Also for promoting their events, but with an educational purpose as well, the *Centro de educación ambiental 'Caserío de Henares'* from San Fernando de Henares (Madrid) usually inserts proverbs in the activities programmes in order to make them more attractive and to



reach a wider target public. Let us see for example two such activities schedules<sup>183</sup> (the proverbs appear at the end, under the tables):

### Example 1: the Activities Programme corresponding to April 2015

Camino de la Vega s/n. 28830 San Fernando de Henares (MADRID).

ABRIL	C.E.A. CASERIO DE HENARES
<b>4 SÁBADO</b>	<b>GRUPO DE TRABAJO "HUERTO COLECTIVO"</b>
Adultos 10:30 h.	Participa en las labores de nuestro huerto colectivo basado en la agricultura ecológica. Podrás entrar a formar parte de un grupo de trabajo continuo anual. Para más información, contacta con nosotros.
<b>5 DOMINGO</b>	<b>SENDA: "LAS CIGÜENAS DE CASERIO"</b>
+4 años 10:30 h.	El Parque Regional del Sureste alberga numerosos ecosistemas con gran cantidad de plantas y animales. Si quieres conocer a algunos de sus habitantes, visitaremos la laguna del Cerro Gordo y descubrirás, a hurtadillas, la charca de los anfibios de Caserio de Henares.
<b>11 SÁBADO</b>	<b>CURSO DE INICIACIÓN "EL HUERTO ECOLÓGICO": SIEMBRA Y PLANTACIÓN</b>
Adultos 10:00 h.	Desde un nivel básico y de forma muy práctica veremos los pasos principales en el cultivo de un huerto. En esta segunda sesión se hablará de la siembra, la plantación y la obtención de semillas.
<b>11 SÁBADO</b>	<b>"VIGILANTES DEL RÍO HENARES" PEDALEANDO ENTRE RÍOS</b>
Todas las edades. 10:30h.	De marcha en bicicleta, hasta los Prados de la Guindalera en San Fernando de Henares, visitaremos el río Jarama y su bosque de ribera. Allí nos pondremos nuestros uniformes de trabajo para averiguar cómo se encuentran sus aguas gracias a un sencillo kit de investigación. <i>ITINERARIO: Paseo de los Chopos (San Fernando de Henares) – río Jarama – Paseo de los Chopos (por el Camino de la Agujeta) DISTANCIA: 6 km. aprox. DIFICULTAD: Baja. LUGAR: San Fernando de Henares</i>
<b>12 DOMINGO</b>	<b>UN BOSQUE VIVO PARA UN PARQUE VIVO</b>
+8 años 10:30 h.	Es un programa de voluntariado, en colaboración con Centro Trama, Adena WWF y el Ayuntamiento de San Fernando de Henares, para participar en la conservación de los bosques en torno a los ríos Henares y Jarama dentro del Parque Regional del Sureste.
<b>18 SÁBADO</b>	<b>GRUPO DE TRABAJO: "HUERTO COLECTIVO"</b>
Adultos 10:30 h.	Participa en las labores de nuestro huerto colectivo basado en la agricultura ecológica. Podrás entrar a formar parte de un grupo de trabajo continuo anual. Para más información, contacta con nosotros.
<b>19 DOMINGO</b>	<b>SENDA: "EL CARRASCAL DE ARGANDA"</b>
Todas las edades 10:30 h.	El recorrido nos lleva por uno de los últimos reductos del original bosque mediterráneo que poblaba toda la región. Se trata de uno de los escasos encinares que aún perviven en el Parque Regional del Sureste. <i>ITINERARIO: Área recreativa "Dehesa del Carrascal" (Arganda del Rey) – Pinar y encinar de Arganda – Área recreativa "Dehesa del Carrascal" (Arganda del Rey) DISTANCIA 5 km. DESNIVEL: 100 m. DIFICULTAD: baja</i>
<b>25 SÁBADO</b>	<b>HOGARES VERDES. ECODESTREZAS: "EL HUERTO EN CASA"</b>
Todas las edades 10:30 h.	¿Vives en la ciudad y te gustaría cultivar en casa? En este taller aprenderemos a experimentar con un pequeño huerto en casa o en el balcón sin necesidad de disponer de mucho espacio ni de gastar mucho dinero.
<b>26 DOMINGO</b>	<b>VII CONCURSO FOTOGRAFICO "EN EL PARQUE VIVO"</b>
+12 años 10:30 h.	Os invitamos a participar en el VII concurso fotográfico en colaboración con Centro Trama y la Asociación FONAMAD. Te ofreceremos una nueva imagen de los paisajes del Parque Regional del Sureste visitando de cerca la laguna de Cerro Gordo y su vegetación y fauna asociada.

*Abril que truena, anuncia cosecha buena. Refranero Castellano.*

#### OBSERVACIONES:

Imprescindible reserva previa en el teléfono: 91 6738299

Horario: de miércoles a viernes de 10:00 a 15:00 h, sábados, domingos y festivos de 10:00 a 17:30 h

Plazo de reservas: comienzo desde dos semanas antes de la celebración de la actividad y menores siempre acompañados de adultos. Para reservas de grupos organizados contactar con el Centro.



<sup>183</sup> We have access to these schedules due to the fact that we are members of this Centre, thus we receive them by e-mail (usually) every month.

## Example 2: the Activities Programme corresponding to May 2015

Camino de la Vega s/n. 28830 San Fernando de Henares (MADRID).

MAYO	C.E.A. CASERIO DE HENARES
<b>2 SABADO</b>	<b>GRUPO DE TRABAJO: "HUERTO COLECTIVO"</b>
Adultos 10:30 h.	Participa en las labores de nuestro huerto colectivo basado en la agricultura ecológica. Podrás entrar a formar parte de un grupo de trabajo continuo anual. Para más información, contacta con nosotros.
<b>3 DOMINGO</b>	<b>SENDA: "LA CARA OCULTA DE LOS HUMEDALES EN PRIMAVERA"</b>
+ 6 años 10:30 h.	Las lagunas del Parque albergan un sinfín de animales; peces, reptiles, anfibios y por supuesto aves. Descubriremos qué especies se esconden tras la vegetación y algunos secretos de la vida de las aves. <i>Itinerario: "Los humedales de Cerro Gordo". Distancia: 4,5 km. Terreno llano. Dificultad: baja. Se recomienda traer prismáticos.</i>
<b>9 SABADO</b>	<b>UN BOSQUE VIVO PARA UN PARQUE VIVO. SENDA: "LOS CANTILES DEL PIUL"</b>
+ 8 años 10:30 h.	Es un programa de voluntariado, en colaboración con Centro Trama, Adena WWF y el Ayuntamiento de San Fernando de Henares, para participar en la conservación de los bosques en torno a los ríos Henares y Jarama dentro del Parque Regional del Sureste.
<b>9 SABADO</b>	<b>CURSO DE INICIACIÓN "EL HUERTO ECOLOGICO": LOS CULTIVOS</b>
Adultos 10:30 h.	Desde un nivel básico y de forma muy práctica veremos los pasos principales en el cultivo de un huerto. En esta tercera sesión se hablará de las necesidades de los distintos cultivos, el calendario de siembras, rotaciones y asociaciones.
<b>10 DOMINGO</b>	<b>LA SALUD DEL BOSQUE: "ESPECIES INVASORAS"</b>
Todas las edades 10:30 h.	Los árboles tienen un gran valor para el ecosistema, pero cuando crecen lejos de su lugar de origen pueden ser causa de problemas. Vamos a contribuir a la restauración de una zona afectada.
<b>16 SABADO</b>	<b>GRUPO DE TRABAJO: "HUERTO COLECTIVO"</b>
Adultos 10:30 h.	Participa en las labores de nuestro huerto colectivo basado en la agricultura ecológica. Podrás entrar a formar parte de un grupo de trabajo continuo anual. Para más información, contacta con nosotros.
<b>17 DOMINGO</b>	<b>EnREDate CON CASERIO</b>
Todas las edades 10:30 h.	Te ofrecemos en uno de los municipios del entorno más cercano, juegos e información ambiental sobre Caserio y la Red de Centros de Educación Ambiental. ¡Invita a tus amigos a conocernos!
<b>23 SÁBADO</b>	<b>CELEBRACIÓN DEL DÍA DE LA BIODIVERSIDAD. SEMINARIO AMBIENTAL: "VEGETACIÓN Y FLORA DEL PARQUE DEL SURESTE"</b>
+12 años 10:30 h.	Este espacio natural mantiene una sorprendente variedad de ecosistemas y alberga una biodiversidad de enorme riqueza, repleto de especies que en otras partes de la Comunidad de Madrid ya no existen o son extremadamente raras o vulnerables. En el Parque Regional del Sureste madrileño tienen su futuro asegurado y gozan de un espacio de gran calidad medioambiental. Introducción teórica y paseo interpretativo.
<b>24 DOMINGO</b>	<b>SENDA: "PASEO DE LAS MORERAS"</b>
Todas las edades 10:30 h.	En esta senda descubriremos una parte de la finca de Caserio de Henares que aúna la vegetación más diversa con una parte de la historia. ¿Sabías que este paseo lo utilizaba el rey Felipe V para llegar a la recién fundada fábrica de paños de San Fernando de Henares?
<b>30 SABADO</b>	<b>GRUPO DE TRABAJO: "HUERTO COLECTIVO"</b>
Adultos 10:30 h.	Participa en las labores de nuestro huerto colectivo basado en la agricultura ecológica. Podrás entrar a formar parte de un grupo de trabajo continuo anual. Para más información, contacta con nosotros.
<b>31 DOMINGO</b>	<b>HUERTO FAMILIAR : "EL HUERTO EN PRIMAVERA"</b>
Todas las edades 10:30 h.	En el huerto ya se nota la llegada de la estación de la primavera: el sol calienta y las plantas empiezan a crecer. Realizaremos alguna de las tareas propias de la estación en nuestro huerto y disfrutaremos de un agradable paseo por los Huertos de Ocio.

*Mayo florido, en flor el olivo y granados los trigos. Refranero Castellano.*

Another example of proverbs used for commercial purposes is the leaflet published by a Spanish bank under the title *Participe en el refranero financiero de Banco Directo (Argentaria) y consiga un buen regalo*, a flyer that contained twelve proverbs (listed below) gathered by Pilar Blanco García (quoted in Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 272-275 and Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 71-72) in a marketing campaign of the mentioned bank.

**Si pienso en la rentabilidad creo que...**

*Más vale pájaro en mano que ciento volando  
Si no tienes dinero en la bolsa, ten miel en la boca  
El que no se arriesga no pasa la mar.*

**Cuando invierto, el plazo es la clave porque...**

*Quien guarda sabe, de la abundancia tiene la llave  
Para las ocasiones son los doblones  
Cuando menos se piensa, salta la liebre.*

**Prefiero el consejo de un experto a la hora de invertir porque...**

*El que a buen árbol se arrima buena sombra le cobija  
Júntate con los buenos y serás uno de ellos  
El que no duda no sabe cosa alguna.*

**Si diversifico mi inversión, creo que...**

*Quien mucho abarca poco aprieta  
Ni tanto que me sobre ni tan poco que me baste  
En la variedad está el gusto.*

Slogans like *De los cuarenta para arriba no descuides tus encías* (original proverb 'De los cuarenta para arriba, no te mojes la barriga'), *Quien bien te quiere... te hará reir* (original proverb 'Quien bien te quiere, te hará llorar') or *En abril, regalos mil* (coming from 'En abril aguas mil') were used in advertising for promoting a toothpaste, a sitcom, and a bank respectively (quoted in Sevilla & Cantera, 2002: 275 and Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 72). Sometimes slogans reinvent proverbs in order to emphasize the value of the promoted product, e.g. *Gallina vieja hace buen caldo*, *Gallina Blanca lo hace mejor*, where the original proverb is 'Gallina vieja hace buen caldo' (Eng. 'Good broth may be made in an old pot').

By the same token the English proverb 'Here today, gone tomorrow' was transformed into slogans like *Hair today, gone tomorrow* in the hair-removal industry (Photo A), or *Hear today, gone tomorrow* (Photo B) in a health awareness campaign, or into a part of the name of the game (*King's Quest VI*.) *Heir today, gone tomorrow* (Photo C).



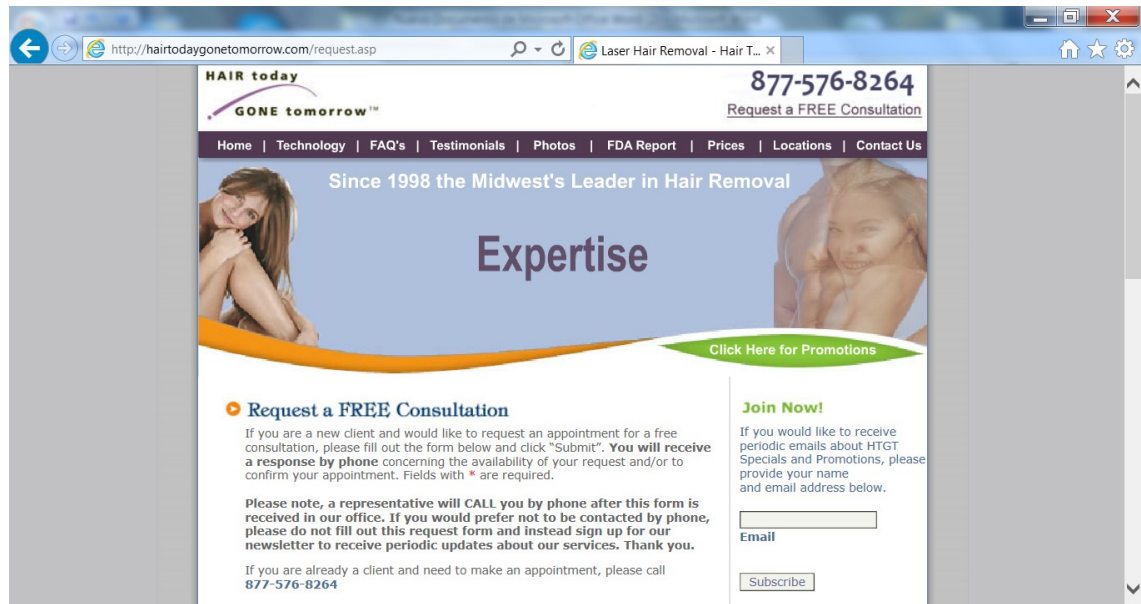


Photo A

Source: <<http://hairtodaygonetomorrow.com/request.asp>>.



Photo B

Source: <<http://hearinghealthfoundation.org/blog?blogid=34>>.



Photo C

Source: <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/King's\\_Quest\\_VI](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/King's_Quest_VI)>.

Due to their figurativeness feature, proverbs are used as an idiomatic expression, i.e. their signification and interpretation are not given by the literal meaning of each word of their structure. Still, though in rare occasions, there are cases when the speaker uses a proverb making reference to the *mot à mot* interpretation of the terms. An example of such a usage is given by Penadés Martínez et. al. (2008: 98-99); the example is from the official speech of a public person:

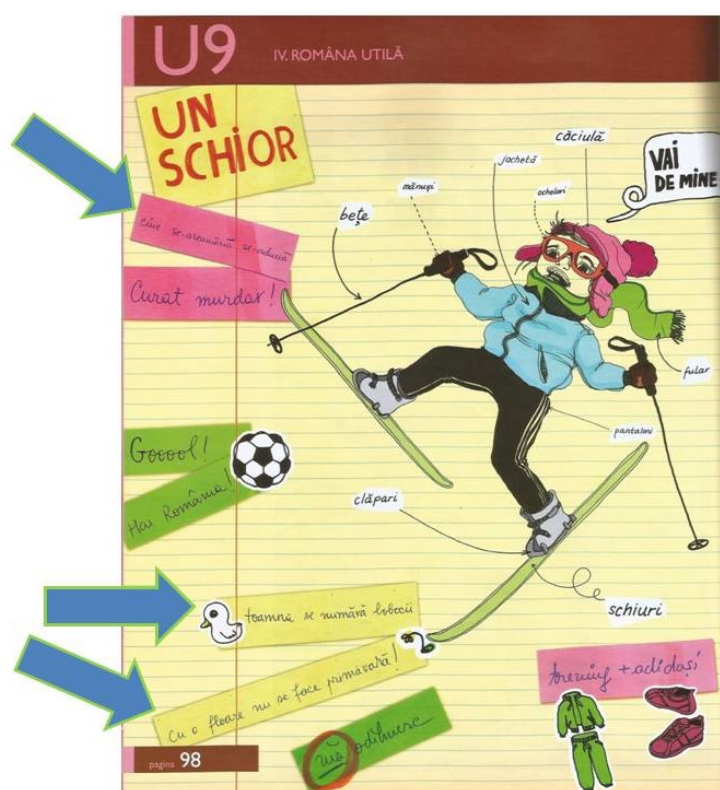
(...) el Presidente parafraseó el célebre refrán que asevera que "agua que no has de beber, déjala correr" para afirmar que en la región no podemos dejar correr el agua, porque la necesitamos para beber y para que el cauce natural del río Tajo permita conservar su flora y fauna. "Necesitamos el agua para recuperar el medio ambiente y para que el Tajo a su paso por Toledo, Talavera y el resto de poblaciones tenga la cantidad y calidad de agua que merecemos", concluyó.

This is a clear example in which the quoted proverb makes no reference to its generic meaning, namely 'a person should not deal with the problems that do not concern him/her', but to the very literal meaning of the words of the proverb's structure - the water people drink and the necessity of it being preserved.

## 4.5. PROVERBS AND EDUCATION

A major role of proverbs is that of an instrument in language teaching that has been used in classroom since early history. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century proverbs were used in England in order to teach Latin. I myself recall having learned Latin in the 90's with the help of proverbs.

Nowadays we can still find proverbs in textbooks of different languages for foreigners. For instance, in Daniela Kohn's (2009) Romanian language textbook, each unit contains a section called 'Useful Romanian' (Rom. *Româna utilă*) in which, among idioms, expressions, peculiar terms, etc., proverbs are also registered in order to make the learner familiar with the spoken language. For example, the mentioned part of Unit 9 (2009: 98 - see the photo below) records three Romanian proverbs: 'Cine se aseamănă se-adună' (Birds of a feather flock together'), 'Toamna se numără bobocii' ('Don't count your chickens before they are hatched'), 'Cu o floare nu se face primăvară' ('One swallow does not make a summer').



In 2008, Inmaculada Penadés Martínez *et. al.* published a dictionary including seventy proverbs for learners of Spanish as a foreign language: *70 refranes para la enseñanza del español* (for the complete reference, see *Cited works*), a textbook that can be also a useful didactic tool for the teachers of Spanish.

Casado Conde *et. al.*'s collection of 300 Spanish proverbs (1999) with their equivalents in English, French, German and Italian, contains a series of exercises of comprehension skills for students of Spanish as a foreign language (op. cit., pages 129-138).

The importance of proverbs being included in textbooks of Spanish as a foreign language or as a mother tongue is pointed out by Sevilla and Cantera (2002: 279):

La inclusión de refranes en los manuales de español como lengua extranjera es casi obligada, dado que los estudiantes de nivel avanzado los encuentran en bastantes de sus lecturas de textos literarios.

El regreso de los refranes a los libros de español como lengua materna, está provocando que los hispanohablantes sientan cierto respeto por los refranes y que los consideren un tesoro lingüístico.

People who appreciate proverbs at their true value thought of using them to imagine and create an educational game for children, called *Dino Domino Refranes* by Dinova Games (Madrid), which, as we know, had two versions, a domino table game with proverb cards.



Source: <<http://www.ebay.es/itm/JUEGO-DE-MESA-DE-REFRANES-DINO-DOMINO-4-A-7-ANOS-PERFECTO-ESTADO-CON-28-FICHAS-/181621001567>>.

Proverbs provide learners an authentic insider's view of a culture which makes the process of learning easier because

Proverbs are expressive units, bearing two types of different information: linguistic data on the world (a linguistic picture of the world) and data on personal attitude to the world (a subjective picture of the world). When the non-native speaker uses

proverbs of the other language, his national linguistic image influences the other two data and creates a cross-cultural language picture (Goshkheteliani in Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 278).

The learning of proverbs can be a key element in the language acquisition process. They can provide a snapshot of other cultures that allows for a more thorough understanding of both language and culture. We can become enriched as individuals and societies when we understand the viewpoints of others, not to mention the effectiveness of the communication between foreigners (visitors, immigrants, students, etc.) and the native speakers of the studied language/the language of the visited country. Proverbs' social and cultural value is pointed out by Dem Teodorescu (quoted in Dodu Bălan, 1974: IX) who says:

Beside language, they [proverbs] also make us understand a great amount of events which reflect sometimes the naïveté, others the wisdom of people; they give us a clue about the traditions, the institutions and the life of the generations we have replaced; they show us a lot of small, local, interesting details which stir our desire of knowing them.

José María Romera (quoted in Baños & Guardiola, 2001: 39) considers that

No se entiende la transmisión cultural sin la presencia de los dichos, sean modismos populares o citas de autor culto, porque son elementos que nos enlazan (al hablar, al pensar, al comunicarnos) con las fuentes de un saber anterior y de unas costumbres y modos de vida que pertenecen a la memoria colectiva. (...) Los refranes (...) son anclajes firmes con el caudal histórico de la lengua, que perdería parte de su función si desterrara estas convenciones que nos permiten reconocer nuestro parentesco con los hablantes de otras épocas a pesar de la natural renovación del idioma.

Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (quoted in Manero Richard, 2011: 35) define proverbs as being "cultural models, giving information about how to behave or which values are upheld in a given culture", property which "is not shared by members of any other classes of conventional figurative units".

Moreover, learning or get acquainted with the proverbs of a language (either native or foreign) can be seen as "una invitación a descubrir la aventura y misterio del idioma a través de sus refranes. Abre la posibilidad de enriquecer la fraseología propia de cada uno y ahondar en el conocimiento del idioma, la mejor y más útil herramienta que ha inventado el hombre" (Carbonell Basset, 2002: 14).

When translating from one language to another, knowing proverbs is very important. A word for word translation pales in comparison to its counterpart. For example, the *mot à mot* translation of the Romanian proverb 'Cine s-a fript cu ciorbă suflă și-n iaurt' is 'He who has burnt himself with broth blows even on the yoghurt'. In this case, it's more appropriate the



use of the English equivalent, namely 'Once bitten, twice shy' which is also shorter and will produce on the reader or hearer of English the same effect that it was supposed to produce the Romanian proverb.

#### 4.6. PROVERBS AND MEDICINE

The range of proverbs' application is pretty wide. Psychologists and psychiatrists use them for the study of thought disorder. They are also employed in tests for schizophrenic people. Various proverb tests have been created for the purpose of psychological testing and proverbs are often included in standardized IQ tests, such as the *Stanford – Binet* and *Wechsler's Test of Adult Intelligence* (Gibbs, 2001: 178).

The *Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-III* (WAIS-III) was developed by Dr. David Wechsler, a clinical psychologist with Bellevue Hospital. The WAIS-III, at present substituted by the WAIS IV<sup>184</sup>, is the 1997 revision of the original test published in 1955. Among the different verbal scales the WAIS-III contained, the one regarding comprehension measured practical judgement, common sense, and the ability to understand and adapt to social customs. The test contained 18 items that required the examinee to explain what should be done in certain circumstances, the meaning of proverbs, why certain societal practices are followed, and so forth.

Captivated by proverbs and conscious of their great importance in the psychological fields, Tiberiu Rudică, Doctor of Psychology at the University "Al. I. Cuza" of Iasi (Romania), and Daniela Costea who has a degree in Psychology at the same university, collected in their work *Psihologia omului în proverbe* ("Human Psychology Within Proverbs") (2004), almost 800 Romanian and international proverbs and proverbial sayings containing psychological aspects of human life. It is also interesting the fact that the authors group the selected proverbs according to antonymous pairs of qualities and defects they refer to, e.g. *modesty - vanity*, *gratitude - ingratitude*, etc.

Due to their same passion for proverbs, Josep-Eladi Baños Díez<sup>185</sup>, Professor of Pharmacology, Department of Experimental and Health Sciences, University Pompeu Fabra, specialist in clinical pharmacology and Doctor in Medicine and Surgery (Autonomous

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<sup>184</sup> For more information about this test, visit <<http://www.pearsonpsychcorp.es/>>.

<sup>185</sup> For more information about the author, see <<http://www.upf.edu/cexs/faculty/facult/banos.html>>.

University of Barcelona), and Elena Guardiola Pereira<sup>186</sup>, also a Doctor in Medicine and Surgery at the same university of Barcelona, published a work entitled *Dolor y refranes. Una introducción a la paremiología algesiología* (2001). In this study, the authors offer a brief view of the Spanish medical paroemiology (2001: 34-37), making reference to some renowned paroemiologists. Thus, according to Baños and Guardiola, the greatest doctor of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the field of paroemiology is Antonio Castillo de Lucas who confessed that his fondness for proverbs began one morning in 1934 when he attended to Francisco Rodríguez Marín. Among Castillo de Lucas' collections of proverbs related to medicine, we mention *Refranes de Medicina* (1936), *Folklore médico religioso* (1943) and *Folkmedicina* (1958).

The above mentioned works represent a sample of doctors' interest in proverbs and prove once more, if needed, the proverbs' versatility regarding their use and importance. Proverbs' fusion with fields they apparently have nothing to do with, such as medicine, can be explained by the following quotation of Antonio Castillo de Lucas (cited in Baños & Guardiola, 2001: 23):

Todos los hombres, tanto los dedicados a la ciencia como los que cultivan la literatura, se consagran al arte, e incluso se dedican a un oficio manual, suelen invadir terrenos de otras disciplinas, no sólo para descansar de sus habituales tareas, haciendo lo que en higiene mental se llama cultivo rotatorio del cerebro, sino por necesidad verdadera para perfeccionar y completar sus estudios y trabajos.

A justification for the study of proverbs, if any is required, may be found in its usefulness for philology, psychology, folklore, the history of manners, and for literary studies, to help to establish a text or to interpret a meaning. "They're<sup>187</sup> everywhere – from Carl Sandburg's poetry to art, psychology, politics, and advertisements for cars and cameras. Proverbs show us something about how we think" (Mieder, quoted in Wolkomir, 1992).

Nowadays proverbs still represent a very useful and effective verbal tool, maybe not such at hand for the youngest generation, but having the same impact on the listener regardless of who utters them. 'A proverb is worth a thousand words' remains a truism no matter what the context proverb is used in. And, as Mieder (1993: XVII) points out, "Proverbs don't always have to be didactic and prescriptive; they can also be full of satire, irony, and humour. As such the thousands of proverbs that make up the stock of proverbial wisdom of all cultures represent not a universally valid but certainly a pragmatically useful treasure".

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<sup>186</sup> Elena Guardiola's CV can be found at

<<http://fpcee.blanquerna.url.edu/condesa/CV/CV%20elena%20guardiola.pdf>>.

<sup>187</sup> They = proverbs

We should also remember that proverbs are a link between us and our ancestors and they will always "connect us with our past, with the thoughts and emotions that our predecessors experienced in situations curiously similar to ours today" (John Simpson, in the *Foreword* of Carbonell Basset's Dictionary, 2005) and, as Baños & Guardiola (2001: 39) say, "El desprecio por los refranes conlleva, al fin y al cabo, la negación de la propia identidad".

## CHAPTER V

### PROVERBS AND THE SEMANTIC RELATIONS OF SYNONYMY AND ANTONYMY

*"What is all wisdom save a collection of platitudes?  
Take fifty of our current proverbial sayings - they  
are so trite, so threadbare that we can hardly  
bring our lips to utter them. Nonetheless, they  
embody the concentrated wisdom of the race,  
and the man who orders his life according  
to their teaching cannot go far wrong".  
(Norman Douglas<sup>188</sup>)*

#### 5.1. PAROEMIOLOGICAL SYNONYMY

As we know, synonymy is a semantic relationship that can be established between words or phrases with exactly or nearly the same meaning. In our case, phrases widely different in wording and having similar meaning are represented by proverbs. Negreanu (1983: 41) refers to the synonymy relationship of proverbs with the syntagm *paroemiological synonymy* (Rom. *sinonimie pareomiologică*). According to him, all the proverbs belonging to the same thematic field (for example "wisdom"), which he calls *ethnofield* (Rom. *etnocâmp*) can be considered synonymous because they gravitate around the same concept of the linguistic field. Ridout and Witting (1969: 17) consider the paroemiological synonymy a result of proverbs' metaphorical application.

Examples: 'Once bitten, twice shy' <=> 'A burnt child dreads the fire'

'A stitch in time saves nine' <=> 'Who repairs not his gutters repairs  
his whole house'

'Barking dogs seldom bite' <=> 'Empty vessels make the most sound'

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<sup>188</sup> Quoted in Ridout and Witting (1969: 19).

'Little strokes fell great oaks' <=> 'Many a little makes a mickle'

'Enough is as good as a feast' <=> 'Moderation in all things'.

Just as words, a proverb can also have more than one synonym, e.g.

'A cock is bold on his own dunghill' <=> 'Every dog is valiant at his own door'

<=> 'Every **dog** is a lion at home'

<=> 'Every **man** is a king in his own house'

Moreover, by their figurative meanings, we can say that, in the previous examples, a synonymy relation is established between the pairs *dog* = *man* and *lion* = *king*. In Romanian language it is seldom used the *man* compared to *dog* metaphor, especially with a negative connotation, and the lion is usually referred to as 'the king of the jungle'.

## 5.2. PAROEMIOLOGICAL ANTONYMY

In a similar way, a semantic relationship of oppositeness can be established between proverbs according to the oppositeness / contradiction in the thematic messages they express. "Hay refranes para todos los gustos, incluso los hay contradictorios" is a relevant observation made by Curiel (2008: 55). In this respect, Pereda Valdés (1998: 103) remarks that proverbs have "a contradiction spirit" (Sp. *espíritu de contradicción*). He also states that "circulan muchos refranes que sin tener un sentido erróneo, son contradictorios, antitéticos entre sí y nos demuestran que lo contrario puede ser también verdad (...)".

Examples: 'Where there's a will there's a way' - 'You can't have your cake and eat it too'; 'Look before you leap' - 'He who hesitates is lost'; 'Fine feathers make fine birds' - 'Clothes do not make the man' / 'The cowl does not make the monk'; 'Al que madruga Dios lo ayuda' - 'No por mucho madrugar amanece más temprano'; 'Barriga llena, corazón contento' - 'Barriga vacía es todo sequía'; 'Quien calla otorga' - 'Quien calla no dice nada' with its variant 'Quien calla a lo que se pidió, dice que no', etc.

Mieder (in Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 286) denominates the antonymous proverbs *anti-proverbs* (Mieder), while Liisa Granbom-Herranen (in Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 286) refers to as "proverbs in a new form", also known with different names: "Anti-Sprichworte" (Mieder),

"proverbs parodies" (Arvo Krikmann from Estonia), "kvasi-proverbs" (Matti Kuusi), "post-proverbs" (Dr. Aderemi Raji-Oyedale from Nigeria)<sup>189</sup>.

James Richardson<sup>190</sup> (*Interglacial: New and Selected Poems & Aphorisms*, 2004<sup>191</sup>) dares to utter that every proverb has an antonym:

It is by now proverbial that every proverb has its opposite. For every *Time is money* there is a *Stop and smell the roses*. When someone says *You never stand in the same river twice* someone else has already replied *There is nothing new under the sun*. In the mind's arithmetic, 1 plus -1 equals 2. Truths are not quantities but scripts: *Become for a moment the mind in which this is true*.

The contradiction of proverbs is usually underlined when two antonymous proverbs are applied to the same concrete context (Gibbs, 2001: 170). For instance, 'Too many cooks spoil the broth' and 'Many hands make light work'. Out of the context, antonymous proverbs are equally true, e.g. 'You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear' versus 'Clothes make the man'. Therefore, as Mieder (1993: 26) says, "Proverbs are context-bound" and

Since proverbs reflect human experiences of all types, they are bound to contradict each other just as life is made up of a multitude of contradictions. Used in a very particular context any proverb will express some short wisdom of sorts that comments or reflects on a given situation, even though the truth of it could be put into question when looked at from a larger philosophical framework.

The same idea of the close relationship of a proverb with the context it applies to seen as a determining factor in order to establish the veracity or falseness of the proverb, is reiterated by Julio Fernández-Sevilla (cited in Hernando Cuadrado, 2010: 128) in the following quote:

De la adecuación de dicha formulación a las circunstancias particulares con las que se relaciona, dimana la *verdad* del refrán. En realidad, los conceptos de *verdad* y *falsedad* no resultan aplicables a los refranes. Así, un mismo refrán puede resultar 'adecuado' a una situación y, en este sentido, 'verdadero', mientras que en otra se considerará inadecuado y, por tanto, 'falso'. Y es que los refranes, por lo común, no expresan verdades metafísicas, sino que reflejan hechos de la realidad y de la experiencia; y estas son multiformes y cambiantes. De ahí que existan parejas de refranes, cada uno de los cuales expresa exactamente lo contrario que el otro, puesto que son el resultado de encontradas perspectivas desde las que se ha enfocado la realidad.

Therefore, we can talk about a *paroemiological antonymy* (Rom. *antonimie pareomiologică* - Negreanu, 1983: 41). This semantic relation can appear between proverbs

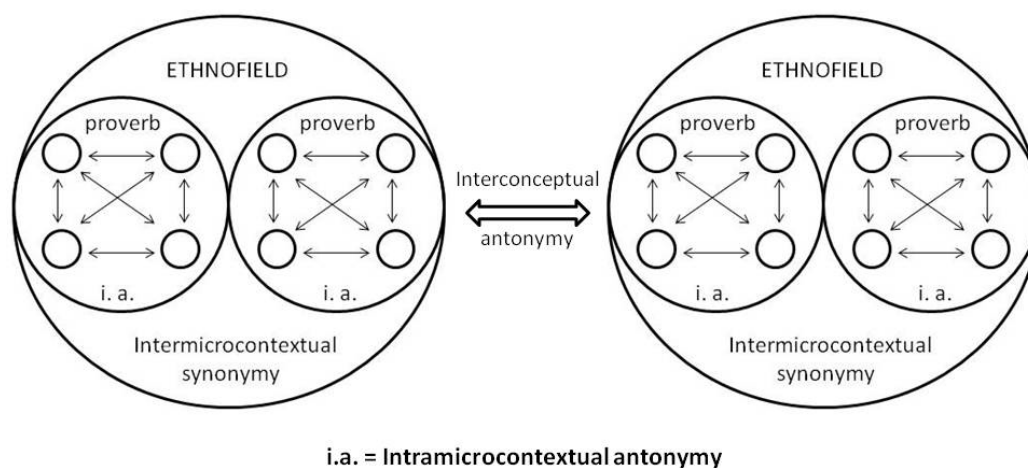
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<sup>189</sup> Quoted by Liisa Granbom-Herranen in Pamies Bertrán (2011: 286).

<sup>190</sup> Professor of English and Creative Writing at Princeton. For more information about him, visit <<https://english.princeton.edu/people/james-richardson>>.

<sup>191</sup> Available from <<http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/tag/proverbs>>.

belonging to different thematic fields. In this case, according to Negreanu (1983: 42) we have to do with an antonymy of the ethnofields, since the oppositeness relationship is established between the concepts. The Romanian author represents these relations with the following diagram:

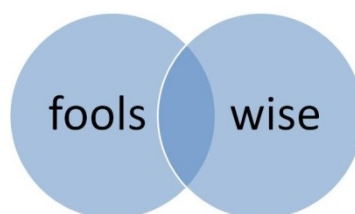


Where the "intramicrocontextual antonymy"<sup>192</sup> (Rom. *antonomie pareomiologică intramicrocontextuală*) is the antonymy found inside a proverb, the "intermicrocontextual synonymy" (Rom. *sinonimie pareomiologică intermicrocontextuală*) is the synonymy established between proverbs belonging to the same ethnofield, and the "interconceptual antonymy" (Rom. *antonomie interconceptuală*) is the oppositeness relation between different ethnofields (Negreanu, 1983: 43).

For example, if we take as our reference points the 'wisdom' and 'foolishness' opposite ethnofields, we can find microcontexts such as *success*, e.g. 'Success makes *a fool* (A) seem *wise* (B)', or *richness*, e.g. 'Riches serve *a wise man* (C), but command *a fool* (D)', in which an intramicrocontextual relation of antonymy is established between the terms A-B and C-D.

When opposite terms related to our ethnofields appear in different proverbs, e.g. 'Two *fools* (E) in one house are too many' and 'He is *wise* (F) that is rich', the antonymous fundamental terms E (noun) and F (adjective) produce (in spite of their different morphological category) an intermicrocontextual paroemiological antonymy which can be represented by the following diagram (Negreanu, 1983: 64):

<sup>192</sup> **Context** is understood as "one or two side by side phrases, closely related by their meaning; a sequence of linguistic elements (...)" (Sirbu, 1977: 219).



The same intermicrocontextual paroemiological antonymy is established between the G and H terms found in the next pair of proverbs: 'No man is *wise* (G) at all times' and 'Every man is *a fool* (H) sometimes and not at all times'. But, at the same time there is a paroemiological synonymy between the two proverbs, based on their conceptual meaning.

As we have seen, there is also an intramicrocontextual antonymy, i.e. an antonymous relation established between words belonging to the structure of the same proverb. The intramicrocontextual antonymy is due to the fact that, as Goshkheteliani (in Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 276) states,

The wisdom of proverbs lies in deep observation of the world which has fixed psychic schemata. It differs from general knowledge by providing a stable image of inner deep opposition of the universe, preserved in the language through centuries, as in archetypes *good/bad, kind/evil*. The proverb is the only verbal form which expresses the cognition that has archetypal opposition as a basis.

Our interest in the intramicrocontextual antonymy can be explained by the fact that, as Sîrbu (1977: 219-220) affirms, antonyms "cannot be perceived only as mere static schemes existing like possible paradigms in the abstract system of language. They cannot be deprived of the syntagmatic dynamics offered by the context". Context which, in our case, is represented by proverbs. Thus, the next part of our study will deal with a contrastive analysis of pairs of antonyms in such contexts, i.e. English proverbs with their equivalents in Spanish and Romanian languages.





**PART THREE**  
**~ ENGLISH PROVERBS**  
**INCLUDING OPPOSITES WITH**  
**THEIR SPANISH AND ROMANIAN**  
**EQUIVALENTS ~**



## ENGLISH PROVERBS INCLUDING OPPOSITES WITH THEIR SPANISH AND ROMANIAN EQUIVALENTS

*"Supuesto que por la lengua pecamos, y que  
por ella hemos de morir, no será mucho que  
dediquemos a este ramo de la literatura  
algunas de nuestras tareas.*

*Bien se deja conocer que la lengua es para  
un hablador lo que el fusil para el soldado;  
con ella se define y con ella mata.*

*Tengamos, pues, prevenidas y en el mejor  
estado posible nuestras armas, y démosle a  
este fin un limpioncito de cuando en cuando".*

(Mariano José de Larra - *El pobrecito hablador*<sup>193</sup>)

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In phraseology opposites appear in a great number of phrases and proverbs, e.g. 'day and night', by 'yea and no' (archaic), 'trough *thick* and *thin*', 'to put *this* and *that* together', 'the *short* and the *long* of it', 'to take for *better* for *worse*', 'from *top* to *bottom*', 'Good *to begin*, better *to end* well', 'Make your *enemy* your *friend*', 'The *buyer* needs a hundred eyes, the *seller* but one', 'If you *love* the boll, you cannot *hate* branches', 'Not so good *to borrow*, as to be able *to lend*', etc.

Various types of oppositeness relations are established not only inside proverbs, but also between proverbs (See Part Two, 5.2.). There are antonymous proverbs such as 'Where there's a will there's a way' versus 'You can't have your cake and eat it too'; 'Look before you leap' versus 'He who hesitates is lost'; 'Too many cooks spoil the broth' versus 'Many hands make light work'; 'You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear' versus 'clothes make the man'; 'The cowl does not make the monk' versus 'Fine feathers make fine birds'; 'Absence makes the heart grow fonder' versus 'Out of sight, out of mind', etc.

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<sup>193</sup> Quoted in Carbonell Basset (2002: 7).

As seen in the first part of this work, there are different types of antonymy. Moroianu (2008: 7) classifies them in five groups:

- **lexical antonymy**, represented by words opposed in meaning;
- **prefixal antonymy**, established mainly between homolexic words prefixed with prefixes opposed in meaning;
- **affixal antonymy**, established between prefixes or suffixes which give birth to antonymous terms, most of them being scientific terms;
- **phraseological antonymy**, established between phraseological units;
- **mixed antonymy**, the lexical-phraseological antonymy, established between words and expressions, usually within the same morphological class.

In this part of our study only the oppositeness relations of antonymous pairs (Jones calls them "idiomatic antonyms"<sup>194</sup>) inside English (with their Spanish and Romanian equivalents) proverbs are analysed and proverbs are grouped according to the types of opposites they include. Dundes (quoted in Colombi, 1989: 37-38) refers to this type of proverbs as (non)-oppositional:

Proverbs which contain a single descriptive element are non-oppositional. "Like father, like son" would be an example of a multi-descriptive element proverb which was non-oppositional; "Man works from sun to sun but woman's work is never done", would be an example of a multi-descriptive element proverbs which is oppositional (man/woman; finite/infinite or endless work). Non-oppositional multi-descriptive element proverbs emphasize identificational features, often in the form of an equation or a series of equal terms; oppositional proverbs emphasize contrastive features, often in the form of negation or a series of terms in complementary distribution. Some proverbs contain both identificational and contrastive features.

## 1.1. CORPUS

Apart from the consulted monolingual dictionaries and collections of proverbs listed in the *Bibliography* first section, the main sources which provide the corpus of this analysis were the following bi/multilingual works. We present them with the related abbreviations used in this part and their corresponding number of proverbs (between brackets, when provided by the author):

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<sup>194</sup> See Part One, Chapter 3.5.8.

- **FLO (3246)**: Flonta, Teodor (2001). *A Dictionary of English and Romance Languages Equivalent Proverbs*. DeProverbio.com.
- **ISC**: Iscla, Luis (1995). *English Proverbs and Their Near Equivalents in Spanish, French, Italian and Latin*. New York: Peter Lang.
- **CAR (700)**: Carbonell Basset, Delfin (2005). *The New Dictionary of Current Sayings and Proverbs, Spanish and English*. Barcelona: Ediciones de Serbal.
- **LEF (2313)**: Lefter, Virgil (2002). *Dicționar de proverbe englez-român și român-englez*. Bucharest: Teora.
- **SEV (1001)**: Sevilla Muñoz, Julia and Jesús Cantera Ortiz de Urbina (2001). *1.001 Refranes españoles con su correspondencia en ocho lenguas (alemán, árabe, francés, inglés, italiano, polaco, provenzal y ruso)*. Madrid: Ediciones Internacionales Universitarias.
- **GHE (364)**: Gheorghe, Gabriel (1986). *Proverbele românești și proverbele lumii romanice*. Bucharest: Albatros.

The starting point was selecting from the FLO dictionary all the English proverbs including opposite words. FLO dictionary represents the main source of our corpus due to these two facts: on the one hand it assembles the biggest number of proverbs of the listed dictionaries and on the other hand it includes equivalent proverbs in five national Romance languages: French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Romanian, thus in the other two languages besides English that make the interest of our work. CAR and LEF dictionaries are bilingual, so we can only see English proverbs with their equivalents in only one of the other two languages we are concerned with. The other dictionaries - ISC, SEV and GHE - are multilingual, but in each of them one of three languages we are interested in is missing: Romanian in ISC and SEV, and English in GHE (which includes only proverbs in Romance languages).

From the 3.246 English proverbs included in the FLO dictionary, 471 proverbs including at least one pair of opposite words were selected (counting 28 proverbs that repeat themselves because they contain more than one pair of opposites). From these 471 English proverbs, 70 were left aside (See 2.7. section) because the opposites they included could not be classified according to the six types of opposites listed below in the *Methodology* section.

When no equivalent Spanish or Romanian proverb was provided by the FLO dictionary, we used the other sources to look for an equivalent. They were also consulted in order to find out variants of one proverb. When this was the case, the source is mentioned between brackets. When no source is provided it means that the proverb is taken from the FLO

dictionary which is specified only when another source appears. The 471 English proverbs with their English variants and their Spanish and Romanian equivalent proverbs make a total of 1.532 analyzed proverbs. If we add the 70 unclassified English proverbs mentioned above, it means that 1.602 proverbs (English, Spanish and Romanian) were included in our study.

## 1.2. METHODOLOGY

The classification of the proverbs is based on the opposites' categorization from a semantic point of view presented in the first part of this work (Chapter 3.4.), since it can be said that it is the most important classification because it makes a direct reference to the oppositeness relations established between lexical units. The other points of view have also been taken into consideration (for instance, when referring to the opposite term involved in the oppositeness relation we cannot ignore its morphological category, if it is prefixed, etc.).

Based on the semantic perspective, the types of opposites according to which English proverbs with their Spanish and Romanian equivalents have been classified are:

1. **antonyms** (pairs of opposites which admit intermediate terms between them), e.g. *big-small, good-bad, rich-poor, long-short, hot-cold, young-old, difficult-easy*, etc.
2. **complementaries** (pairs of opposites between which no intermediate term is admitted), e.g. *male-female, war-peace, alive-dead, single-married, on-off, true-false, possible-impossible*, etc.
3. **directional opposites** (opposites implying a certain axis and a point of orientation), e.g. *up-down, front-back, north-south, above-below, left-right, here-there*, etc.
4. **converses** (opposites implying a reversed relation), e.g. *husband-wife, debtor-creditor, sell-buy, give-take, offer-accept*, etc.
5. **reversives** (opposites denoting movement, change in opposite directions), e.g. *read-write, pack-unpack, dress-undress, enter-exit*, etc.
6. **heteronyms** (opposites involving more than two words), e.g. *Monday-Tuesday-Wednesday, red-green-blue*, etc.

According to these types of opposites English proverbs with their equivalents in Spanish and Romanian languages, have been classified into six main groups, namely:

proverbs including antonyms, proverbs including complementaries, proverbs including directional opposites, proverbs including converses, proverbs including reversives and proverbs including heteronyms. When a proverb contained more than one pair of opposites, it has been included in various groups according to the types of opposites. To avoid misunderstandings, the pair of opposites referred to appears in italics. The reference to the group in which the other pair of opposites is listed is given at the end of the *Comment*, under the head proverb, highlighted with the note '\*See also [Number of the corresponding class], Proverb [Number of the proverb on that class]', e.g.

#### **Proverb 4:**

E: Hope is a *good* breakfast but a *bad* supper. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: We did not find any Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity is accomplished, since the positive opposite term stands before the negative one.

\*See also 2.6.7., Proverb 1.

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Hope is a good *breakfast* but a bad *supper*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: We did not find any Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, Jones' antonym sequence based on chronology is accomplished, since in our real world *breakfast* precedes *supper*.

\*See also 2.1.1., Proverb 4.

As it can be seen before (Part One, Chapter III.4), one and the same pair of words can form opposites of more than one type. For example, *buy-sell* are at the same time converses and directional opposites (many directional opposites, e.g. *above-below*, *left-right* are at the same time converses). That is why a proverb containing a pair like these may appear in two groups. For instance, 'It is easier *to descend* than *to ascend*' has been included both in the group of proverbs containing directionals and in that containing reversives.

The proverbs have been grouped under the opposite concepts implied by the antonymous pairs they contain. For instance, under the opposed concepts *goodness-wickedness*, we can find proverbs including pairs of opposite terms such as *good-bad* but also



*good-evil, God-devil, God-angel*, etc. So each of the six groups has been divided into other groups according to the opposite concepts they involve (see Section 3, tables 4-9).

All the proverbs in this chapter are evidenced as having at one time or place or another "currency among the people" (Mieder, quoted in Strauss, 1998: viii), even if they are not now a familiar part of the English language. This explains why proverbs with antiquated orthography appear in this work, e.g. 'When thou doest alms, let not thy *left* hand know what thy *right* hand doeth'.

According to the methodology previously described, our *modus operandi* consists of the listed below steps. For example, let us take the following group of *paremiae*:

### **Proverb 5:**

E: He is not *wise* who cannot play *the fool*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: It takes a *wise* man to play *the fool*. (ISC) (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Ser *loco* una vez al año, te hará provecho y no daño. (ISC) (S<sub>adj</sub>-0)

S1: Sin tener una venilla de *loco*, el hombre vale poco. (ISC) (S1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English language, the opposite pair is expressed by an adjective and a noun in both variants. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes the negative one. The Spanish variants contain a '0' oppositeness, due to the absence of the second opposite term. S<sub>adj</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub> = E'<sub>noun</sub> = E1'<sub>noun</sub>.

Where 'E' stands for English, '1' for variants of the same proverb, 'S' for Spanish and 'R' for Romanian, 'CRO' for the corresponding relation of oppositeness in the three languages. For the meaning of all the symbols used in Part Three, see the *Legend* table below (section 1.4.).

1) The English proverb is selected from the FLO dictionary. This is the first consulted work of the corpus sources, due to its large number of registered proverbs and also to the fact that both Spanish and Romanian equivalents appear. When no equivalent of one of the two contrastive languages is recorded, this is looked for in the other appropriate works of our corpus sources. If no equivalent is found, this is indicated by a hyphen, as in the case of Romanian in our example. Since the great majority of our selected proverbs is provided by the FLO dictionary, the sources of the proverbs are given between brackets only when they are different from FLO. In the example above, the E proverb is taken from FLO, while E1, S and S1 were found in ISC as specified between brackets.

2) When the English proverb has similar variants, the correspondent variant is included only if it also contains a pair of opposite terms. If not, it is not mentioned. For instance, in our example, the English proverb has the following two variants:

'Absence makes the heart grow fonder' (FLO, ISC) and 'Absence kills a little love, but makes the big ones grow' (ISC). Since no opposite terms are included in the first variant, this is not mentioned.

3) When the Spanish or the Romanian equivalent of the English proverb has one or more variant(s), proverbs in that language are listed as S, S1, S2..., R, R1, R2...

4) The opposite terms referred to are written with *Italics* characters and the antonymous pairs are encrypted with the symbols E-E' (for English), S-S' (for Spanish) and R-R' (for Romanian), followed by the corresponding morphological classes of the opposite terms, e.g. E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub> (in our example).

If more than one pair of opposite terms of the same class appears in the same proverb, terms are encoded as E(a)-E'(a), E(b)-E'(b)... If no pair of opposite terms is included in the Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb, this is marked as '0-0'. If the same antonymic pair appears in one of the equivalents, this correspondence is presented as, for example E <=> S; if not, as E ≠ S or E ≠ [0] (if there is no relation of oppositeness in the Spanish equivalent proverb). When considered appropriate, for instance if another pair of opposite terms appears in the Romanian equivalent proverb, this is literally translated into English as in the example below:

### **Proverb 17:**

E: *The worst hog often gets the best pear.* (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Al más ruin puerco, la mejor bellota.* (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: *Adesea para cea mai bună pică-n gura porcului* (lit. transl 'The best pear often falls into the hog's mouth'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-0)

R1: *Mărul cel frumos îl mănâncă porcii* (lit. transl. 'The beautiful apple is eaten by hogs'). (R1<sub>adj</sub>-0)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: The equality of the opposite relations of E and S is due to the opposite terms' equivalence (all of them being superlative adjectives) and their antonym sequence (the negative term standing before its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory related to positivity). As far as Romanian is concerned, there is a '0' opposite relation in both variants because of the absence of the second opposite terms. We have R<sub>adj</sub> = E'<sub>adj</sub> = S'<sub>adj</sub> and R1<sub>adj</sub> ≠ R<sub>adj</sub>.

If there are no antonymous terms in the Romanian proverb, its original form is preserved and the inexistent antonymic pair is marked between brackets as '0-0'.

5) Each head English proverb (with its Spanish and Romanian equivalents) is accompanied by the *Comment* entry which, as its very name implies, contains certain observations and interpretations. For example, these remarks point out the difference between the morphological categories of the antonymous terms, mention when there is a significant distinction between pairs of opposites of variants of the same proverb, state when no equivalent proverb was found in Spanish or/and Romanian, make reference to the antonym sequence of the opposite terms, underline the similarities/differences between the equivalent proverbs of the same group, provide the common biblical origin of the proverbs, when this is known (in all the respective cases it is taken from FLO), etc. The comments are based on subjects/themes dealt with in Part One and Two of the present work. For example, as far as antonym sequence is concerned, the comments are based on Jones' theory (2002: 120-137), quoted on Part One, Chapter 3.5.A.

6) Each group of equivalent proverbs contains a highlighted formula which encloses the contrastive Corresponding Relation of Oppositeness (hence CRO) in the three languages. In order to avoid misinterpretations of these formulae, several types of brackets have been used, namely square brackets for '0' oppositeness and for non-existing equivalent proverbs, and parentheses to make clear the equality/equivalence of oppositeness relations. For instance, in the following example, the CRO:  $E (\neq S) = R$  formula must be interpreted as 'the relation of oppositeness found in the English proverb is different from the relation of oppositeness existing in the Spanish language, but the relation of oppositeness of the English proverb is equal to the relation of oppositeness in the Romanian language. The curly brackets are used to avoid repetition of the parentheses in order to evade confusion, for example:

### **Proverb 3:**

E: *Short pleasure, long pain.* ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: *Un deleite, mil dolores.* ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

S1: *A placeres breves, dolores nada leves.* ( $S1_{adj}-0$ )

S2: *A placer pasajero, dolores años enteros.* ( $S2_{adj}-0$ )

R: *Plăcerea scurtă, căință lungă* (lit. transl. 'Short pleasure, long repentance'). ( $R_{adj}-R'_{adj}$ )

R1: *După o scurtă plăcere urmează o lungă durere* (lit. transl. 'A short pleasure is followed by a long pain'). ( $R1_{adj}-R1'_{adj}$ )

**CRO:  $E (\neq S) = R$**

Comment: At a first glance it draws our attention that both Spanish and Romanian languages provide more than one equivalent proverb; then the similar non-verb structure of all proverbs, except R1 which contains the verb *a urma* 'to follow' (see the underlined word). The Spanish variants raise several problems, namely:

- the S opposite pair is expressed by the adjectives *un-mil* which are not antonyms, they are heteronyms, though, in this case, they imply the 'little-much' concepts;
- even though  $S1_{adj} = E_{adj}$ , since in S1 the second opposite term is missing, we have a '0' S1 relation of oppositeness;
- a similar situation is found in S2, where  $S2_{adj} \neq E_{adj}$ . A relation of oppositeness is established between  $S2_{adj}$  and the syntagm *años enteros* ( $\Leftrightarrow$  'long time'). Still, there is no similar opposite pair to the E one; hence a '0' S2 relation of oppositeness.

Concluding, our CRO can be represented by the following formula:  **$E \{ \neq S \neq (S1[0] = S2[0]) \} = R = R1$ .**

\*See also 2.1.3., Proverb 16.

7) If the relation of oppositeness in at least one of the variants in one of the two contrastive languages is equal (or equivalent) to the relation of oppositeness from the English head proverb, then the equivalence is considered between languages and not between variants. To be more precise, let us take a look to the example below where the equality of oppositeness is established between the E and R1 proverbs, since the R one contains a '0' relations of oppositeness. That is why the 'R' from our CRO formula refers to the Romanian language and not to the R proverb:

### **Proverb 3:**

E: *A fool* may give a *wise* man counsel. ( $E_{noun} - E'_{adj}$ )

E1: *A fool* may sometimes speak to the purpose. ( $E1_{noun} - 0$ )

S: Muchas veces *el necio* dice un buen consejo. ( $S_{noun} - 0$ )

S1: De un hombre *necio* a veces buen consejo. ( $S1_{adj} - 0$ )

R: Să-ți aduci aminte de cuvintele *nebunului*. ( $R_{noun} - 0$ )

R1: *Cel înțelept* de la *cel nebun* multe află și învață. ( $R1_{noun} - R1'_{noun}$ )

**CRO:  $E (\neq S[0]) = R$**

Comment: It is interesting how most of the English head proverb's equivalents (E1, S, S1 and R) have the same characteristic, namely the absence of the second term of the opposite pair, which makes  $E1 = S = S1 = R = [0]$ . Regarding the R1 Romanian equivalent, an observation needs to be made, that is the inverted antonym sequence compared to the English proverb. Thus,  $E_{noun} = R1'_{noun}$  and  $E'_{adj} = R1_{noun}$ . It is the R1 antonym sequence which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative terms stands after the positive one.

### 1.3. LEGEND

Here is an explanatory chart of all the symbols used in our contrastive analysis:

SYMBOL	MEANING	EXAMPLE	COMMENT
<b>E</b>	English	E: There is no book so bad, but something good may be found in it.	Used in front of the proverb and followed by ':', it refers to the language of that proverb, namely English.
<b>E<sub>PartOfSpeech</sub></b>	The first term of the antonymic pair in the English proverb	E: Nothing so <i>bad</i> in which there is not something of <i>good</i> . (E <sub>adj</sub> -E' <sub>noun</sub> )	It appears between brackets alongside the other opposite term of the marked pair. In this case, E <sub>adj</sub> corresponds to the adjective <i>bad</i> which is the antonym of the noun <i>good</i> .
<b>E'<sub>PartOfSpeech</sub></b>	The second term of the antonymic pair in the English proverb	E: Nothing so <i>bad</i> in which there is not something of <i>good</i> . (E <sub>adj</sub> -E' <sub>noun</sub> )	It appears between brackets after the first opposite term of the marked pair. In this case, E' <sub>noun</sub> corresponds to the noun <i>good</i> which is the antonym of the adjective <i>bad</i> .
<b>E1, E2...</b>	English	E: <i>Absence</i> sharpens love, <i>presence</i> strengthens it. E1: Absence kills a <i>little</i> love, but makes the <i>big</i> ones grow (ISC).	Used in front of the proverb and followed by a number and by ':', it refers to the language of that proverb, namely English, and the variant of the proverb. If there are more than one variants of that proverb, they are listed in an ascending order, with numbers starting 1, 2, ... If the variant of the proverb is taken from other dictionary than FLO (see <i>Corpus</i> above), then the corresponding source is indicated between brackets, in this case '(ISC)'.
<b>E1<sub>PartOfSpeech</sub></b>	The first term of the antonymic pair in the variant of the English proverb	E1: <i>Great</i> boast and <i>small</i> roast make unsavoury mouths. (E1 <sub>adj</sub> -E1' <sub>adj</sub> )	It appears between brackets alongside the other opposite term of the marked pair. In this case, E1 <sub>adj</sub> corresponds to the adjective <i>great</i> which is the antonym of the adjective <i>small</i> .
<b>E1'<sub>PartOfSpeech</sub></b>	The second term of the antonymic pair	E1: <i>Great</i> boast and <i>small</i> roast make unsavoury mouths.	It appears between brackets after the first opposite term of the marked pair. In this case,

	pair in the variant of the English proverb	(E1 <sub>adj</sub> -E1' <sub>adj</sub> )	E1' <sub>adj</sub> corresponds to the adjective <i>small</i> which is the antonym of the adjective <i>great</i> .
<b>S</b>	Spanish	E: Nothing so <i>bad</i> in which there is not something of <i>good</i> . S: No hay cosa tan <i>mala</i> que para algo no sea <i>buena</i> .	Used in front of the proverb and followed by ':', it refers to the language of that proverb, namely Spanish, which is the equivalent of the English proverb.
<b>S<sub>PartOfSpeech</sub></b>	The first term of the antonymic pair in the Spanish proverb	S: No hay cosa tan <i>mala</i> que para algo no sea <i>buena</i> . (S <sub>adj</sub> -S' <sub>adj</sub> )	It appears between brackets alongside the other opposite term of the marked pair. In this case, S <sub>adj</sub> corresponds to the adjective <i>mala</i> which is the antonym of the adjective <i>buena</i> .
<b>S'<sub>PartOfSpeech</sub></b>	The second term of the antonymic pair in the Spanish proverb	S: No hay cosa tan <i>mala</i> que para algo no sea <i>buena</i> . (S <sub>adj</sub> -S' <sub>adj</sub> )	It appears between brackets after the first opposite term of the marked pair. In this case, S' <sub>adj</sub> corresponds to the adjective <i>buena</i> which is the antonym of the adjective <i>mala</i> .
<b>S1, S2...</b>	Spanish	S: Quien aprisa <i>sube</i> aprisa <i>se hunde</i> . S1: A gran <i>subida</i> , gran <i>caída</i> . S2: A gran <i>subida</i> , gran <i>descendida</i> .	Used in front of the proverb and followed by a number and by ':', it refers to the language of that proverb, namely Spanish, and the variant of the proverb. If there are more than one variants of that proverb, they are listed in an ascending order, with numbers starting 1, 2, ... If the variant of the proverb is taken from other dictionary than FLO, then the corresponding source is indicated between brackets.
<b>S1<sub>PartOfSpeech</sub></b>	The first term of the antonymic pair in the variant of the Spanish proverb	S1: A gran <i>subida</i> , gran <i>caída</i> . (S1 <sub>noun</sub> -S1' <sub>noun</sub> )	It appears between brackets alongside the other opposite term of the marked pair. In this case, S1 <sub>noun</sub> corresponds to the noun <i>subida</i> which is the antonym of the noun <i>caída</i> .
<b>S1'<sub>PartOfSpeech</sub></b>	The first term of the antonymic pair in the	S1: A gran <i>subida</i> , gran <i>caída</i> . (S1 <sub>noun</sub> -S1' <sub>noun</sub> )	It appears between brackets alongside the other opposite term of the marked pair. In this case, S1' <sub>noun</sub> corresponds

	variant of the Spanish proverb		to the noun <i>caída</i> which is the antonym of the noun <i>subida</i> .
<b>S1''</b> <sup>PartOfSpeech</sup>	A third opposite term in the variant of the Spanish proverb	E: <i>Mickle</i> head, <i>little</i> wit. (E <sub>adj</sub> -E' <sub>adj</sub> ) S: <i>Cabeza grande</i> , <i>talento chico</i> . (S <sub>adj</sub> -S' <sub>adj</sub> ) S1: <i>Cabeza grande</i> , <i>cerebro flaco</i> . (S1 <sub>adj</sub> -S1' <sub>adj</sub> ) S2: <i>Cabeza grande</i> , <i>poco seso y mucho</i> aire. (S2 <sub>adj</sub> -S2' <sub>adj</sub> -S2'' <sub>adj</sub> )	It appears between brackets alongside the other opposite terms of the marked pair. In this case, S2'' <sub>adj</sub> corresponds to the adjective <i>mucho</i> which is the antonym of the adjective <i>poco</i> .
<b>R</b>	Romanian	E: Nothing so <i>bad</i> in which there is not something of <i>good</i> . R: La tot <i>răul</i> este și un <i>bine</i> .	Used in front of the proverb and followed by ':', it refers to the language of that proverb, namely Romanian, which is the equivalent of the English proverb.
<b>R</b> <sup>PartOfSpeech</sup>	The first term of the antonymic pair in the Romanian proverb	R: La tot <i>răul</i> este și un <i>bine</i> . (R <sub>noun</sub> -R' <sub>noun</sub> )	It appears between brackets alongside the other opposite term of the marked pair. In this case, R <sub>noun</sub> corresponds to the noun <i>răul</i> which is the antonym of the noun <i>bine</i> .
<b>R'</b> <sup>PartOfSpeech</sup>	The second term of the antonymic pair in the Romanian proverb	R: La tot <i>răul</i> este și un <i>bine</i> . (R <sub>noun</sub> -R' <sub>noun</sub> )	It appears between brackets after the first opposite term of the marked pair. In this case, R' <sub>noun</sub> corresponds to the noun <i>bine</i> which is the antonym of the noun <i>răul</i> .
<b>R1, R2...</b>	Romanian	R: Face din <i>țânțar armăsar</i> (lit. trans. 'He changes a mosquito into a stallion'). (R <sub>noun</sub> -R' <sub>noun</sub> ) R1: Face <i>musca</i> cât <i>cămila</i> (lit. trans. 'He makes the fly as big as a camel'). (R1 <sub>noun</sub> -R1' <sub>noun</sub> ) R2: Mincinosul cu de-a sila face <i>musca</i> cât <i>cămila</i> (lit. trans. 'The liar, by force, makes the fly as big as a camel'). (R2 <sub>noun</sub> -R2' <sub>noun</sub> )	Used in front of the proverb and followed by a number and by ':', it refers to the language of that proverb, namely Romanian, and the variant of the proverb. If there are more than one variants of that proverb, they are listed in an ascending order, with numbers starting 1, 2, ... If the variant of the proverb is taken from other dictionary than FLO, then the corresponding source is indicated between brackets.

<b>R1<sub>PartOfSpeech</sub></b>	The first term of the antonymic pair in the variant of the Romanian proverb	E: A <i>little</i> body often harbours a <i>great</i> soul. R: <i>Mic</i> la stat, <i>mare</i> la sfat. R1: Și pitulicea este <i>mică</i> , dar printre păsări e <i>voinică</i> . ( <b>R1<sub>adj</sub>-R1'<sub>adj</sub></b> )	It appears between brackets alongside the other opposite term of the marked pair. In this case, R1 <sub>adj</sub> corresponds to the adjective <i>mică</i> which is the antonym of the adjective <i>voinică</i> .
<b>R1'<sub>PartOfSpeech</sub></b>	The second term of the antonymic pair in the variant of the Romanian proverb	E: A <i>little</i> body often harbours a <i>great</i> soul. R: <i>Mic</i> la stat, <i>mare</i> la sfat. R1: Și pitulicea este <i>mică</i> , dar printre păsări e <i>voinică</i> . ( <b>R1<sub>adj</sub>-R1'<sub>adj</sub></b> )	It appears between brackets alongside the other opposite term of the marked pair. In this case, R1' <sub>adj</sub> corresponds to the adjective <i>voinică</i> which is the antonym of the adjective <i>mică</i> .
<b>0</b>	No opposite term	E: One day of <i>pleasure</i> is worth two of <i>sorrow</i> . (E <sub>noun</sub> -E' <sub>noun</sub> ) S: Una hora de <i>contento</i> paga cien años de <i>tormento</i> . (S <sub>noun</sub> -S' <sub>noun</sub> ) S1: Una hora de <i>contento</i> vale por ciento. ( <b>S1<sub>noun</sub>-0</b> )	It represents the missing opposite term. In this case, we observe that S1 <sub>noun</sub> has no opposite in the S1 proverb. Thus, S1' <sub>noun</sub> = 0.
<b>0-0</b>	No antonymic pair	E: <i>Great</i> boast and <i>small</i> roast. (E <sub>adj</sub> -E' <sub>adj</sub> ) R: Fudulia intră-n casă, sărăcia după ușă. ( <b>0-0</b> ) R1: Cioară mândră și flămândă. ( <b>0-0</b> )	When the proverb (or its variant) contains no pair of opposites, the absence of the antonymic terms encoded in the <b>E/S/R(E1/S1/R1...)</b> <sub>PartOfSpeech</sub> - <b>E'/S'/R'(E1'/S1'/R1'...)</b> <sub>PartOfSpeech</sub> formula have been represented by the '0-0' code.
<b>[-]</b>	No equivalent proverb	E: <i>Great</i> boast and <i>small</i> roast. S: [-] R: Fudulia intră-n casă, sărăcia după ușă.	Used when no equivalent proverb of the English head <i>paremia</i> was found in the language it makes reference to, in this case Spanish.
<b>=</b>	Equal (Totally equivalent) to	E: Nothing so <i>bad</i> in which there is not something of <i>good</i> . (E <sub>adj</sub> -E' <sub>noun</sub> ) E1: Nothing but is <i>good</i> for something. (E <sub>adj</sub> -0) S: No hay cosa tan <i>mala</i> que para algo no	When not only the same relation of oppositeness found in the English proverb appears in its equivalent Spanish or Romanian proverb, moreover, the terms of antonymic pairs are also equivalent, lexically speaking (even though they do not



		<p>sea <i>buena</i>. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)  S1: No hay <i>mal</i> sin <i>bien</i>, cata para quien. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)  R: La tot <i>răul</i> este și un <i>bine</i>. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)  CRO: <b>E = S = R</b></p>	<p>have the same morphological class). When a proverb and its equivalent in one of the other two contrastive languages contains no antonymic pair, this has been represented as, for example, S[0] = R[0].</p>
≈	Almost equal to	<p>E: One day of <i>pleasure</i> is worth two of <i>sorrow</i>. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)  S: Una hora de <i>contento</i> paga cien años de <i>tormento</i>. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)  S1: Una hora de <i>contento</i> vale por ciento. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-0)  S2: Más vale ponerse una vez colorado que ciento amarillo. (0-0)  R: [-]  CRO: <b>E ≈ S ≠ R[-]</b></p>	<p>When the relation of oppositeness in one language is almost totally equivalent to the relation of oppositeness in the other language. For instance, in our example, the same relation of antonymy is established both in the English and the Romanian proverb, but the opposite terms of the corresponding pairs are not equal, since S<sub>noun</sub> = E<sub>noun</sub>, but S'<sub>noun</sub> ≠ E'<sub>noun</sub>.</p>
⇔	Equivalent to	<p>E: He that corrects not <i>small</i> faults will not control <i>great</i> ones. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)  S: Quien no castiga <i>culito</i>, no castiga <i>culazo</i>. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)  R: [-]  CRO: <b>E ⇔ S ≠ R[-]</b></p>	<p>When the same relation of oppositeness found in the English proverb appears in its equivalent Spanish and/or Romanian proverb, but the terms are not totally equal.</p>
≠	Different from	<p>E: <i>Great</i> boast and <i>small</i> roast. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)  E1: <i>Great</i> boast and <i>small</i> roast make unsavoury mouths. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)  S: [-]  R: Fudulia intră-n casă, sărăcia după ușă. (0-0)  R1: Cioară mândră și flămândă. (0-0)  CRO: <b>E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]</b></p>	<p>When the relation of oppositeness in one language is different from the (non)existing or the [0] relation of oppositeness in the other language(s).</p>
⊃	Includes	<p>E: <i>Great</i> boast and <i>small</i> roast. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)  E1: <i>Great</i> boast and <i>small</i> roast make unsavoury mouths.</p>	<p>When one proverb includes another one (or a part of another). In this case, E1 includes E.</p>

		<p>(E<sub>adj</sub>-E<sub>1'</sub><sub>adj</sub>)  S: [-]  R: Fudulia intră-n casă, sărăcia după ușă.  (0-0)  R1: Cioară mândră și flămândă. (0-0)  CRO: <math>E \neq S[-] \neq R[0]</math>  <u>Comment:</u> As it can be seen, neither of the two Romanian equivalent proverbs contains a pair of opposites and no equivalent Spanish proverb has been found in the sources of our corpus. E and E1 contain the same opposite pair, thus <math>E = E1</math>. Moreover <math>E1 \supset E</math> as structure. Regarding the antonym sequence, it sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term stands before its opposite.</p>	
<b>CRO</b>	Corresponding relation of oppositeness	<p>E: Nothing so <i>bad</i> in which there is not something of <i>good</i>.  (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)  E1: Nothing but is <i>good</i> for something.  (E<sub>adj</sub>-0)  S: No hay cosa tan <i>mala</i> que para algo no sea <i>buena</i>. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)  S1: No hay <i>mal</i> sin <i>bien</i>, cata para quien.  (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)  R: La tot <i>răul</i> este și un <i>bine</i>. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)  <b>CRO:</b> <math>E = S = R</math></p>	<p>After the analysis of each English proverb and its equivalents in Spanish and Romanian, the corresponding relation of the oppositeness relationships found in the three languages is presented by a conclusive formula, using the symbols described above.</p>
(...)	To pay attention to the relations of the CRO	<b>CRO:</b> $E (\neq S[-]) = R$	<p>When the CRO formula can be wrongly interpreted, parentheses are use to help the reader to clearly decode the distinctions/equivalences</p>

			of the oppositeness relations. In our example, one must decipher the following message: The relation of oppositeness found in the English proverb is not equivalent (is different) from the relation of oppositeness found in the Spanish proverb, but it (the oppositeness of E) is equal to the relation of oppositeness found in the Romanian proverb (see also 1.4.6 above).
{...}	To pay attention to the relations of the CRO	<p>E: <i>Short</i> pleasure, <i>long</i> pain. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)</p> <p>S: <i>Un</i> deleite, <i>mil</i> dolores. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)</p> <p>S1: A <i>placeres breves</i>, dolores <i>nada</i> leves. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-0)</p> <p>S2: A <i>placer pasajero</i>, dolores <i>años enteros</i>. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-0)</p> <p>R: <i>Plăcerea scurtă</i>, <i>căință lungă</i> (lit. transl. 'Short pleasure, long repentance'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)</p> <p>R1: După o <i>scurtă</i> plăcere urmează o <i>lungă</i> durere (lit. transl. 'A short pleasure is followed by a long pain'). (R1<sub>adj</sub>-R1'<sub>adj</sub>)</p> <p>CRO: E (≠ S) = R</p> <p>Concluding, our CRO can be represented by the following formula:  <b>E {≠ S ≠ (S1[0] = S2[0])} = R = R1.</b></p>	Used also to clarify the equality/equivalence of the relations of oppositeness, in order to avoid repetition of parentheses and to evade misinterpreting the CRO formula (see also 1.4.6 above).
<b>adj</b>	Adjective	E: <i>Great</i> boast and <i>small</i> roast. (E <sub>adj</sub> -E' <sub>adj</sub> )	Abbreviation of 'adjective' when referring to the part of speech of a term of the pair of opposites.
<b>adv</b>	Adverb	E: <i>Hasty</i> <i>climbers</i> have sudden <i>falls</i> . (E <sub>noun</sub> -E' <sub>noun</sub> ) R: Cine <i>sare</i> cam <u>sus</u>	Abbreviation of 'adverb' when referring to the part of speech of a term of the pair of opposites.

		<p>îndată <u>cade jos</u> (lit. transl. 'He who jumps pretty up falls down immediately').  (R(a)<sub>verb</sub>-R(a')<sub>verb</sub>;  R(b)<sub>adv</sub>-R(b')<sub>adv</sub>)</p>	
<b>prep</b>	Preposition(al)	<p>E: <i>The nearer</i> the church, <i>the farther</i> from God. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)  S: <i>Cerca de</i> la iglesia, <i>lejos de</i> Dios.  (S<sub>PrepPhrase</sub>-S'<sub>PrepPhrase</sub>)</p>	Abbreviation of 'preposition(al)' when referring to the part of speech of a term of the pair of opposites. In our example it means 'prepositional (phrase)'.
<b>(a), (b)</b>	Pair (a) and pair (b) found in the same proverb.	<p>E: <u>Children</u> when (they are) <i>little</i> make <u>parents</u> fools, when (they are) <i>great</i> (they make them) mad.  (E(a)<sub>adj</sub>-E(a')<sub>adj</sub>,  E(b)<sub>noun</sub>-E(b')<sub>noun</sub>)  S: Hijos <i>chicos</i>, <u>chicos</u> dolorcillos, <u>hijos mayores</u>, <u>grandes</u> dolores. (S(a)<sub>adj</sub>-S(a')<sub>adj</sub>, S(b)<sub>adj</sub>-S(b')<sub>adj</sub>)  R: Copii <i>mici</i>, griji <u>mici</u>, copii <i>mari</i>, griji <u>mari</u>. (R(a)<sub>adj</sub>-R(a')<sub>adj</sub>, R(b)<sub>adj</sub>-R(b')<sub>adj</sub>)</p>	When a proverb contains more than one pair of opposites, the terms of the same pair are listed with the same letter and marked with the same characters. For example the pair <i>little-great</i> is written with Italics letters and represented as E(a) <sub>adj</sub> -E(a') <sub>adj</sub> , while the terms of the pair <i>children-parents</i> are underlined and referred to as E(b) <sub>noun</sub> -E(b') <sub>noun</sub> .
*	The proverb is repeated.	<p>E: Hope is a <i>good</i> breakfast but a <i>bad</i> supper. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)  S: [-]  R: [-]  <b>CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])</b>  <u>Comment:</u> We did not find any Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity is accomplished, since the positive opposite term stands before the negative one.  *See also 2.6.7., <b>Proverb 1.</b></p>	When a proverb contains more than one pair of opposites connected by different relations of oppositeness, the proverb is recorded twice/three times, in the corresponding groups. The other(s) entry(ies) of the same proverb is referred to after the comment, as in the given example.

## 2. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

### 2.1. PROVERBS INCLUDING ANTONYMS

This seems to be the most productive category, the majority of the antonyms being adjectives. Among these, the *good-bad* pair of overlapping antonyms is the most frequent in the English proverbs.

#### 2.1.1. Goodness-wickedness

##### **Proverb 1:**

E: There is no book so *bad*, but something *good* may be found in it. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: No hay libro tan *malo* que no tenga algo *bueno*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Libros y sujetos, por *malos* que sean, tienen algo de *bueno*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: There is a slight difference in the number of the terms (S<sub>adj</sub>)<sup>singular</sup> and (S1<sub>adj</sub>)<sup>plural</sup>. The antonym sequence regarding positivity is preserved in E, S and S1, the negative term preceding the positive one. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

##### **Proverb 2:**

E: Better a *good* fiend than a *bad* friend. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen no Spanish and Romanian equivalent proverbs were found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, an observation is worth mentioning, namely that the association of the opposite adjectives with the nouns they determine give birth to oxymora. Because it is undoubtedly contradictory that a *fiend* ("a person who is extremely wicked, especially in being very cruel or brutal"<sup>195</sup>) could be *good* and a *friend* ("a person known well to another and regarded with liking, affection, and loyalty"<sup>196</sup>) could be *bad*. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands after its opposite.

##### **Proverb 3:**

E: Fire and water are *good* servants, but *bad* masters. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: El fuego y el agua son *buenos* servidores, mas *ruines* amos. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: El agua y el fuego son *buenos* servidores, pero *malos* amos. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

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<sup>195</sup> Available from <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/fiend>>.

<sup>196</sup> Available from <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/friend>>.

### **CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: There is equality between the relation of oppositeness of the English and the Spanish proverbs. S and S1 are almost equal because of the S' and S1' terms, namely  $S \approx S1$  due to  $(S'_{adj} \Leftrightarrow S1'_{adj}) = E'_{adj}$  while  $S_{adj} = S1_{adj}$ . The antonym sequence, namely the positive term stands before the negative one, is preserved in both languages and accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.4.5., Proverb 1 and 2.6.2., Proverb 1.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: Hope is a *good* breakfast but a *bad* supper. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

### **CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: We did not find any Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity is accomplished, since the positive opposite term stands before the negative one.

\*See also 2.6.7., Proverb 1.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: A *good* lawyer, a *bad* neighbour. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

E1: A *good* lawyer makes an *evil* neighbour. ( $E1_{adj}-E1'_{adj}$ )

S: *Buen* abogado, *mal* vecino. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

R: [-]

### **CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: Both E and S proverbs have the same 'no verb' structure, which does not happen in E1. All opposite terms are adjectives. We find the same antonym sequence in the three proverbs, the positive term standing before its opposite, which concurs with Jones' theory based on positivity. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: *Good* for the liver may be *bad* for the spleen. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: Lo que es *bueno* para el hígado, *enferma* el bazo. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{verb}$ )

S1: Con lo que *sana* el hígado, *enferma* el bazo. ( $S1_{verb}-S1'_{verb}$ )

S2: Con lo que Pedro *sana*, Domingo *adolece*. ( $S2_{verb}-S2'_{verb}$ )

S3: Con lo que Juan *adolece*, Sancho y Domingo *sanar*. ( $S3_{verb}-S3'_{verb}$ )

R: [-]

### **CRO: E ≈ S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: Only one term of the E opposite pair of adjectives is found in the Spanish equivalents, i.e.  $S_{adj} = E_{adj}$ , the rest of the Spanish opposite terms being verbs. We consider the  $S'_{verb}$  as the opposite of  $S_{adj}$  taking into consideration that *enfermar* implies *malo* (according to RAE, *malo* also means "enfermo (que padece enfermedad)"<sup>197</sup>, although this is not a pure antonym relation. Regarding S1, S2, S3, they contain pairs of reversible verbs, so the relation of oppositeness in this case is different from the one of the English proverb. Related to the Spanish variants, the following relations can be established:  $(S'_{verb} = S1'_{verb}) \Leftrightarrow (S2'_{verb} =$

<sup>197</sup> Available from <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=malo>>.

S3<sub>verb</sub>); S1<sub>verb</sub> = S2<sub>verb</sub> = S3'<sub>verb</sub>. The complete CRO may be represented as  $E \approx S \neq (S1 = S2 = S3) \neq R[-]$ . As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, Jones' theory based on positivity is accomplished in all proverbs except S3, the positive term standing before its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: He that cannot abide a *bad* market deserves not a *good* one. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Negustorul trebuie să aibă un pântec larg ca să treacă prin el și *bune* și *rele*. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E ( $\neq$  S[-]) = R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness of the English and Romanian proverbs are equal. There are some differences though, namely: the morphological class of the opposite terms (being adjectives in E and plural nouns in R), and the antonym sequence, which is reversed in R, where the positive term precedes its opposite, accomplishing thus Jones' theory based on positivity. We also note that the structures of the opposite pairs are distinct, being 'X (...) not Y' in E, and 'both X and Y' (*și X și Y*) in R.

No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 8:**

E: Money is a *good* servant, but a *bad* master. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: El dinero es *bueno* para siervo; pero *malo* para dueño. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: El dinero es *buen* servidor, pero como amo, no lo hay *peor*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S  $\neq$  R[-]**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, two Spanish variants were provided by the same sources. There are equal relations of oppositeness in E and S. We find the same adjectives as opposite terms, and also the same antonym sequence, the positive term standing before its opposite, which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity. The S1 variant has a peculiarity, namely the oppositeness is established between the same adjectives *bueno* and *malo*, but the second opposite term has a different degree of comparison from the rest of its counterparts, having the comparative of superiority form, i.e. *peor*.

\*See also 2.4.5., Proverb 4.

### **Proverb 9:**

E: Praise makes *good* men better, and *bad* men worse. (E(a)<sub>adj</sub>-E(a')<sub>adj</sub>; E(b)<sub>adj</sub>-E(b')<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E  $\neq$  (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, it is noticeable the fact that the same antonymic terms form two pairs of opposites, different in their degree of comparison, namely: (a) pair (*good-bad*)<sup>Positive</sup> and (b) pair (*better-worse*)<sup>Comparative of Superiority</sup>. Both pairs sustain Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

**Proverb 10:**

E: A *good* salad may be the prologue to a *bad* supper. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English head proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by adjectives, their order being in concordance with Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity, since the positive term stands before the negative one.

**Proverb 11:**

E: Truth has a *good* face, but *bad* clothes. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposites are adjectives. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before the negative one.

**Proverb 12:**

E: A *bad* custom is like a *good* cake, better broken than kept. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: We did not find any Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity is contradicted, since the negative opposite term stands before the positive one.

**Proverb 13:**

E: Four *good* mothers have four *bad* daughters: truth, hatred; prosperity, pride; security, peril; familiarity, contempt. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, we did not find any Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity is sustained, since the negative opposite term stands after the positive one. We also note the extended length of our head proverb.

**Proverb 14:**

E: Chastise *the good* and he will mend; chastise *the bad* and he will grow worse. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Con el castigo, *el bueno* se hace mejor y *el malo* se hace peor. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Castiga *al bueno* y mejorará; castiga *al malo* y empeorará. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>).

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**



**Comment:** The total equivalence in the case of E and S is obvious. Not only the E, S and S1 antonymic pairs are expressed by coordinated nouns, and the positive term precedes the negative one, but all the opposite nouns have definite articles. The only difference lies in the case of S and S1, where the syntactic function of the terms varies. Thus, S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub> are subjects, while S1-S1' are direct objects. Both E and S (also S1) contain two pairs of opposites each. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands after its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.4.12., Proverb 1.

### **Proverb 15:**

E: Pardoning *the bad* is injuring *the good*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: Who pardons *the bad*, injures *the good*. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Quien perdona *al malo*, *al bueno* hace agravio. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Ofensa hace *a los buenos* el que *a los malos* perdona. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Când cei *răi* nu se pedepsesc, cei *buni* se năpăstuiesc. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** We have equal relations of oppositeness in our three languages. All the opposite terms are nouns, with singular forms in E, E1, S, and plural forms in S1 and R. Except S1, the antonym sequence is equal in all the proverbs, the negative term standing before its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity.

### **Proverb 16:**

E: Nothing so *bad* in which there is not something of *good*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: Nothing but is *good* for something. (E<sub>adj</sub>-0)

S: No hay cosa tan *mala* que para algo no sea *buena*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: No hay *mal* sin *bien*, cata para quien. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: La tot *răul* este și un *bine*. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** In E1, only the first term of the antonymic pair is present, which is the same as its E'<sub>noun</sub> counterpart in E, with a slight difference regarding the morphological value: E<sub>adj</sub> = E'<sub>noun</sub>. The Romanian pair is formed by nouns as well as the S1 pair, while the E pair combines S and R, being formed by an adjective and a noun. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands before its opposite.

The same relation of oppositeness is established:

-between the comparative forms of the adjectives *good-bad* (see also Proverb 9 above) and between the superlative forms of these adjectives:

### **Proverb 17:**

E: *The worst* hog often gets *the best* pear. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Al *más ruin* puerco, *la mejor* bellota. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Adesea para cea *mai bună* pică-n gura porcului (lit. transl 'The best pear often falls into the hog's mouth'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-0)

R1: Mărul cel *frumos* îl mănâncă porcii (lit. transl. 'The beautiful apple is eaten by hogs'). (R1<sub>adj</sub>-0)

**CRO: E = S  $\neq$  R[0]**

Comment: The equality of the opposite relations of E and S is due to the opposite terms' equivalence (all of them being superlative adjectives) and their antonym sequence (the negative term standing before its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory related to positivity). As far as Romanian is concerned, there is a '0' opposite relation in both variants because of the absence of the second opposite terms. We have  $R_{adj} = E'_{adj} = S'_{adj}$  and  $R1_{adj} \neq R_{adj}$ .

**Proverb 18:**

E: Hope for *the best* and prepare for *the worst*. ( $E_{noun}-E'_{noun}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E  $\neq$  (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: We found no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, we observe the antonym sequence proposed by Jones according to positivity since the positive term stands before its opposite.

The *goodness-wickedness* relation of oppositeness is also expressed by:

- the opposite pair *great-bad*, *great* being, in this case, synonym of *good*:

**Proverb 19:**

E: A *great* lord is a *bad* neighbour. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: Peligrosa es la vecindad de los poderosos. (0-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E  $\neq$  S[0]  $\neq$  R[-]**

Comment: In this case, no equivalent Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus and the Spanish equivalent contains no pair of opposites. As to the English proverb, both opposite terms are adjectives. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands after the positive one.

- the pair of nouns *good-evil* in:

**Proverb 20:**

E: Bear with *evil* and expect *good*. ( $E_{noun}-E'_{noun}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E  $\neq$  (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: The sources of our corpus provided no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs. In the English head *paremia* we notice that the positivity antonym sequence proposed by Jones is inverted, namely the negative term precedes its opposite.

**Proverb 21:**

E: Better *good* afar off than *evil* at hand. ( $E_{noun}-E'_{noun}$ )

S: Más vale *bien* de lejos que *mal* de cerca. ( $S_{noun}-S'_{noun}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: Both English and Spanish proverbs accomplish Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity, according to which the positive term precedes its opposite. All opposite terms are singular nouns. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 22:**

E: He knows best what *good* is that has endured *evil*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: No man better knows what *good* is that he who has endured *evil*. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Quien no sabe de *mal*, no sabe de *bien*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Sólo sabe de *dulzura* quien conoce la *amargura*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: Quien no probó la *hiel*, no sabe estimar la *miel*. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: Analysing our proverbs, the following corresponding relations are established: (E = E1 = S) <=> S1 <=> S2, with some remarks: the antonym sequence in S and S2 is inverted, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity, namely in these cases, the negative term precedes its opposite. All the opposite terms are singular nouns. The opposite terms in S1, *dulzura-amargura*, are metaphorically used with the meanings *good-bad*, and they are implied by the impure opposites<sup>198</sup> *miel-hiel*. Hence the synonymous relations of oppositeness in S, S1 and S2, all terms being antonyms. As far as the Romanian language is concerned, no equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 23:**

E: He that hopes not for *good*, fears not *evil*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: The sources of our corpus provided no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb. In the English *paremia* we notice that the positivity antonym sequence proposed by Jones is accomplished, namely the positive term precedes its opposite.

- the pair of adjectives *good-evil* in:

### **Proverb 24:**

E: *Evil* communications corrupt *good* manners. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Las *malas* conversaciones corrompen las *buenas* costumbres. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Adunările cele *rele* strică deprinderile cele *bune*. (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

R1: Exemplele *rele* strică moravurile *bune*. (R1<sub>adj</sub>-R1'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The equal relation of oppositeness found in the three languages is due to the common biblical origin of the proverbs, namely *I Corinthians*, 15: 23, and also to the fact that all opposite terms are adjectives with the same antonym sequence (the negative term

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<sup>198</sup> Martínez Marín (1996: 52) refers to this type of opposites with the syntagm "antónimos de la situación", defined as those "determinados por situaciones de habla particulares, o que las situaciones particulares de comunicación representan como antónimos: *dar gato por liebre, ser uña y carne* (...)".

preceding the positive one). Because of this, the antonym order contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity.

**Proverb 25:**

E: *Good* land: *evil* way. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: *Bună* țară, *rea* tocmeală. (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: The relation of oppositeness of the English proverb is equal to the one of its Romanian equivalent. All opposite terms are singular form adjectives and the antonym sequence is the same in both languages, namely the positive term precedes its opposite, which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity. No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

**Proverb 26:**

E: Of *evil* manners spring *good* laws. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: De *malas* costumbres nacen *buenas* leyes. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Las *buenas* leyes son hijas de las *malas* costumbres. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: What draws our attention is the reversed antonym sequence of S1 compared to its E and S equivalents. It is this variant which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since in the other two proverbs the negative term precedes its opposite. Except this difference, the relations of oppositeness in the three proverbs are equal. Thus E = S = S1; E<sub>adj</sub> = S<sub>adj</sub> = S1'<sub>adj</sub> and E'<sub>adj</sub> = S'<sub>adj</sub> = S1<sub>adj</sub>. We also note that all the Spanish opposite terms have the same form, being feminine plural adjectives. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

**Proverb 27:**

E: A *good* tree cannot bring forth *evil* fruits. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: No puede el *buen* árbol llevar *malos* frutos. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Nu poate *pom* *bun* să facă *roade* rele. (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: Like most of the cases of proverbs with common biblical origin (here, *Matthew*, 7: 18), this group is also characterized by equality of the three relations of oppositeness. This equality relies on: the identical opposite terms, all of them being adjectives with equivalent determiners (see the underlined nouns); the same antonym sequence, in concordance with Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

The same *goodness-wickedness* opposition is encapsulated by the following antonymous pairs:

- *good-ill* as adjectives in:

### **Proverb 28:**

E: *Ill* luck is *good* for something. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: No hay *mal* que por *bien* no venga. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Și *răul* câteodată prinde *bine* la ceva. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

R1: Și *nenorocirea* îi câteodată *bună*. (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The only opposite term different from the rest is R1<sub>noun</sub> (*nenorocire* 'misfortune') which, in this case, is synonymous with its counterparts. In spite of the distinct morphological classes of the opposite terms, the relations of oppositeness are equal: E = S = R <=> R1. The antonym sequence is the same in all proverbs, the negative term preceding its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity.

### **Proverb 29:**

E: *Good* words and *ill* deeds deceive wise and fools. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Buenas* palabras y *ruines* hechos, engañan sabios y necios. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R [-]**

Comment: The equality symbol stands between the relations of oppositeness existing in the English and the Spanish proverbs. At the same time no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. All the opposite terms are adjectives and their order is the same in both proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite.

\*See also 2.1.4., Proverb 20.

### **Proverb 30:**

E: *Good* words anoint us, and *ill* do unjoint us. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Cuvântul *bun* unge și cel *rău* împunge. (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S [-]) = R**

Comment: In this case it is the Romanian equivalent proverb that is equal to the English one as far as the relation of oppositeness is concerned; while no Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The opposite terms are all adjectives. The antonym sequence is the same in both proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite.

- *good-ill* as nouns in:

### **Proverb 31:**

E: So great is *the ill* that does not hurt me as is *the good* that does not help me. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S [-] = R [-])**

Comment: We found no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, we observe that the antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands after its opposite.

- *good-ill* as noun and adjective in:

**Proverb 32:**

E: It is an *ill* wind that blows nobody *good*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: Never an *ill* wind blows but that it doesn't do someone some *good*. (ISC) (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: No hay *mal* que por *bien* no venga. (ISC) (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Hay *males* que no son *males*, sino *bienes* especiales. (ISC) (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While Flonta provides no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb, in Luis Iscla we find two Spanish variants and also an English equivalent of our head proverb. The relations of oppositeness established in English and Spanish are equal. Thus E = E1 = S = S1. There are some differences though, namely:

- E<sub>adj</sub> and E1<sub>adj</sub> are adjectives, while the other opposites are all nouns;
- the S opposite terms are singular nouns, while the S1 ones are plural nouns. The S1<sub>noun</sub> term appears twice in the same proverb (see the underlined word).

Regarding the antonym sequence, it is the same in the four proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands after its opposite.

- the pairs of nouns *God-devil*, *angel-devil/beast*, *saint-devil*, (*God*, *angel*, *saint* being the representation of *goodness*, while *devil*, *beast* that of maleficence):

**Proverb 33:**

E: Where *God* has his church, *the devil* will have his chapel. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Donde *Dios* tiene su iglesia *el diablo* tiene su capilla. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The equality of the relations of oppositeness found in the English proverb and its Spanish equivalent is based on the sameness of the opposite terms (same meanings, same forms - singular nouns, proper the first terms, common and with definite articles, the second ones) and on the identical antonym sequence which accomplishes Jones' theory related to positivity, since the negative term stands after its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was provided by the sources of our corpus.

**Proverb 34:**

E: There are *God's* poor and *the devil's* poor. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no equivalent Spanish or Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by nouns, the E<sub>noun</sub> being a proper noun, while the E'<sub>noun</sub> is a common noun. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since it is the positive term that stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 35:**

E: The father *a saint*, the son *a devil*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: De padre *santo*, hijo *diablo*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: We can easily notice that the English and Spanish proverbs have the same structure, both lack the verb. The opposite terms differ in their morphological class, being nouns in E and adjectives derived from nouns in S. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since it is the positive term that stands before its opposite in both of our proverbs.

### **Proverb 36:**

E: Young *saint*, old *devil*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: De joven *ángel*, viejo *diablo*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The equality between the relations of oppositeness found in the English and Spanish proverbs is complete: both pairs of opposites are expressed by equal in meaning nouns determined by the same adjectives. The antonym sequence is identical in both proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite. As already seen, the third element on which the equality is based on is the undistinguishable structure of both proverbs, characterized by the verb omission. The last similarity lies on the fact that each proverb contains two pairs of opposites. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.1.5., Proverb 9.

### **Proverb 37:**

E: A physician is *an angel* when employed, but *a devil* when one must pay him. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: In this case, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, it draws our attention its length and we also note that the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite. Both antonymic terms are singular nouns preceded by the indefinite article *a(n)*.

### **Proverb 38:**

E: Women are *saints* in church, *angels* in the street, *devils* in the kitchen, and apes in bed.  
(E(a)<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>; E(b)<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Algunas son *ángeles* en el templo y en la casa, *diablos* sueltos. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: We observe that in the English proverb we find two pairs of opposites, namely (a): *saints-devils* and (b): *angels-devils*, sharing the same term, i.e. E'<sub>noun</sub> (*devils*). This does not happen in the Spanish proverb where we have only an opposite pair, which is equal to the (b) English pair. All opposites are plural common nouns. The antonym sequence is the same in

both proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 39:**

E: A solitary man is either *a beast* or *an angel*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: Man alone is either *a saint* or *a devil*. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Hombre solitario, o *santo* o *diablo*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: El hombre solo, o es de *Dios*, o es del *demonio*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is counterweighted by the existence of two variants for both English and Spanish. In our case, the equality of oppositeness is established between the E1 and S proverbs. The other pairs of opposites, namely E and S1, are expressed by different terms, but implying the same *goodness-wickedness* concepts. We observe that all the opposites are common nouns, except S1<sub>noun</sub> (*Dios*) which is a proper noun. Another important similarity is the identical 'either X or Y / o X o Y' structures of the antonymic pairs. Except for E, the other proverbs have the same antonym sequence, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

- the pair of adjectives *good-sorry* in:

### **Proverb 40:**

E: Who marries for love without money, has *good* nights and *sorry* days. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Quien casa por amor, *malos* días y *buenas* noches. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The equality of the relations of oppositeness from the English and the Spanish proverbs is 'shadowed' by the reversed antonym sequence. Both opposite pairs are expressed by plural adjectives, only the order differs. Thus E<sub>adj</sub> = S'<sub>adj</sub> and E'<sub>adj</sub> = S<sub>adj</sub>. The antonym order of the English proverb sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.2.3., Proverb 5.

- the opposite adverbs *well-ill*:

### **Proverb 41:**

E: He that sits *well*, thinks *ill*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. With reference to the English proverb, we observe that the opposite pair is expressed by two adverbs. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite.



- the pairs of verb phrases *to do well-to do ill*:

### **Proverb 42:**

E: It costs more *to do ill* than *to do well*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Más cuesta *mal hacer* que *bien hacer*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Más cuesta *el obrar mal* que *el bien obrar*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: All the opposite terms are phrasal verbs and forming noun locutions. The opposite terms in E and S are all Infinitive verbs. The phrasal verbs in S1 have the value of a noun. The antonym sequence of positivity is preserved in both languages, the negative term preceding the positive one, contradicting thus Jones' theory based on positivity. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

- in this group we also include the Past Participles of the opposite verb *to heal-to hurt*, though these verbs can be considered reversives as well:

### **Proverb 43:**

E: A man is not so soon *healed* as *hurt*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Más fácil es *hacer la llaga* que *sanarla*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Boala *intră* cu carul și *iese* pe urechea acului (lit. transl. 'Illness comes in by wagon and goes out through the eye of a needle'). (LEF) (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Boala *intră* ca prin roata carului și *iese* ca prin urechea acului (lit. transl. 'Illness comes in through the wheel of a wagon and goes out through the eye of a needle'). (LEF) (R1<sub>verb</sub>-R1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R2: Nenorocirile *vin iute* și *pleacă greu* (lit. transl. 'Misfortune comes quickly and goes slowly'). (LEF) (R2(a)<sub>verb</sub>-R2(a)'<sub>verb</sub>; R2(b)<sub>adv</sub>-R2(b)'<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R**

Comment: Note that the S oppositeness is expressed by a verb S'<sub>verb</sub> (*sanar*) and by a verbal locution, S<sub>verb</sub> (*hacer la llaga*), both with Infinitive forms, being thus equal to the English opposites. In each of the three Romanian variants we also find a pair of opposite verbs, but they are all directionals. Moreover, the R2 proverb contains two opposite pairs, the second one expressed by antonymous adverbs. Since neither of the two R2 opposite pairs is related to the E one, we consider the R relation of oppositeness being different from its Spanish and English counterparts. Hence, our final CRO can be represented as follows: E = S ≠ (R = R1 <=> R2). As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, in the English proverb it sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite, while it is inverted in the Spanish pemia.

The pair of the opposite nouns *virtue-vice* may be also included in this group since they imply the concepts of *goodness* and *badness*:

#### **Proverb 44:**

E: Hypocrisy is the homage that *vice* pays to *virtue*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: Neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverbs were found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, the antonym sequence based on positivity contradicts Jones' theory according to which the positive term stands before its opposite.

#### **Proverb 45:**

E: *Vice* is often clothed in *virtue*'s habit. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As in the previous case, neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverbs were found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the antonym sequence based on positivity contradicts Jones' theory according to which the positive term stands before its opposite.

### **2.1.2. Greatness-littleness**

This oppositeness relation is also pretty frequent in the English proverbs. It is expressed by:

- the opposites *great-little*, *mickle*<sup>199</sup>-*little* as adjectives in:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: A *little* body often harbours a *great* soul. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: *Mic* la stat, *mare* la sfat (lit. transl. 'Small at height, great at talking'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

R1: Și pitulicea este *mică*, dar printre păsări e *voinică*. (lit. transl. 'The wren is also small, but among birds it is strong'). (R1<sub>adj</sub>-R1'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: There is a total equivalence between E and R (Romanian *mic* is the equivalent of both English *small* and *little*), although it can be clearly seen the absence of the copulative verb *to be*. Though it contradicts Jones' theory related to magnitude as far as antonym sequence is concerned<sup>200</sup>, namely in this case the term implying the 'bigger size' stands after its opposite, this sequence is preserved in E, R and R1. Regarding R and its variant R1, we can say that (R1<sub>adj</sub>)<sup>feminine</sup> = (R<sub>adj</sub>)<sup>masculine</sup>; (R1'<sub>adj</sub>)<sup>feminine</sup> ≠ (R'<sub>adj</sub>)<sup>masculine</sup>, but R1'<sub>adj</sub> and R'<sub>adj</sub> are synonyms. No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

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<sup>199</sup> Dialect Scottish, Northern England, meaning 'great or abundant' according to Collins: <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/mickle>>.

<sup>200</sup> See Part I, Chapter 3.5.A.3.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: There would be no *great* ones if there were no *little* ones. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: No hay *grande* sin *pequeño*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Cei *mici* muncesc pentru cei *mari* și cei *săraci* pentru cei *bogați* (lit. transl. 'The little ones work for the great ones and the poor ones for the rich ones'). (R(a)<sub>noun</sub>-R(a')<sub>noun</sub>; R(b)<sub>noun</sub>-R(b')<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Cât de bogat să fii, fără un mic ajutor de la cel *mic*, nicicum poți trăi (lit. transl. 'No matter how rich you are, you definitely cannot live without a little help from the small one'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: If in R1 the second term of the opposite pair is missing, in R there are two antonymic pairs, (a) and (b), (a) being equal to the ones in E and S, with the only difference that the antonym sequence is inverted, namely the 'smaller size' term precedes its opposite, contradicting thus Jones' theory based on magnitude. The opposite terms of S and R1 have singular forms while the ones of E and R are plurals.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: *Little* thieves are hanged, but *great* ones escape. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: *Petty* thieves are hanged, the *great* ones go free. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: El *pequeño* ladrón acaba encerrado, y el *gran* ladrón es ensalzado. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Tălharul cel *mic* se spânzură și cel *mare* scapă (lit. transl. 'The little thief is hanged and the great one escapes'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The equality of the relations of oppositeness in the three languages is based on the following aspects: all the opposite terms are adjectives; the antonym sequence is the same, contradicting Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term stands after its opposite. We observe that E<sub>adj</sub> and E1<sub>adj</sub> are synonyms, while E'<sub>adj</sub> = E1'<sub>adj</sub>; thus E ≈ E1. S'<sub>adj</sub> (*gran*) suffers the apocope process by the omission of *-de* (*grande*).

### **Proverb 4:**

E: The *great* thieves hang the *little* ones. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Grandes* ladrones castigan a los *menores*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: En tierra de hombres inicuos, los ladrones *grandes* ahorcan a los *chicos*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S2: Con los *grandes* ladrones ahorcan los *menores*. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: We observe that S'<sub>adj</sub> = S2'<sub>adj</sub> = (*menores*) - Comparative of inferiority degree of comparison of *pequeños* which is a synonym of *chicos* (= S1'<sub>adj</sub>). Thus (S = S2) ≈ S1. Note also that all opposite terms are plural adjectives. The same antonym sequence is found in all of our four proverbs. It sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more notoriety' term stands before its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: A *little* stone in the way overturns a *great* wain. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Grandes* carretas piedras *chicas* acarrear. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Piatra *mică* răstoarnă carul *mare* (lit. transl. 'The little stone overturns the great wain'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

R1: Buturuga *mică* răstoarnă carul *mare* (lit. transl. 'The little stump overturns the great wain'). (R1<sub>adj</sub>-R1'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: Of our four proverbs, the Spanish one steps out of line because of two facts: one is the plural forms of the opposite terms, all the rest having singular forms; the other is the inverted antonym sequence, being the only case which sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term precedes its opposite. Regarding the Romanian proverbs, the opposite pairs are identical, the only difference lies in the noun determined by the first opposite term, namely *piatra mică* 'little stone' and *buturuga mică* 'little stump'.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: A *little* fire burns up a *great* deal of corn. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: La chispa aunque sea *pequeña* enciende *un montón* de leña. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Con *chica* brasa se enciende una casa. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-0)

R: O scânteie e de ajuns ca să ardă gireada întreagă (lit. transl. 'A spark is enough to burn the whole stack'). (0-0)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: The second term of the opposite pair in S is expressed by the noun *montón*, used with the colloquial meaning of *great* ("2. m. coloq. Número considerable"<sup>201</sup>), thus we consider the relation of oppositeness of E equal to the one of S. In the S1 variant of the Spanish proverb it draws our attention the absence of the second term of the opposite pair. As far as the Romanian proverb is concerned, there is no pair of opposites at all. Regarding the antonym sequence, both the English and Spanish proverbs contradict Jones' theory according to which the 'bigger size' term precedes its opposite.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: *Little* strokes fell *great* oaks. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Buturuga *mică* răstoarnă carul *mare* (lit. transl. 'The little stump fells the great wagon'). (LEF) (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: The E and R relations of oppositeness are equal. All the opposite terms are adjectives, their order contradicts Jones' antonym sequence based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term stands after its opposite. The only difference lies in the fact that the English opposite terms determine plural nouns while the Romanian opposites determine singular nouns. No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 8:**

E: *Great baggers*, *little doers*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: *Gură multă*, *treabă puțină* (lit. transl. 'Great mouth, little work'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: The equivalence of E and R is complete, based on: equivalent opposite terms, same relation of oppositeness, same antonym sequence (the term implying the 'more size' precedes its opposite, which sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude), and absence of the

<sup>201</sup> Available from <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=mont%C3%B3n>>.

copulative verb *to be* in both cases. Only the number of the nouns denoted by the opposite adjectives differs, being plural in E, and singular in R (see the underlined words).

### **Proverb 9:**

E: God oft has a *great* share in a *little* house. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: We found no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, we note that the antonym sequence accomplishes Jones' theory based on magnitude, according to which the 'bigger size' term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 10:**

E: Children when (they are) *little* make parents fools, when (they are) *great* (they make them) mad. (E(a)<sub>adj</sub>-E(a')<sub>adj</sub>, E(b)<sub>noun</sub>-E(b')<sub>noun</sub>.)

S: Hijos *chicos*, chicos dolorcillos, hijos *mayores*, grandes dolores. (S(a)<sub>adj</sub>-S(a')<sub>adj</sub>, S(b)<sub>adj</sub>-S(b')<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Copii *mici*, griji mici, copii *mari*, griji mari (lit. transl. 'Little children, small worries, great children, great worries'). (R(a)<sub>adj</sub>-R(a')<sub>adj</sub>, R(b)<sub>adj</sub>-R(b')<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: Note that the English proverb as well as its Spanish and Romanian equivalents contains two pairs of opposites. It is interesting that S(a)<sub>adj</sub> = S(b)<sub>adj</sub> and S(a')<sub>adj</sub> ≠ S(b')<sub>adj</sub>, meanwhile R(a)<sub>adj</sub> = R(b)<sub>adj</sub> and R(a')<sub>adj</sub> = R(b')<sub>adj</sub>, and the structure of S is the same of R. As far as magnitude is concerned, the bigger size term stands after its opposite in the case of the six pairs of antonyms, which sustains Jones' theory. Regarding the differences, there is one pair, namely E(b)<sub>noun</sub>-E(b')<sub>noun</sub> (*children-parents*), which stands apart from the other five due to the morphological class of its terms and to the distinct relation of oppositeness between them, both being converses.

\*See also 2.4.8., Proverb 1.

### **Proverb 11:**

E: *Great* oaks from *little* acorns grow. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: De una bellota *chica* se hace una *gran* encina. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: De una nuez *chica*, *gran* árbol de noguera. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is counterbalanced by the existence of two Spanish variants. Moreover, both of them contain the same opposite pair with the same structure, namely: S<sub>adj</sub> = S1<sub>adj</sub> (*chica*), they precede their opposites and follow the nouns they determine (*bellota*, *nuez*); by the same token, S'<sub>adj</sub> = S1'<sub>adj</sub> (*gran*), they stand after their opposites and precede the nouns they determine (*encina*, *noguera*), both suffering apocope and losing the final *-de* (*grande*). As we have just seen, the Spanish variants have the same antonym sequence, reversed, compared to English, and contradicting Jones' theory based on magnitude because the 'bigger size' term stands after its opposite. It is interesting the fact that all our opposite terms are adjectives and all determine nouns referring to the same flora field, but to different trees and their corresponding fruits, that are *oak-acorn* (E), *encina-bellota* ('holm oak-acorn') (S), and *noguera-nuez* ('walnut tree-walnut') (S1).

### **Proverb 12:**

E: *Little* pitchers have *great* ears. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposite terms are adjectives. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude because the 'smaller size' term precedes its opposite.

### **Proverb 13:**

E: *Mickle* head, *little* wit. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Cabeza *grande*, talento *chico*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Cabeza *grande*, cerebro *flaco*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S2: Cabeza *grande*, *poco* seso y *mucho* aire. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>adj</sub>-S2''<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Cap *mare*, minte *puțină*. (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The first parts of all the five proverbs are identical; therefore the first terms of the opposite pairs are equal. The difference is raised by the second parts of our proverbs. Thus we have E'<sub>adj</sub> = S2'<sub>adj</sub> = R'<sub>adj</sub>; S'<sub>adj</sub> ≠ S1'<sub>adj</sub> ≠ S2'<sub>adj</sub>. Still, each of the terms S'<sub>adj</sub>, S1'<sub>adj</sub>, S2'<sub>adj</sub> are synonyms of E'<sub>adj</sub>. S2 depicts a peculiarity given by the presence of a third term, namely S2''<sub>adj</sub>, which also forms a pair of antonyms with S2'<sub>adj</sub>. But the equality of S2 with E is due to the opposite pair S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>adj</sub>. All the proverbs are characterized by the same antonym sequence, namely the 'bigger size' term precedes its opposite, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on magnitude. It also draws our attention the similar 'non-verbal' structures of all the proverbs.

- the superlative forms of *great* and *little*:

### **Proverb 14:**

E: *The greatest* talkers are *the least* doers. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: El que *mucho* habla, *poco* obra. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: *Mucho* hablar y *poco* obrar andan a la par. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-S1'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: Cine spune *mult* face *puțin*. (R<sub>adv</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E ≈ (S = R)**

Comment: We observe that the E opposite adjectives have the superlative degree of comparison. Because E<sub>adj</sub> <=> (S<sub>adv</sub> = S1<sub>adv</sub> = R<sub>adv</sub>), while E'<sub>adj</sub> = S'<sub>adv</sub> = S1'<sub>adv</sub> = R'<sub>adv</sub>, we consider the E relation of oppositeness almost equal to the S and R ones. There is the same antonym sequence in the four proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term stands before its opposite.

- the superlative form of *great* and the positive form of *little*:

### **Proverb 15:**

E: *The greatest* wealth is contentment with *a little*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: Ése es rico de vero que con lo suyo está contento. (0-0)

S1: La mayor riqueza es la voluntad contenta. (0-0)

S2: Al contento llaman rico. (0-0)

S3: No hay mayor riqueza que contentamiento. (0-0)

S4: No hay hombre más opulento que el que vive contento. (0-0)

S5: En este mundo de viento, ése es rico que está contento. (0-0)

R: Fericit acela care se mulțumește cu *puțin* (lit. transl. 'He is happy he who is content with a little'). ( $R_{\text{pronoun}}-0$ )

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[0] = R[0])$**

Comment: At the very first glance it draws our attention the great number of the Spanish equivalent proverbs (six). In spite of the existence of so many variants, none of them contains an opposite term, having thus '0' relation of oppositeness. The same happens with the Romanian proverb, in spite of it containing only an opposite term, namely  $R_{\text{pronoun}} = E'_{\text{pronoun}}$ . Regarding the English proverb, it is interesting the fact that the opposite adjectives have different degrees of comparison, namely superlative ( $E_{\text{adj}}$ ) and positive ( $E'_{\text{adj}}$ ). The antonym sequence is concordance with Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term stands before its opposite.

- adjective and noun:

### **Proverb 16:**

E: *Little* dogs start the hare, *the great* get her. ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: El *pequeño* can levanta la liebre y *el grande* la prende. ( $S_{\text{adj}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The equivalence of E and S is reflected by the equivalent opposite terms, the same relation of oppositeness and the same antonym sequence (the term implying 'smaller size' precedes its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude). Only the number of the opposite terms differs, being plural in E, and singular in S. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 17:**

E: *A little* with peace is a *great* blessing. ( $E_{\text{pronoun}}-E'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: *Poco* y en paz, *mucho* se me haz/hace. ( $S_{\text{pronoun}}-S'_{\text{adv}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The equality between the relations of oppositeness in E and S is based on the same antonym sequence, namely the 'smaller size' term precedes its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory related to magnitude; and also on the fact that the relation of oppositeness is established between terms with distinct morphological classes (pronoun-adjective in E, pronoun-adverb in S). No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

- the opposite words *great-small* as adjectives in:

### **Proverb 18:**

E: *Small* rain lays *great* winds. ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{adj}}$ )

E1: *Small* rain lays *great* dust. ( $E1_{\text{adj}}-E1'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: Lluvia *pequeña* vence a *gran* viento. ( $S_{\text{adj}}-S'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S1: Lluvia *suave* hace cesar el viento. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-0)

S2: Poca agua *gran* viento aplaca. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: We note that E and E1 are almost equal, they only differ in one word, namely the noun determined by the second term of the opposite pair. Thus E'<sub>adj</sub><sup>winds</sup> = E1'<sub>adj</sub><sup>dust</sup>, but this does not affect our E and E1 relations of oppositeness. We also observe that the S1 variant lacks the second term of the opposite pair, which generates a '0' relation of oppositeness, and that the present term is different from its S1<sub>adj</sub> and S2<sub>adj</sub> counterparts. Therefore, S<sub>adj</sub> ≠ S1<sub>adj</sub> ≠ S2<sub>adj</sub> while S'<sub>adj</sub> = S2'<sub>adj</sub> ≠ S1'[0]. The final CRO can be represented as follows: E = E1 = S ≈ S2 ≠ S1[0]. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term stands after its opposite in both English and Spanish languages. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 19:**

E: *Great* boast and *small* roast. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: *Great* boast and *small* roast make unsavoury mouths. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Fudulia intră-n casă, sărăcia după uşă (lit. transl. 'Arrogancy enters the house, poverty [stands] behind the door'). (0-0)

R1: Cioară mândră şi flămândă (lit. transl. 'Arrogant and starving crow'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: As it can be seen, neither of the two Romanian equivalent proverbs contains a pair of opposites and no equivalent Spanish proverb has been found in the sources of our corpus. E and E1 contain the same opposite pair, thus E = E1. Moreover E1 ⊃ E as structure. Regarding the antonym sequence, it sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 20:**

E: He that corrects not *small* faults will not control *great* ones. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Quien no castiga *culito*, no castiga *culazo*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ⇔ S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: It is interesting how the same concept 'small size-big size' expressed by the E opposite pair of adjectives is implied by the S pair expressed by the diminutive and augmentative forms, namely *culito* ('small ass')-*culazo* ('big ass'), of the same noun *culo* ('ass') with the corresponding suffixes in each case: *-ito* and *-azo*. Thus the two terms in S can be represented by the following formula: S'<sub>noun</sub> = S<sub>noun</sub> -<sup>202</sup> [-ito] + [-azo]. Both E and S antonymic pairs contradict Jones' antonym sequence theory according to which the 'bigger size' term stands before its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 21:**

E: *Small* sorrows speak; *great* ones are silent. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: *Little* griefs are loud, *great* griefs are silent. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

E2: *Little* cares speak, *great* ones are dumb. (E2<sub>adj</sub>-E2'<sub>adj</sub>)

<sup>202</sup> In this case, the symbol [-] stands for 'minus'.



S: El *pequeño* mal espanta y el *grande* amansa. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

S1: En las *grandes* desgracias faltan las lágrimas. ( $S1_{adj}-0$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: While the sources of our corpus provided no Romanian equivalent proverb, for English and Spanish it provided more than one. We observe that  $E_{adj} \Leftrightarrow (E1_{adj} = E2_{adj})$ . There is one term, *great*, which appears in all of our proverbs, thus  $E'_{adj} = E1'_{adj} = E2'_{adj} = S'_{adj} = S1_{adj}$ , with the mention that in S1 it has no opposite, and differs from  $S'_{adj}$  in number. Except for S1, where we have a '0' relation of oppositeness, the antonym sequence is the same, contradicting Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term stands after its opposite. Our final CRO can be represented as follows:  $E \Leftrightarrow (E1 = E2) = S \neq S1[0] \neq R[-]$ .

### **Proverb 22:**

E: A *small* leak will sink a *great* ship. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: [-]

R: Printr-o crăpătură *mică* străbate apa în corabia cea *mare* (lit. transl. 'Water gets into the great ship through a small leak'). ( $R_{adj}-R'_{adj}$ )

**CRO:  $E (\neq S[-]) = R$**

Comment: There is a  $E = R$  equality due to the fact that  $E_{adj} = R_{adj}$  and  $E'_{adj} = R'_{adj}$ . The two proverbs have the same antonym sequence which contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since it is the 'smaller size' term that precedes its opposite. All the opposite terms are adjectives. No Spanish equivalent was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 23:**

E: *Great* promises and *small* performances. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

E1: He promises *mountains* and performs *molehills*. ( $E1_{noun}-E1'_{noun}$ )

S: Quien *más* promete, *menos* cumple. ( $S_{adv}-S'_{adv}$ )

R: Îi făgăduiește marea cu sarea, și-i dă ce nu curge pe apă (lit. transl. 'He promises the impossible and gives nothing'). ( $0-0$ )

**CRO:  $E \neq S \neq R[0]$**

Comment: The E1 relation of oppositeness is established between the impure opposites *mountains-molehills* which, in this case, imply the 'greatness-littleness' concepts. The S relation of oppositeness is established between the *más-menos* ('more-less') adverbs which are converses (see 2.4.11.). Still, if we take into account the fact that there is an intermediate term between them, i.e. *equal*, they can be considered antonyms. In this case, the E and S relations of oppositeness would be equivalent. Finally, since the Romanian equivalent proverb contains no opposite terms, in this case, there is a '0' relation of oppositeness. Our final CRO can be represented as follows:  $E \Leftrightarrow E1 \neq / \Leftrightarrow^{203} S \neq R[0]$ .

### **Proverb 24:**

E: Of a *small* spark a *great* fire. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

E1: A *little* spark kindles a *great* fire. ( $E1_{adj}-E1'_{adj}$ )

E2: A *small* spark makes a *great* fire. ( $E2_{adj}-E2'_{adj}$ )

S: De *pequeña* centella, *grande* hoguera. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

R: Din scânteia *mică* se aprinde focul *mare* (lit. transl. 'From the little spark starts the great fire'). ( $R_{adj}-R'_{adj}$ )

<sup>203</sup> Meaning 'different or equivalent', according to the way S opposite terms are interpreted (converses or antonyms).

R1: Adesea scânteia *mică* face flacără *mare* (lit. transl. 'Sometimes the small spark makes a great flame'). (R1<sub>adj</sub>-R1'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: Again, due to the common biblical origin, namely *Ecclesiasticus*, 11: 32; *James*, 3: 5, all our proverbs contain equal relations of oppositeness. All opposite terms are expressed by adjectives having the same antonym sequence which contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term stands after its opposite. The only slight difference is given by the E1<sub>adj</sub> which is different from, but synonym of E<sub>adj</sub> (= E2<sub>adj</sub>). Except for Spanish, the other two languages are characterized by more than one variant.

### **Proverb 25:**

E: Many *small* make a *great*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Muchos *pocos* hacen un *mucho*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: *Puțin* și des face *mult* (lit. transl. 'Many small make a great'). (R<sub>pronoun</sub>-R'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The same antonym sequence is found in the three languages, the 'smaller size' term preceding its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude. We note that the S opposite terms are nouns derived from indefinite pronouns, the same indefinite pronouns (Rom. *pronume nehotărât*) that appear in the Romanian proverb.

- the opposite words *big-little*, *large-little*, *tall-little* as adjectives in:

### **Proverb 26:**

E: *Big* fish eat *little* fish. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: The *great* fish eat up *the small*. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: El pez *grande* se come *al chico*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: El pez *grande* se come *al chico*, y así *el pobre al rico*. (S1(a)<sub>adj</sub>-S1(a)'<sub>adj</sub>; S1(b)<sub>noun</sub>-S1(b)'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: Los peces *grandes* se comen *a los chicos*. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>adj</sub>)

S3: Los peces *mayores* se tragan *a los menores*. (S3<sub>adj</sub>-S3'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Peștele *cel mare* înghite pe *cel mic* (lit. transl. 'The big fish swallows the small one'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

R1: Peștii *cei mari* mănâncă pe *cei mici* (lit. transl. 'The big fish eat the small ones'). (R1<sub>adj</sub>-R1'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: At a first glance it draws out attention the great number of variants of the head proverb, especially in Spanish. Then it is also obvious that the antonym sequence is the same in all the proverbs, namely the 'bigger size' term stands before its opposite, which sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude. Except S1(b), all our opposite terms are adjectives. E1'<sub>adj</sub>, S'<sub>adj</sub>, S1(a)<sub>adj</sub>, S2'<sub>adj</sub>, S3'<sub>adj</sub>, R'<sub>adj</sub>, R1'<sub>adj</sub> are adjectives, and not nouns, due to the ellipsis of the determined nouns, present in the first parts of the corresponding proverbs. The second term of the pair of opposites in E1 is different from its homologous term in E, but they are synonyms: E'<sub>adj</sub> <=> E1'<sub>adj</sub>. The S1 proverb steps out of line due to the fact that it contains two pairs of antonyms, and not only one like all its counterparts. The S3 proverb contains another pair of opposites than its homologues, different in meaning and in oppositeness, since the *mayores-menores* terms are converses. Another noticeable difference lies in number, some pairs being expressed by terms with a singular form (S, S1 and R), and others, the majority, by terms with

a plural form (E, E1, S2, S3 and R1). The complete CRO may be represented as follows:  $[(E \Leftrightarrow E1) = S2 = R1)]^{\text{plural forms}} = (S = S1 = R)^{\text{singular forms}} \neq (S3)^{\text{plural forms}}$ .

### **Proverb 27:**

E: A *little* kitchen makes a *large* house. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Olla *chica* hace bolsa *grande*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: *Magra* olla y *gordo* testamento. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is counterbalanced by the existence of two Spanish variants. The S1 opposite pair is not equal, but equivalent to E pair. Thus, we have the following formula:  $(E = S) \Leftrightarrow S1 \neq R$ . We notice that all opposite terms are singular form adjectives. We also note that the S1 proverb has a 'non verbal' structure. From the antonym sequence point of view, there is also equality, since the 'smaller size' term stands before its opposite in the three proverbs. This contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude.

### **Proverb 28:**

E: While the *tall* maid is stooping, the *little* one hath swept the house. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Mientras *la grande* se abaja, *la chica* barre la casa. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Mientras *la alta* se baja por la escoba, *la chica* barre la casa toda. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** The equality stands between the English and the S1 proverbs, because E<sub>adj</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub>, while S1<sub>noun</sub>  $\Leftrightarrow$  S<sub>noun</sub>. It is interesting the fact that all the Spanish opposite terms are nouns derived from adjectives with a changed morphological value by receiving the definite article *la* and due to the missing of the determined noun, which would be *maid*. As it can be seen, no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the antonym sequence, it is the same in the three proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term stands before its opposite.

- the adverb *widely* and the adjective *narrow*:

### **Proverb 29:**

E: *Narrow* gathered, *widely* spread. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Ce-a câștigat într-o vară, a băut într-o seară (lit. transl. 'What he earned one summer he lost one evening'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

**Comment:** The oppositeness expressed by the E pair of antonyms is somehow found again in the Romanian proverb, implied by the terms *vară* 'summer' and *seară* 'evening' which suggest the 'long time'-'short time' oppositeness. Still, they are not antonyms, thus there is a '0' relation of antonymy in the Romanian proverb. As far as Spanish language is concerned, no equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

- the impure opposites<sup>11</sup> *giant-dwarf, elephant-fly*:

### **Proverb 30:**

E: *A dwarf on a giant's shoulders sees further of the two.* (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs were provided by the sources of our corpus. As to the English proverb, an observation needs to be made: the term implying 'smaller size' stands before its opposite which contradicts Jones' theory of antonym sequence based on magnitude. Both opposites are singular common nouns preceded by the indefinite article *a*.

### **Proverb 31:**

E: He changes *a fly* into *an elephant*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Hacer de *una pulga* un *elefante*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Face din *țânțar* *armăsar* (lit. trans. 'He changes a mosquito into a stallion'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Face *musca* cât *cămila* (lit. trans. 'He makes the fly as big as a camel'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R2: Mincinosul cu de-a sila face *musca* cât *cămila* (lit. trans. The liar, by force, makes the fly as big as a camel'). (R2<sub>noun</sub>-R2'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E ≈ S ≈ R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness in the three languages are almost equal. The similarity consists in the fact that all the opposite terms are represented by nouns with a singular form, used metaphorically to express the *littleness-greatness* concepts; and also in the antonym sequence (the 'smaller size' terms precedes their opposites) which contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude. We observe that R2 ⊃ R1. It is also interesting how the same opposite concepts are expressed by different terms from the same fauna field, namely:

E<sub>fly</sub> (≠ S<sub>pulga</sub> 'flea' ≠ R<sub>țânțar</sub> 'mosquito') = R1<sub>musca</sub> 'fly' = R2<sub>musca</sub> 'fly' and

(E<sub>elephant</sub> = S<sub>elefante</sub> 'elephant') ≠ R<sub>armăsar</sub> 'stallion' ≠ (R1<sub>cămila</sub> 'camel' = R2<sub>cămila</sub> 'camel'). Due to the equal relations between the indicated terms, we can say that the CRO is 'an almost equal' one.

### **2.1.3. Bitterness-sweetness**

This pair of opposites is closely related to the metaphorical use. It is designated by:

- the pair *bitter-sweet* as adjectives in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: That which was *bitter* to endure may be *sweet* to remember<sup>204</sup>. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Lo que fue *amargo* de pasar es *dulce* de recordar. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

<sup>11</sup> Cruse (1986: 198) calls "impure opposites" words that encapsulate in their meaning a more elementary opposition, e.g. *stalactite-stalagmite* encapsulate *up-down*; *criticise-praise* encapsulate *good-bad*, etc. In our case, the *giant-dwarf, elephant-fly* pairs imply and express the opposition between *large* and *small*.

<sup>204</sup> In LEF the following variant appears: 'That which may be bitter to endure may be sweet to remember'.

**Comment:** There is a total equivalence between the English and the Spanish proverbs due the same opposite terms and sequence. This antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands first. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

- as nouns in:

### **Proverb 2:**

E: Who has *bitter* in his mouth spits not all *sweet*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Boca *amarga* no escupe *miel*. ( $S_{\text{adj}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: Quien bebe *amargo* no escupe *dulce*. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S  $\neq$  R [-]**

**Comment:**  $S_{\text{adj}} = S1_{\text{noun}} = E_{\text{noun}}$  and  $S'_{\text{noun}} \neq E'_{\text{noun}} = S1'_{\text{noun}}$ . In spite of  $S'_{\text{noun}} \neq E'_{\text{noun}}$ , obviously there is a similar relation of oppositeness since *miel* implies the *sweet* concept. The CRO is totally equal in the case of E and S1 ( $E = S1$ ) and almost equal in the case of E and S ( $E \approx S$ ). No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

- the adjective *sweet* in opposition to the noun *bitterness*, forming an oxymoron:

### **Proverb 3:**

E: Love is a *sweet bitterness*. (LEF) ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

E1: Love is a *sweet torment*. ( $E1_{\text{adj}}-E1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: No hay *amor sin dolor*<sup>205</sup>. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: *Amar sin padecer*, no puede ser. ( $S1_{\text{verb}}-S1'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S2: Amor, amor, malo *el principio y el fin* peor<sup>206</sup>. ( $S2_{\text{noun}}-S2'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: Unde-i *dragoste* e și *ceartă* (lit. transl. 'Where there's love there's quarrel'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R1: Fără *mânie* nu-i *iubire* (lit. transl. 'There's no love without anger'). ( $R1_{\text{noun}}-R1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R2: Orice *fericire* are a ei *nemulțumire* (lit. transl. 'Happyness has its discontent'). ( $R2_{\text{noun}}-R2'_{\text{noun}}$ )

**CRO: E  $\Leftrightarrow$  S  $\Leftrightarrow$  R**

**Comment:** We observe that  $E \approx E1$  because  $E_{\text{adj}} = E1_{\text{adj}}$  while  $E'_{\text{noun}} \neq E1'_{\text{noun}}$ , but  $E'_{\text{noun}}$  and  $E1'_{\text{noun}}$  are synonymous in this case, they both imply the same *bitterness* concept. Except S2 where we find a pair of opposites expressed by directionals, which has nothing to do with our English head pair, S, R, R1 and R2 contain pairs of impure opposites expressed by common singular nouns that encapsulate the same *sweetness-bitterness* concepts, namely:  $S_{\text{noun}}$  (*amor* 'love') =  $R_{\text{noun}}$  (*dragoste* 'love')  $\Leftrightarrow$   $R1'_{\text{noun}}$  (*iubire* 'love')  $\neq$   $R2_{\text{noun}}$  (*fericire* 'happyness');  $S'_{\text{noun}}$  (*dolor* 'pain')  $\neq$   $R'_{\text{noun}}$  (*ceartă* 'quarrel')  $\neq$   $R1_{\text{noun}}$  (*mânie* 'anger')  $\neq$   $R2'_{\text{noun}}$  (*nemulțumire* 'discontent'). The S1 opposite verbs can also be considered impure opposites implying the same concepts. Except R1 (and excluding S2 because of its different type of oppositeness), the antonym sequence is the same in all of our proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite.

<sup>205</sup> In Sevilla Muñoz (2001: 117), the variant of this proverb is: 'Donde hay *amor*, hay *dolor*'.

<sup>206</sup> This proverb could also be included in the next group (Proverb 4: 'Love is *sweet* in the beginning but *sour* in the ending'). Since Flonta only incorporates it in the Proverb 3 group, we respected this association.

- the pair of opposites *sour-sweet* as adjectives in:

#### **Proverb 4:**

E: Love is *sweet* in the beginning but *sour* in the ending. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: El amor entra con *cantos* y sale con *llantos*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Cosquillas y amores, empiezan con *risa* y acaban con *dolores*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Cu cât *mai dulce* limba dragostei la început, cu atât *mai amară* pe la sfârșit. (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E (<=> S) = R**

Comment: We observe that the opposite terms of the Spanish proverbs are not equivalent to the ones in the English proverb. The *sweetness-bitterness* opposition is expressed by the noun pairs *cantos-llantos* and *risa-dolores* metaphorically used to imply the same concept. The similarity between S and S1 consists in the fact that all opposites are nouns, most of them being plurals, except S1<sub>noun</sub> which is a singular. The R opposite adjectives are equal to the E ones, the only difference lies in the comparison degree, namely: (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)<sup>Comparative of superiority</sup> versus (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)<sup>Positive</sup>.

\*See also 2.3.2., Proverb 3.

#### **Proverb 5:**

E: *Sweet* meat will have *sour* sauce. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: The sources of our corpus provided no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb. The relation of oppositeness in the English proverb is established between the adjectives *sweet* and *sour*. We can say that the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, if we consider *sweet* as being a positive term which stands before its opposite.

- the pair of opposites *sour-sweet* as nouns in:

#### **Proverb 6:**

E: He deserves not *the sweet* that will not taste *the sour*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Cine n-a gustat *amarul*, nu știe ce e *zahărul* (lit. transl. 'He who didn't taste the sour does not know what sugar is'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Cine n-a gustat *amarul*, nu știe ce e *dulcele* (lit. transl. 'He who didn't taste the sour does not know what the sweet is'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: The equality of the oppositeness relations is established between E and R1, while E ≈ R, due to the fact that R'<sub>noun</sub> <=> (R1'<sub>noun</sub> = E<sub>noun</sub>), while E'<sub>noun</sub> = R<sub>noun</sub> = R1<sub>noun</sub>. All our opposite terms are singular nouns derived from adjectives (except R'<sub>noun</sub> = *zahărul* 'the sugar') with definite articles: (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>the</sup> = (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>(u)l207</sup> = R1<sub>noun</sub><sup>(u)l208</sup>-R1'<sub>noun</sub><sup>-le209</sup>. The E antonym sequence (reversed in R and R1) sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite. No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

<sup>207</sup> Where -(u)l is the enclitic definite article for masculine, singular Nominative-Accusative nouns.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>209</sup> Where -le is the enclitic definite article for neuter, singular Nominative-Accusative nouns.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: Every white has its black, and *sweet* its *sour*. (E(a)<sub>noun</sub>-E(a')<sub>noun</sub>; E(b)<sub>noun</sub>-E(b')<sub>noun</sub>)

S: No hay *miel* sin *fiel*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: No hay *dulzura* sin *amargura*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Nu e *miere* fără *fiere*. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S <=> R**

Comment: We observe that the English proverb is longer than its Spanish and Romanian equivalents, having a two element structure. The first part of our head proverb, the one including the (b) pair of opposites, is missing from S, S1 and R. But the (a) pair of opposites, which interests us in this case, is present in S1, expressed by equal Spanish terms, and also in S and R, but expressed by terms metaphorically used to imply the same concepts. It is noticeable that all our opposite terms are singular nouns; their antonym sequence is the same in the four proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before the negative one. Our final CRO can be represented as follows: E = S1 <=> (R = S).

\*See also 2.2.9., Proverb 3.

- as noun and adjective in:

### **Proverb 8:**

E: To him that he lost his taste, *sweet* is *sour*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: El gusto dañado, juzga por *dulce* lo *amargo*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Al gusto dañado lo *dulce* le es *amargo*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While for Spanish we have two variants, no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Because of the association of *sweet* and *sour*, the three proverbs are paradoxes (see Part One, Chapter V.9). There is the same antonym sequence in all of our proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

- the opposite nouns *sadness-gladness*, *sorrow/annoy/grief-joy*, *pleasure-sorrow/pain/grief* in:

### **Proverb 9:**

E: *Sadness* and *gladness* succeed each other. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Después del *contento* viene el *tormento*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: La mucha *alegría* del *pesar* es *vispera*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: Después de lo *dulce* viene lo *amargo*. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Totdeauna *desfătarea* are soră *întristarea*. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: It draws our attention the fact that, in this case, our corpus provided three Spanish equivalent proverbs which contain the same relation of antonymy, but expressed by different synonymous terms. Thus E = (S <=> S1 <=> S2) = R. Except for E, the antonym sequence is the same in the other four proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite. The English opposite pair is expressed by singular nouns, both of them being derived from adjectives (*sad* and *glad*) + the suffix *-ness*.

### **Proverb 10:**

E: Of thy *sorrow* be not too sad, of thy *joy* be not too glad. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Buena o mala la ventura, poco dura. (S(a)<sub>noun</sub>-0; S(b)<sub>adj</sub>-S(b')<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: No hay alegría que dure ni mal que no se acabe. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: No hay bien que dure ni mal que no se acabe. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S3: No hay mal que cien años dure ni bien que a ellos ature. (S3<sub>noun</sub>-S3'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Nu te-ntrista prea tare în clipele de restriște și bucură-te cu măsură când ești fericit (lit. transl. 'Don't get too sad in bad moments and don't be too glad when you're happy'). (LEF) (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E ≈ S ⇔ R**

**Comment:** It is noticeable the great number of the Spanish equivalent proverbs and also their peculiarities. The S variant, even though contains a pair of opposites, namely (b), it is not related to our E opposite pair. In this case, (a) should be our equivalent pair of opposites, but it is equal to a '0' antonymy due to the absence of the second term of the pair. We only have one term, S(a)<sub>noun</sub> (= E'<sub>noun</sub>). S1<sub>noun</sub> = E'<sub>noun</sub>, but S1'<sub>noun</sub> ≠ E<sub>noun</sub> (they have a small degree of synonymy), that is why we consider E ≈ S. Regarding S2 and S3, we observe that the opposite terms (also antonyms) they contain are the same, but with reversed order. Thus S2<sub>noun</sub> = S3'<sub>noun</sub> and S2'<sub>noun</sub> = S3<sub>noun</sub> = S1'<sub>noun</sub>. In the Romanian equivalent proverb the oppositeness is established between the adjectival locution *de restriște* 'bad' (where *de* is a preposition and *restriște* a noun) and the adjective *fericit* 'happy'. Although it is not such a pure oppositeness, we consider it (almost) equivalent to the one found in the English proverb. Our final CRO can be represented as follows: E ≈ S1 ⇔ (S2 = S3) ⇔ R ≠ S[0]. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, it is in concordance with Jones' theory based on positivity only in S1 and S2 (S can be included, too since the S(a)<sub>noun</sub> is a positive term), because in the other proverbs it is the negative term which stands before its opposite.

\*See also 2.1.24., Proverb 1.

### **Proverb 11:**

E: Sorrows remembered sweeten present joy. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: The remembrance of past sorrow is joyful. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Alegre es el recuerdo de la desgracia pasada. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Alégrenos el recuerdo de las desgracias que han pasado. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** We observe that E ≈ (E1 = S = S1) ≠ R[-]. This is due to the distinct morphological classes of the opposite terms. Speaking of them, the following relations are established: E<sub>noun</sub><sup>plural</sup> = E1<sub>noun</sub><sup>singular</sup> = S'<sub>noun</sub><sup>singular</sup> = S1'<sub>noun</sub><sup>plural</sup>; E'<sub>noun</sub> = E1'<sub>adj</sub> = S<sub>adj</sub> = S1<sub>verb</sub>. Note also that the four proverbs are paradoxes (see Part One, V.9.). Regarding the antonym sequence, this contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity in the English proverbs, but it is inverted in the Spanish ones, which makes it sustain Jones' theory, since the positive term precedes the negative one in both S and S1. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 12:**

E: One day of pleasure is worth two of sorrow. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Una hora de contento paga cien años de tormento. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Una hora de contento vale por ciento. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

S2: Más vale ponerse una vez colorado que ciento amarillo. (0-0)

R: [-]



### **CRO: $E \approx S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: Because  $S_{\text{noun}} = E_{\text{noun}}$ , but  $S'_{\text{noun}} \neq E'_{\text{noun}}$  and the positivity antonym sequence is preserved in both E and S (the positive term preceding the negative one, which sustains Jones' theory), we can say that there is an almost equal relation of oppositeness in the two languages. In the S1 equivalent proverb the S1' term is missing, while  $S1_{\text{noun}} = S_{\text{noun}}$ . In the S2 a certain opposition is established between *colorado* and *amarillo*, but these terms do not accomplish all the criteria to be considered antonyms. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 13:**

E: The vine brings forth three grapes: the first of *pleasure*, the second of drunkenness, the third of *sorrow*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: La buciul vieții trei vlăstari cresc: unul al sănătății, altul al *veseliei* și altul al *turbării* (lit. transl. 'At the stump of life three offsprings grow: one of health, other of pleasure and the other of rage'). ( $R_{\text{noun}} \neq R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

### **CRO: $E \neq S[-] \neq R[0]$**

Comment: In this case, the Romanian proverb is similar to the English one, but the terms found in it are not antonyms. Though we can say that  $R'_{\text{noun}}$  (*turbare* 'rage') also implies the 'bitterness' concept, as well as *sorrow*, it does not make an opposite pair with  $R_{\text{noun}}$  (*veselie* 'pleasure') =  $E_{\text{noun}}$ . That is why we consider the Romanian proverb having a '0' relation of oppositeness. The antonym sequence in the English proverb sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive terms stands before its opposite. No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 14:**

E: After *pleasure* comes *pain*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: No hay *placer* que *pena* no venga ser. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: El día de *placer*, *vispera* de *pesar*. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: După *plăcere* vine *durere* (lit. transl. 'After pleasure comes pain'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

### **CRO: $E = S = R$**

Comment: The equality of the four relations of oppositeness is based on the identical meaning and morphological class (singular noun) of the opposite terms and on the same antonym sequence (the positive term standing before its opposite) which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity. The only difference is given by  $S1'_{\text{noun}}$  term which is distinct from, but synonymous to, its counterpart  $S'_{\text{noun}}$ . Thus, we have the following CRO:  $E = S (\approx S1) = R$ .

### **Proverb 15:**

E: No *pleasure* without *pain*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: No hay *alegría* sin *tristeza*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: No hay *placer* sin *desplacer*. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: Nu e *plăcere* fără *durere*. ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

### **CRO: $E = S = R$**

Comment: We observe that  $E = R$  (the only difference is that the English proverb lacks the verb *to be* present in the Romanian one (*e* 'is')). The problem is raised by the Spanish variants. We have  $E \Leftrightarrow S$ ,  $S \Leftrightarrow S1$ , but  $E = S1$ . It is also noticeable that the S1 opposite pair is expressed by morphologically related terms,  $S1'_{\text{noun}} = [\textit{des} (S1_{\text{noun}})]$ , the derived word standing after the root word, which sustains Jones' antonym sequence based on morphological derivation. As to the antonym sequence in the rest of our proverbs, it is the same in all of

them, being also in concordance with Jones' theory, this time based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite. All opposite terms are singular common nouns. Our final CRO looks like the following:  $E = S1 = R \Leftrightarrow S$ .

### Proverb 16:

E: Short *pleasure*, long *pain*. ( $E_{\text{noun}} - E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Un *deleite*, mil *dolores*. ( $S_{\text{noun}} - S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: A *placeres* breves, *dolores* nada leves. ( $S1_{\text{noun}} - S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S2: A *placer* pasajero, *dolores* años enteros. ( $S2_{\text{noun}} - S2'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: *Plăcerea* scurtă, *căință* lungă (lit. transl. 'Short pleasure, long repentance'). ( $R_{\text{noun}} - R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R1: După o scurtă *plăcere* urmează o lungă *durere* (lit. transl. 'After a short pleasure a long repentance comes'). ( $R1_{\text{noun}} - R1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

Comment: At a first glance it draws our attention that both Spanish and Romanian languages provide more than one equivalent proverb. We also notice that all the opposite terms are nouns, some of them differing in meaning and number. Thus, the following relations can be established:  $E_{\text{noun}}^{\text{singular}} = S1_{\text{noun}}^{\text{plural}} = S2_{\text{noun}}^{\text{singular}} = R_{\text{noun}}^{\text{singular}} = R'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{singular}} \Leftrightarrow S_{\text{noun}}^{\text{singular}}$  and  $E'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{singular}} = S'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{plural}} = S1'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{plural}} = S2'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{plural}} = R1'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{singular}} \neq R'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{singular}}$ . Subsequently, our CRO can be represented as:  $(E = S1 = S2 = R1) \approx S \Leftrightarrow R$ .

\*See also 2.1.11., Proverb 3.

### Proverb 17:

E: In war, hunting, and love men for one *pleasure* a thousand *griefs* prove. ( $E_{\text{noun}} - E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

E1: Hunting, hawking, and paramours, for one *joy* a hundred *displeasures*. ( $E1_{\text{noun}} - E1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Guerra, caza y amores: por un *placer* mil *dolores*. ( $S_{\text{noun}} - S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The equality of the E and S relations of oppositeness is based on the following similarities:

- all the opposite terms are common nouns. It is interesting that the oppositeness is given not only by the meaning of the words, but also by the number of the nouns, namely singular-plural, a sequence that is preserved in the three proverbs. Moreover, the opposite nouns are determined by the same numerals with adjectival value, namely *one pleasure* = *un placer* and *a thousand griefs* = *mil dolores*;

- the antonym sequence is the same in E, E1 and S, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

We also note that E and E1 terms are synonyms. Moreover,  $E1'_{\text{noun}} = [dis-(E_{\text{noun}})]$ . Since  $E \Leftrightarrow E1$ , then  $E = S$  and  $E1 = S$ . No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### Proverb 18:

E: After *joy* comes *annoy*. ( $E_{\text{noun}} - E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

E1: After *joy* comes *sorrow*. (SEV) ( $E1_{\text{noun}} - E1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: El día de *placer*, *vispera* de *pesar*. (SEV) ( $S_{\text{noun}} - S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: După *bucurie* vine *întristare*. ( $R_{\text{noun}} - R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness in all our proverbs are equal. The opposite terms are expressed by singular nouns. The antonym sequence is the same, the positive term preceding

its opposite, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity.  $E'_{\text{noun}}$  and  $E1'_{\text{noun}}$  are different, but synonymous in this case.

### **Proverb 19:**

E: No *joy* without *annoy*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: No hay *vida* sin *muerte*, ni *placer* sin *pesar*. ( $(S(a)_{\text{noun}}-S(a)'_{\text{noun}}; S(b)_{\text{noun}}-S(b)'_{\text{noun}})$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: We observe that the Spanish proverb contains two opposite pairs, the (a) one being heteronyms (*vida-muerte*) and the (b) one being equal to the E pair, thus  $S \supset E$ . The antonym sequence is the same in both languages, the positive term preceding its opposite, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 20:**

E: Sudden *joy* kills sooner than excessive *grief*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, we notice that the antonym sequence accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands after its opposite.

- the impure opposites *honey-gall/vinegar*, *sweet-venom* (implying *sweetness-bitterness/sourness*) in:

### **Proverb 21:**

E: From the same flower the bee extracts *honey* and the wasp *gall*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: No Spanish and Romanian equivalent proverbs have been found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposite terms are uncountable nouns. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands after the positive one.

### **Proverb 22:**

E: A *honey* tongue, a heart of *gall*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Boca de *miel*, corazón de *hiel*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: Bajo *la miel*, está *la hiel*. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: *Dulce* la limbă, *amar* la inimă (lit. transl. 'Sweet tongue, bitter heart'). ( $R_{\text{adj}}-R'_{\text{adj}}$ )

R1: În buze *miere* și-n inimă *fiere*. ( $R1_{\text{noun}}-R1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

Comment: The only proverb that steps out of line in this case is R1 due to the fact that the opposite pair is expressed by different terms from its counterparts. They imply the same 'sweetness-bitterness' concepts, but not metaphorically as all the other terms do. And they are

adjectives, the rest of the opposites being nouns. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, it is identical in the five proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 23:**

E: *Honey* catches more flies than *vinegar*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Más moscas se cazan con *miel* que con *vinagre*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Más moscas se cojen con *miel*, que con *hiel*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Mai multe muște cad în *miere* decât în *oțet*. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The equality lies on the fact that all opposite terms are uncountable nouns, with identical antonym sequence, namely the positive term stands before its opposite, which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity. The only term which steps out of line is S1'<sub>noun</sub> (*hiel*) which is not equivalent to its counterparts, but it implies the same opposite concept of *bitterness*.

### **Proverb 24:**

E: A little *venom* bittereth much *sweet*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Poca *hiel* hace amarga mucha *miel*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E <=> S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness found in the English and the Spanish proverbs are equivalent, not equal. They are expressed by uncountable nouns, used with figurative meaning, implying 'bitterness-sweetness'. The antonym sequence is the same in both proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands after its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.1.6., Proverb 5.

## **2.1.4. Wisdom-foolishness**

This oppositeness is expressed by the words *wise* and *fool(ish)* combined in various ways:

- as adjective and noun (singular and plural):

### **Proverb 1:**

E: *A fool* knows more in his own house than a *wise* man in another's. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Más sabe *el loco* en su casa que *el cuerdo* en la ajena. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Más sabe *el necio* en su casa que *el sabio* en la extraña. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: Más bien sabe *un burro* a su casa que cien *sabios* a la ajena. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R**

Comment: Curiously, E<sub>noun</sub> = S<sub>noun</sub>, E<sub>noun</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub> and E<sub>noun</sub> = S2<sub>noun</sub>, but S<sub>noun</sub> ≠ S1<sub>noun</sub> ≠ S2<sub>noun</sub>. This is possible due the polysemic value of E<sub>noun</sub> (*fool*): (1) "a person who lacks sense or judgment"; (2) "a person who is made to appear ridiculous"; (3) "(obsolete) an idiot or

imbecile"<sup>210</sup>. As far as the second terms of the opposite pairs are concerned, the following relations can be established:  $E'_{adj} = (S'_{noun} \Leftrightarrow S1'_{noun} = S2'_{noun})$ . We also observe that the only opposite term which is an adjective is  $E'$ , the rest being nouns with a singular form, except  $S2'$  that is a plural noun. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The antonym sequence is the same in the four proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands after the negative one.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: *A fool* may ask more questions in an hour than a *wise* man can answer in seven years. ( $E_{noun} - E'_{adj}$ )

E1: *Fools* ask questions that *wise* men cannot answer. ( $E1_{noun} - E1'_{adj}$ )

S: *Un tonto* puede hacer tantas preguntas en una hora que *un sabio* no las podría contestar en siete años. ( $S_{noun} - S'_{noun}$ )

S1: Más fácil es *al burro* preguntar que *al sabio* contestar. ( $S1_{noun} - S1'_{noun}$ )

R: *Un prost* poate să pună mai multe întrebări decât poate *un înțelept* să răspundă. ( $R_{noun} - R'_{noun}$ )

R1: *Un nebun* întreabă și zece *înțelepți* nu-i pot răspunde. ( $R1_{noun} - R1'_{noun}$ )

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: As in the previous head proverb, certain relations of equivalence are established between the first terms of the opposite pairs, namely:  $E_{noun} = E1_{noun} = S_{noun} = R_{noun}$ ;  $E_{noun} = S1_{noun}$ ;  $E_{noun} = R1_{noun}$ ; but  $S_{noun} \neq S1_{noun}$  and  $R_{noun}$  (*prost* Sp. *tonto*)  $\neq$   $R1_{noun}$  (*nebun* Sp. *loco*). This is possible due the polysemic value of  $E_{noun}$  (*fool*) (see definitions above). As far as the second terms of the opposite pairs are concerned, the following relations can be established:  $E'_{adj} = E1'_{adj} = S'_{noun} = R'_{noun} = R1'_{noun}$ . Regarding the morphological classes of the opposite terms, most of them are nouns, the only adjectives being the second terms of the opposite pairs in the English proverbs, namely  $E'$  and  $E1'$ . Related to number, the majority of opposites are singular forms, the exception being  $E1_{noun}$  and  $R1'_{noun}$  which are plurals. The antonym sequence is the same in all the proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands after the negative one.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: *A fool* may give a *wise* man counsel. ( $E_{noun} - E'_{adj}$ )

E1: *A fool* may sometimes speak to the purpose. ( $E1_{noun} - 0$ )

S: Muchas veces *el necio* dice un buen consejo. ( $S_{noun} - 0$ )

S1: De un hombre *necio* a veces buen consejo. ( $S1_{adj} - 0$ )

R: Să-ți aduci aminte de cuvintele *nebulului*. ( $R_{noun} - 0$ )

R1: *Cel înțelept* de la *cel nebun* multe află și învață. ( $R1_{noun} - R1'_{noun}$ )

**CRO: E ( $\neq$  S[0]) = R**

Comment: It is interesting how most of the English head proverb's equivalents ( $E1$ ,  $S$ ,  $S1$  and  $R$ ) have the same characteristic, namely the absence of the second term of the opposite pair, which makes  $E1 = S = S1 = R = [0]$ . Regarding the  $R1$  Romanian equivalent, an observation needs to be made, that is the inverted antonym sequence compared to the English proverb. Thus,  $E_{noun} = R1'_{noun}$  and  $E'_{adj} = R1_{noun}$ . It is the  $R1$  antonym sequence which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative terms stands after the positive one.

<sup>210</sup> According to Collins online: <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/fool>>.

#### **Proverb 4:**

E: *A fool* may throw a stone into a well, which a hundred *wise* men cannot pull out. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Un tonto* echa una piedra en un pozo, y cien *discretos* no la pueden sacar. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: *Un loco* tira una piedra en el mar, y cien *cuerdos* no la pueden sacar. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: *Un nebun* arunc-o piatră în baltă și zece *cuminți* n-o pot scoate. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** In this case the problem is raised by Spanish due to the fact that the two proverbs contain equivalent relations of oppositeness, but expressed by not equivalent terms. Thus S<sub>noun</sub> ≠ S1<sub>noun</sub> and S'<sub>noun</sub> ≠ S1'<sub>noun</sub>. In spite of this, E = S and E = S1. The similarity of all proverbs lies in two common aspects: all of the first terms of the opposite pairs are nouns determined by indefinite articles E<sub>noun</sub><sup>a</sup>, S<sub>noun</sub><sup>un</sup>, S1<sub>noun</sub><sup>un</sup>, R<sub>noun</sub><sup>un</sup> while all second terms have plural forms; and the antonym sequence is the same in all proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands before its opposite.

#### **Proverb 5:**

E: He is not *wise* who cannot play *the fool*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: It takes a *wise* man to play *the fool*. (ISC) (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Ser *loco* una vez al año, te hará provecho y no daño. (ISC) (S<sub>adj</sub>-0)

S1: Sin tener una venilla de *loco*, el hombre vale poco. (ISC) (S1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** As it can be seen, no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English language, the opposite pair is expressed by an adjective and a noun in both variants. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes the negative one. The Spanish variants contain a '0' oppositeness, due to the absence of the second opposite term. S<sub>adj</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub> = E'<sub>noun</sub> = E1'<sub>noun</sub>.

#### **Proverb 6:**

E: He that is a *wise* man by day is no *fool* by night. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

**Comment:** As can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Related to the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by an adjective and a noun. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes the negative one.

\*See also 2.2.3., Proverb 8.

#### **Proverb 7:**

E: What *the fool* does in the end, the *wise* man does at the beginning. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Lo que a la postre hace *el necio*, eso hace *el sabio* primero. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Lo que hace *el necio* al cabo, eso hace al principio *el sabio*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** We have the same antonym sequence in the English and the Spanish proverbs (the negative term preceding the positive one, which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity), the same number (singular) and the same presence of the definite article before all opposite

terms (*the* for English, and *el* for Spanish). The only distinction is given by the morphologic class of the E' term, i.e. *adjective* versus *nouns*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.1.13., Proverb 3.

### **Proverb 8:**

E: *Fools* are *wise* as long as silent. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *El bobo*, si es callado, por *sesudo* es reputado. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: *El necio*, callando, es tenido por *sabio*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: *Prostul* care tace trece drept *înțelept*. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

R1: Chiar *prostul*, tăcând, de *înțelept* toți-l cred. (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: We observe the same structure of the opposite pairs in all of our proverbs, namely 'noun-adjective', and also the same antonym sequence, the negative term preceding the positive one (which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity). The only distinction lies on the number of E<sub>noun</sub> being plural while all of the other opposite terms have singular forms. We also note equivalence between S and S1, the opposite terms being different but synonymous. Thus S<sub>noun</sub> <=> S1<sub>noun</sub> and S'<sub>adj</sub> <=> S1'<sub>adj</sub>, hence S <=> S1. The equal CRO in this case is due to the common Biblical origin of the proverbs in the three languages, namely *Proverbs*, 17:28.

### **Proverb 9:**

E: *Fools* lade the water, and *wise* men catch the fish. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: We found no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned we remark the antonym sequence which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 10:**

E: Reason governs the *wise* man and cudgels *the fool*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: A nod for the *wise* man and a rod for *a fool*. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: We found no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverbs are concerned we observe that the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite. The E and E1 relations of oppositeness are equal, the only difference lies in the fact that the second opposite term, expressed by the noun *fool*, is preceded by the definite article *the* in E, and by the indefinite article *a* in E1.

### **Proverb 11:**

E: The *wise* man must carry *the fool* upon his shoulders. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by an adjective and a noun. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands after its opposite.

### **Proverb 12:**

E: *Wise* men change their minds, *fools* never do. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: A *wise* man changes his mind; a *fool* never. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: De *sabios* es mudar de opinión. (S<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the Spanish variant contains a '0' relation of oppositeness because the second opposite term is missing. Only S<sub>noun</sub> (= E<sub>adj</sub> = E1<sub>adj</sub>) is present. Regarding the English proverbs, E = E1, the only difference lies in the number, the E terms having plural forms, while the E1 ones are singular forms. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 13:**

E: *Wise* men have their mouth in their heart, *fools* their heart in their mouth. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Inima *înțeleptului* e în limbă și a *nebunului* în gură. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Inima *nebunului* este în gura lui, iar gura *înțeleptului* este în inima lui. (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: While no Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the same sources provided two Romanian variants, both of them equal to the English head proverbs if we take into account the relations of oppositeness established in each of them. The only difference lies in the number, the E opposite terms having plural forms, while the Romanian opposites are expressed by singular nouns. A similarity lies in the fact that E and R have the same structure, namely the verb appears only in the first part of the proverb (see the underlined words), being elliptic in the second part. This phenomenon does not appear in the R1 variant, where the verb *a fi* 'to be' appears twice (see the underlined word *este* 'is'). We also note that the antonym sequence is identical in E and R, being reversed in R1. It is the former case which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before the negative one.

### **Proverb 14:**

E: *Wise* men learn by other men's harms; *fools* by their own. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: Learn *wisdom* by *the follies* of others. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Sabio* es aquél que aprende a costa de los demás. (S<sub>adj</sub>-0)

R: *Înțeleptul* învață din pățania altora, *nesocotitul* nici din a sa. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Din *nebunia* străină să înveți minte (lit. transl. 'Learn from other people's foolishness'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

**CRO: E (≠ S[0]) = R**

Comment: It draws our attention the zero relations of oppositeness found in S and R1 due to the absence of the second opposite terms. Thus S = R1 = [0], while S<sub>adj</sub> = E<sub>adj</sub> and R1<sub>noun</sub> = E1'<sub>noun</sub>. The R oppositeness is equal to the E one and the R opposite terms are singular nouns derived from adjectives. It is interesting that R'<sub>noun</sub> is a prefixed term; it is derived from the adjective *socotit* 'wise' (which is a synonym of *înțelept* 'wise') + the negative prefix *ne-*.



We also note that  $E \approx E1$ . Regarding the antonym sequence, it sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since in all proverbs the positive term stands before the negative one.

### **Proverb 15:**

E: *Fools* make feasts, and *wise* men eat them. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{adj}}$ )

E1: Set a *fool* to roast eggs, and a *wise* man to eat them. ( $E1_{\text{noun}}-E1'_{\text{adj}}$ )

E2: *Fools* build house, and *wise* men live in them. ( $E2_{\text{noun}}-E2'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: *Los locos* hacen la fiesta y *los cuerdos* gozan de ella. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: *Los necios* hacen la fiesta y *los sabios* la celebran. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S2: *Los locos* dan los banquetes, y *los sabios* los comen. ( $S2_{\text{noun}}-S2'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: *Nebunii* dau mese și *înțelepții* mănâncă. ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R1: *Nebunul* ține lingura iar *înțeleptul* mănâncă. ( $R1_{\text{noun}}-R1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: At a first glance it draws our attention the great number of equivalents of our head English proverb. Their similarity lies in the same antonym sequence, the negative term standing before its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory related to positivity. We observe that, except for English, all pairs of opposites are expressed by nouns, most of them having plural forms. Regarding number, terms with singular form are the ones in E1 and R1. If the opposite pairs in E and R are expressed by equal terms, differing only in number, the ones in Spanish establish the following relations of equality/equivalence: ( $S_{\text{noun}} = S2_{\text{noun}}$ )  $\neq$   $S1_{\text{noun}}$  and  $S'_{\text{noun}} \Leftrightarrow (S1'_{\text{noun}} = S2'_{\text{noun}})$  which makes  $S (\neq S1) \approx S2$ .

-as adjectives:

### **Proverb 16:**

E: He that is *foolish* in fault, let him be *wise* in punishment. ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E  $\neq$  (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs were provided by the sources of our corpus. As to the English proverb, an observation needs to be made: the negative term stands before its opposite which contradicts Jones' theory of antonym sequence based on positivity.

### **Proverb 17:**

E: The *wise* hand does not all that the *foolish* mouth speaks. ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: La mano *cuerda* no hace todo lo que dice la lengua. ( $S_{\text{adj}}-0$ )

S1: La mano *cuerda* no cumple lo de la *loca* lengua. ( $S1_{\text{adj}}-S1'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S2: La mano *juiciosa* no hace todo lo que dice la boca. ( $S2_{\text{adj}}-0$ )

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S  $\neq$  R[-]**

Comment: The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is counterbalanced by the existence of three Spanish proverbs. From the three, only one (S1) contains an equal relation of oppositeness with E because in the other two (S and S2), the second terms of the opposite pairs are missing. Regarding the antonym sequence, Jones' theory based on positivity is accomplished in both languages, since the positive term stands before its opposite. We can also note that ( $S_{\text{adj}} = S1_{\text{adj}}$ )  $\Leftrightarrow$   $S2_{\text{adj}}$ .

### **Proverb 18:**

E: Penny *wise* and pound *foolish*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Aprovechador* de la ceniza, *desperdiciador* de la harina. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: *Allegador* de la ceniza y *derramador* de la harina. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: *Scump* la tărâte și *ieftin* la făină (lit. transl. 'Expensive bran and cheap flour'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E  $\Leftrightarrow$  S  $\Leftrightarrow$  R**

Comment: We observe that all the opposite terms are adjectives, but all pairs have different meanings, being not equivalent. Only S and S1 can be considered synonymous. Still, the relations of oppositeness in the three languages are all relations of antonymy, which makes our CRO equivalent, but not equal. The antonym sequence is the same in the four proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

- as nouns:

### **Proverb 19:**

E: If *the wise* erred not, it would go hard with *fools*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Si *el sabio* no errase, *el necio* reventaría. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Si *el cuerdo* no errase, *el necio* reventaría. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S  $\neq$  R[-]**

Comment: The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is counterbalanced by the existence of two Spanish variants, both of them being equal to the English proverb if we take into account the relation of oppositeness which interests us. Thus E = S and E = S1, but S  $\approx$  S1, due to the fact that S<sub>noun</sub>  $\Leftrightarrow$  S1<sub>noun</sub> (they are different, but synonyms), while S'<sub>noun</sub> = S1'<sub>noun</sub>. We also note that all the opposite terms are nouns and except for E'<sub>noun</sub>, they are all preceded by definite articles (E<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>the</sup>; (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>el</sup>; (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>el</sup>. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, it is the same in the three proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 20:**

E: Good words and ill deeds deceive *wise* and *fools*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Buenas palabras y ruines hechos, engañan *sabios* y *necios*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S  $\neq$  R[-]**

Comment: The equality symbol stands between the relations of oppositeness existing in the English and the Spanish proverbs. At the same time no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. All the opposite terms are nouns and their order is the same in both proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite.

\*See also 2.1.1., Proverb 29.

### 2.1.5. Youth-oldness

The two opposite concepts are designated by the adjectives *young-old* in:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Quartan agues kill *old* men, and cure *young*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Cuartana, a *los viejos* mata y a *los mozos* sana. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** The only difference between E and S lies in the morphological class of the opposite terms. They are adjectives in E and nouns in S. The number, i.e. plural, and the antonym sequence, namely the term implying 'more time of life' precedes its opposite which implies 'less time of life', are the same in E and S. This antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: As the *old* cock crows, so crows *the young*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: The *young* pig grunts like the *old* sow. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Como canta *el abad*, así responde *el sacristán*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Como canta *el abad*, responde *el monacillo*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Pe unde sare *capra*, sare și *iada* (lit. transl. 'As the goat jumps so jumps the kid') (LEF). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E ⇔ S ⇔ R**

**Comment:** S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub> and S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub> can be considered impure opposites. If we regard *abad-sacristán* and *abad-monacillo* as *master-servant* concepts, we can establish a clear relation of oppositeness, but in this case the opposite terms are converses, not antonyms. *Abad-monacillo* can also be interpreted as implying the concepts *old-young* if we take into account that *monacillo*<sup>211</sup> is a "*Niño que ayuda a misa y hace otros servicios en la iglesia*"<sup>212</sup> and *abad* is a "*Superior de un monasterio de hombres (...)*"<sup>213</sup>, usually an old man or at least an adult, not a child. Thus, we can say that the relation of oppositeness in E is equivalent to the one in S1. R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub> are also impure opposites. Though they refer to fauna, just as the nouns denoted by the opposite adjectives in E and E1, they are not equivalent to the English opposite terms. Still, they imply the *old-young* concepts, hence we can say that there is an equivalent relation of oppositeness in E and R. The antonym sequence based on magnitude sustains Jones' theory in all proverbs, except E1.

#### **Proverb 3:**

E: Children suck the mother when they are *young* and the father when they are *old*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Los hijos, siempre mamones; primero de leche; y después de doblones. (0-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** The pair of antonyms existing in E is absent from S and, at the same time, no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The antonym sequence

<sup>211</sup> The old form of 'monaguillo'.

<sup>212</sup> Available from RAE <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=monacillo>>.

<sup>213</sup> Available from RAE <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=abad>>.

of the English antonyms sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since, in our real world, one is first *young* then becomes *old*.

\* See also 2.2.1., Proverb 12.

#### **Proverb 4:**

E: *Old* men go to death, death comes to *young* men. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: Neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverbs were found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposite terms are adjectives determining the same noun (*men*) which appears twice. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since, in our real world, one is first *young* then becomes *old*.

#### **Proverb 5:**

E: *Old* fish and *young* flesh do feed men best. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Carne tânără și pește bătrân (lit. transl. 'Young flesh and old fish'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: Various observations need to be mentioned here, namely: E ⊃ R, meaning that the entire Romanian proverb is included in the English proverb (we can see that in R the second part of E - *do feed men best* - is missing, moreover no verb appears); the antonym sequence based on chronology is changed in the Romanian proverb which accomplishes Jones' theory, since in the real world *young* stands before *old*. Still, in spite of the reverted antonym sequence, it is important to underline the fact that the opposite terms denote the same nouns in both proverbs which also contributes to the equality between E and R. No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

#### **Proverb 6:**

E: If you would not live to be *old*, you must be hanged when you are *young*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Quien no quiera verse *viejo*, que se muera *joven*. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: Cine nu vrea să îmbătrânească, să se spânzure. (lit. transl. 'He who does not want to grow old, hang himself'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-0)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: The only proverb that steps out of line is the Romanian one because of its lacking the second opposite term which generates a '0' relation of oppositeness. Moreover, the present term, *să îmbătrânească*, is a verb which implies the same 'old' concept as its counterparts. The equality of the relations of oppositeness from E and S is based on the same antonym sequence. The 'longer life' term precedes its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology.

#### **Proverb 7:**

E: *Old* men, when they marry *young* women, make much of death. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: A quien se casa *viejo*, o muerte, o cuernos. (S<sub>adj</sub>-0)

S1: *Al* *viejo* recién casado, rezarle por finado. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent was found in the sources of our corpus, the same sources provided two Spanish variants. Nevertheless, both of them lack the second terms of the opposite pairs, which generates '0' relations of oppositeness. Though,  $S_{adj} = S1_{noun} = E_{adj}$ . Regarding the English head proverb, the antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since the 'longer life' term precedes its opposite. It is also noticeable that E contains two opposite pairs (see the underlined words).

\*See also 2.2.1., Proverb 8.

### **Proverb 8:**

E: *Old young, young old*. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

E1: If you want to be *old* long, be old *young*.

S: Quien quisiere ser mucho tiempo *viejo*, comiéndelo presto. ( $S_{adj}-0$ )

S1: Si quieres vivir sano, hazte *viejo* temprano. ( $S1_{adj}-0$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq S[0] \neq R[-]$**

Comment: In this case, while no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, Spanish has given us two variants, but none of them contains a pair of opposites because of the absence of the second opposite term, even though  $S_{adj} = S1_{adj} = E_{adj} = E1_{adj}$ . In English there are also two equivalent proverbs. While in E both terms of the opposite pair repeat themselves, with a reversed order, in E1 only the first opposite term (*old*) appears twice (see the underlined words). The union of the English opposite terms gives birth to three oxymora: *old young* (E), *young old* (E), and *old young* (E1). As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, except the second oxymoron of E, the other two antonymic structures contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since the 'longer life' term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 9:**

E: *Young saint, old devil*. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: De *joven ángel, viejo diablo*. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The equality between the relations of oppositeness found in the English and Spanish proverbs is complete: both pairs of opposites are expressed by the same adjectives which determine the same nouns. The antonym sequence is identical in both proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *old* stands after *young*. The third element on which the equality is based on is the undistinguishable structure of both proverbs, characterized by the verb omission. The last similarity lies on the fact that each proverb contains two pairs of opposites (see the underlined words). No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.1.1., Proverb 36.

### **Proverb 10:**

E: A *young* trooper should have an *old* horse. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: A caballero *nuevo*, caballo *viejo*. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \approx S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: In this case, the relations of oppositeness of the English and Spanish proverbs are almost equal due to the equivalence, not equality, of the first opposite terms, namely  $E_{adj} \Leftrightarrow S_{adj}$ , while  $E'_{adj} = S'_{adj}$ . Both proverbs sustain Jones' antonym sequence based on chronology,

since in our real world, *old* stands after *young* and *new*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 11:**

E: If the *young* man would and the *old* man could, there would be nothing undone. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Si *el mozo* supiese, y *el viejo* pudiese, no habría cosa que no se hiciese. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Si supiera *el mozo* y pudiera *el viejo*, para todo habría buen aparejo. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: *El mozo* porque no quiere, y *el viejo* porque no puede, no hacen lo que deben. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S3: Si *el mozo* supiera y *el viejo* pudiera, ¿qué se les resistiera? (S3<sub>noun</sub>-S3'<sub>noun</sub>)

S4: *El viejo* por no poder, y *el mozo* por no saber, dejan las cosas perder. (S4<sub>noun</sub>-S4'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Dă-mi, Doamne, puterea *tânărului* și mintea *bătrânului* (lit. transl. 'God, give me the strength of the young and the mind of the old'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: At first glance it draws our attention the great number of the Spanish equivalent proverbs, all of them containing the same opposite pair, equal to the one in the English and the Romanian proverbs. The only difference lies in the morphological class, the E terms being adjectives while the rest are singular nouns with definite articles (*el*, *-(u)lui*<sup>214</sup>). Regarding the antonym sequence, it is the same in almost all of the proverbs, except S4 which is the only case which contradicts Jones's theory based on chronology, since in our real world *the old* follows *the young*.

### **Proverb 12:**

E: Of *young* men die many, of *old* men scape not any. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Related to the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by adjectives, both terms being [+ animate]. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *old* stands after *young*. We also note the use of the archaic form of the verb *escape*, i.e. *scape*.

### **Proverb 13:**

E: *Young* men's knocks *old* men feel. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Related to the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by adjectives, both terms being [+ animate]. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *young* stands before *old*.

<sup>214</sup> *-(u)lui* is the enclitic definite article for the Romanian masculine Genitive/Dative nouns. The vocal *u* is the link between the noun and the article, when the noun ends in a consonant, in this case *tânăr* 'young man'-*bătrân* 'old man'.

### **Proverb 14:**

E: *Young* men may die, but *old* must die. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *El mozo* puede morir, y *el viejo* no puede vivir. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Para enfermedad de años, no hay medicina. (0-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: In this case, the equality stands between the relations of oppositeness found in E and S, while S1 contains no opposite pair and no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The only difference lies in the morphological class of the opposite terms, which are adjectives in the English proverb and singular nouns in the Spanish equivalent. The E opposite terms determine the same noun (*men*) which is elliptic in the second part of the proverb. We also observe that S contains two opposite pairs (the second one is expressed by the underlined verbs *morir-vivir*). The antonym sequence, identical in both proverbs, sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *young* stands before *old*.

### **Proverb 15:**

E: As soon goes the *young* sheep to the pot as *the old*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, the opposite pair is expressed by adjectives, both terms being [+ animate], and determining the same noun (*sheep*) which is elliptic in the second part of the proverb. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *young* stands before *old*.

- the opposite nouns *youth-age*:

### **Proverb 16:**

E: An idle *youth*, a needy *age*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: A *young* courtier, an *old* beggar. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

E2: If you lay upon roses when *young*, you'll lie upon thorns when *old*. (E2<sub>adj</sub>-E2'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: A *mocedad* ociosa, *vejez* menesterosa. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: A *mocedad* ociosa, *vejez* trabajosa. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: La *tinerețe* cine nu *lucrează*, la *bătrânețe* râiază (lit. transl. 'He who does not work when young suffers when old'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Cine n-aleargă la *tinerețe* nu *odihnește* la *bătrânețe* (lit. transl. 'He who does not run when young does not rest when old'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R2: Cine la *tinerețe* ę leneș suferă la *bătrânețe* (lit. transl. 'He who is lazy when young suffers when old'). (R2<sub>noun</sub>-R2'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: Due to the common biblical origin of our proverbs, i.e. *Ecclesiasticus*, 25: 3, the relations of oppositeness established in the three languages are equal. Some observations need to be made though:

- in each of the three languages, there are more than one equivalent proverb;
- E, E1, S and S1 have the same non verbal structure, while E2, R, R1 and R2 contain two verbs each (see the underlined words);

- E1 = E2, their difference from E lies in the morphological class of the opposite terms (nouns in E versus adjectives in E1 and E2);
  - S = S1, they contain the same pair of opposites;
  - R = R1 = R2, they also contain the same pair of opposites; moreover in the three proverbs the opposite nouns form adverbial locutions of time with the preposition *la* 'at';
  - the antonym sequence is identical in all proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *youth* stands before *age*.
- Our final CRO can be represented as follows: E = (E1 = E2) = (S = S1) = (R = R1 = R2).

### **Proverb 17:**

E: Reckless *youth* makes rueful *age*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, the opposite pair is expressed by nouns. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *youth* stands before *age*.

### **Proverb 18:**

E: What *youth* is used to, *age* remembers. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: Whoso learneth *young* forgets not when he is *old*. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Lo que en *la leche* se mama, en *la mortaja* se derrama. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Lo que en *la leche* se mama, hasta *la sepultura* acompaña. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: Lo que entra con *la faja*, sale con *la mortaja*. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S3: Lo que entra con *el capillo*, sale con *la mortaja*. (S3<sub>noun</sub>-S3'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Deprinderea din *tinerețe* rămâne și la *bătrânețe* (lit. transl. 'The youth habit survives till old age'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (<=> S) = R**

Comment: At a first glance, it draws our attention the great number of Spanish equivalent proverbs. Then the use of the archaic words *whoso* 'whoever' and *learneth* (*learn* + *-eth* suffix, forming the archaic third person singular present indicative tense of the verb *to learn*, i.e. *learns*) in E1. The difference between E and E1 lies in the morphological class of the opposite terms, being nouns in E, and adjectives in E1. The Romanian proverb raises no problem, its relation of oppositeness being equal to the E one. The issue here is caused by the Spanish variants. The opposite pairs are expressed by impure opposites (most of them singular nouns with definite articles), having the following kinships: (S<sub>noun</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>uncountable</sup> <=> S2<sub>noun</sub> <=> S3<sub>noun</sub>; (S'<sub>noun</sub> = S2'<sub>noun</sub> = S3'<sub>noun</sub>) <=> S1'<sub>noun</sub>. We consider these terms impure opposites due to their meanings, which imply the *youth-age* concepts, more precisely *babyhood-death* (in this case they could also be related to the heteronyms *birth-death*). A very important factor in establishing this link between the opposite terms found in the four Spanish proverbs and the E opposite terms, is the semantic context they appear in, namely the S, S1, S2 and S3 paremiaes. Out of these contexts, *leche*, *faja*, and *capillo*, for example, could not be considered synonyms. Another peculiarity is the presence of a second pair of opposites in S2 and S3 (see the underlined directional verbs).

The antonym sequence is the same in all proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *youth* stands before *age*.

The last, but not the least important aspect, is the common biblical origin of our proverbs, i.e. *Proverbs*, 22: 6.



### **Proverb 19:**

E: He that in *youth* no virtue uses, in *age* all honour him refuses. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by nouns. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *youth* stands before *age*.

The pair formed of the impure opposites *lamb-sheep* may also be included in this group. In the following context they have the meaning *young-old*:

### **Proverb 20:**

E: Death devours *lambs* as well as *sheep*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Tan presto se va *el cordero* como *el carnero*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: A la losa, tan presto va *la vieja* como *la moza*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≈ S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: There is an almost equal relation of oppositeness between E and S. This is due to the fact that E'<sub>noun</sub> is not equal, but equivalent to S'<sub>noun</sub> (*carnero* is "(male sheep) ram"<sup>215</sup>, thus E'<sub>noun</sub> ⊃ S'<sub>noun</sub>). In S1 we find the same antonymic relation but expressed with other terms, this time used with no metaphoric meaning to express the *young-old* oppositeness. Thus we have an equivalent relation of oppositeness in E, S1, S, i.e. E ≈ S ⇔ S1. There is also a slight difference in the number of the nouns (plural in E, singular in S and S1. The antonym sequence of E and S, inverted in S1, sustains Jones' theory based on chronology. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

## **2.1.6. Much-little and many-few**

The quantifiers *much*, *little*, *many*, *few* form also pairs of antonyms. We found *much-little* as adjectives in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Much* bran and *little* meal. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Mucha* paja y *poco* grano. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: Both E and S accomplish Jones' theory of antonym sequence based on magnitude since the 'more quantity' term stands before its opposite. Besides the same morphological class of the opposite terms, namely adjective, we also note the identical 'non verbal' structures of the two proverbs. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

<sup>215</sup> Available from WR: <<http://www.wordreference.com/es/en/translation.asp?sopen=carnero>>.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: *Much* cry and *little* wool. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: *Great* cry and *little* wool. (LEF) (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

E2: *Much* bruit and *little* fruit. (E2<sub>adj</sub>-E2'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: A veces, hacen *gran* ruido *pocas* nueces. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: *Mucho* ruido y *pocas* nueces. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S2: Más el ruido que las nueces. (0-0)

R: Unde e vorbă *multă*, acolo e treabă *scurtă* (lit. transl. 'Where there is much talk there is little work'). (LEF) (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

R1: Găina care cântă nu ouă (lit. transl. 'The hen that cackles does not lay eggs'). (LEF) (0-0)

**CRO: E = S <=> R**

Comment: The English proverb, as well as its Spanish and Romanian equivalents, accomplishes Jones' theory of antonym sequence based on magnitude. Thus the 'more quantity' term stands before its opposite. The first terms of the opposite pairs are equal in E, E2, S1, R, and in E1 and S: (E<sub>adj</sub> = E2<sub>adj</sub> = S1<sub>adj</sub> = R<sub>adj</sub>) <=> (E1<sub>adj</sub> = S<sub>adj</sub>). As far as the second terms of the opposite pairs are concerned, only the Romanian one, i.e. R'<sub>adj</sub>, is not equivalent to the rest. Thus, (E'<sub>adj</sub> = E1'<sub>adj</sub> = E2'<sub>adj</sub> = S'<sub>adj</sub> = S1'<sub>adj</sub>) ≠ R'<sub>adj</sub>, where R'<sub>adj</sub> = *scurtă* ('short'). We also note that the E, E1, E2, S1 and S2 proverbs have identical 'no verb' structures. At the same time S2 = R1 = [0].

### **Proverb 3:**

E: *Much* law, *little* justice. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Unde sunt pravile *multe*, acolo și *multă* nedreptate (lit. transl. 'Where there are many laws, there is also much injustice'). (R<sub>adj</sub> = R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The Romanian proverb contains no pair of opposites, thus it has a '0' relation of oppositeness. Still, in R we find the E<sub>adj</sub> term present twice, first with a plural feminine form (*multe*, Sp. *muchas*), and then as a feminine singular form (*multă*, Sp. *mucha*). The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more quantity' term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: A secret is too *little* for one, enough for two, too *much* for three. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Secreto de dos, sábelo Dios; secreto de tres, de todos es. (0-0)

R: Lucrul cunoscut de doi, trei, nu mai rămâne între ei (lit. transl. 'Something known by two or three is not kept only by themselves'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ (S[0] = R[0])**

Comment: We observe that the English proverb is longer than its Spanish and Romanian equivalents. The opposite pair found in E is not present in S and R, where there are '0' relations of oppositeness. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, in the English proverb, of course, it contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude since the 'bigger term' stands after its opposite.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: A *little* venom bittereth *much* sweet. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Poca* hiel hace amarga *mucha* miel. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

### **CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness found in the English and the Spanish proverbs are equal. The opposite pairs are expressed by the same quantifiers with adjectival value which determine uncountable nouns. The antonym sequence is the same in both proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more quantity' term stands after its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.1.3., Proverb 24.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: A *little* wind kindles, *much* puts out the fire. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

### **CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite terms are adjectives, both determining the same uncountable noun, i.e. *wind*, elliptic in the second part of the proverb. Their order contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since it is the 'smaller size' term which stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: Have a *few* friends, though *many* acquaintances. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Tengamos *muchos* conocidos y *pocos* amigos. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

### **CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: In spite of the inverted antonym sequence in the Spanish proverb, its relation of oppositeness is equal to the one established in the English proverb. Moreover, the opposite terms determine equal in meaning countable nouns ('few friends' = 'pocos amigos' and 'many acquaintances' = 'muchos conocidos') and all of the opposite terms have plural forms. Regarding the Romanian language, no equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

- *much-little* as adverbs in:

### **Proverb 8:**

E: Hear *much*, speak *little*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: Habla *poco*, escucha *mucho*, y noerrarás. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: Parla *poco*, escucha *asaz*, y noerrarás. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-S1'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: Cu vreme și fără vreme *multe* să ascuți, iar de grăit numai la vreme și *puține* să trăiești (lit. transl. 'Time or no time, hear much, speak only on time and live little'). (R<sub>pronoun</sub>-R'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

### **CRO: (E = S) ⇔ R**

Comment: The E and R opposite pairs have the same antonym sequence, the 'more quantity' term standing before its opposite, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on magnitude. This order is reversed in S and S1. We notice that S'<sub>adv</sub> ⇔ S1'<sub>adv</sub> and that the equivalent of the Romanian pair of opposites is expressed by the English terms *many-few*, which makes our CRO equivalent, not equal. Thus E = S (≈ S1) ⇔ R.

### **Proverb 9:**

E: Lip-honour costs *little*, yet may bring in *much*. ( $E_{adv}-E'_{adv}$ )

S: Cortesía de boca, *mucho* vale y *poco* cuesta. ( $S_{adv}-S'_{adv}$ )

S1: Cortesía y bien hablar: cuesta *poco* y *mucho* vale. ( $S1_{adv}-S1'_{adv}$ )

S2: Buenos modales juntan caudales y abren puertas principales. (0-0)

R: Vorba bună *mult* adună. ( $R_{adv}-0$ )

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[0]$**

Comment: A total equality is established between the E and S1 relations of oppositeness, due to the same morphological class of the opposite terms, but especially to the same antonym sequence, the 'smaller size' term standing before its opposite. In S this order is inverted, the 'bigger size' term preceding its opposite, which sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude. The S2 variant contains no opposite pair while the Romanian proverb lacks one of the opposite terms, where  $R_{adv} = E'_{adv} = S_{adv} = S1'_{adv}$ . Thus, taking into account all our proverbs, we have the following CRO: ( $E = S = S1 \neq (S2[0] = R[0])$ ).

### **Proverb 10:**

E: Better to pay and have *little* than have *much* and to be in debt. ( $E_{adv}-E'_{adv}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: The sources of our corpus provided no equivalent proverb for Spanish or Romanian languages. Regarding the English proverb, we notice that the antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'smaller size' term precedes its opposite.

### **Proverb 11:**

E: He is not poor that has *little*, but he that desires *much*. ( $E_{adv}-E'_{adv}$ )

S: No es pobre el que tiene *poco*, sino el que codicia *mucho*. ( $S_{adv}-S'_{adv}$ )

R: Nu se-nțelege sărac cel ce are *mai puțin*, ci cel ce nu se mulțumește cu *puțin* și râvnește la *mai mult* (lit. transl. 'He is not considered poor the one who has less, but the one who is not satisfied with little and desires more'). ( $R_{adv}-R'_{adv}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

Comment: The same antonym sequence in the three languages, the 'smaller size' term preceding its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude. The Romanian proverb presents a peculiarity, i.e. the repetition of the first opposite term, namely *puțin* 'little' (see the underlined word). Because of this repetition, the length of the proverb is enlarged, which makes it longer than its homologues. We also note that in this case, both opposite terms have the comparative of superiority degree *mai puțin* ('less')-*mai mult* ('more'), versus the positive forms of the English and the Spanish opposite terms.

### **Proverb 12:**

E: Think *much*, speak *little*, and write *less*. ( $E_{adv}-E'_{adv}$ )

S: Piensa *mucho*, habla *poco*, y escribe *menos*. ( $S_{adv}-S'_{adv}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: It is obvious that the English and Spanish proverbs are identical in form, meaning, structure, opposite terms and antonym sequence. Moreover, the antonym order sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude since the 'bigger term' stands before its opposite. Note also that the

second terms of the opposite pairs appear twice in each proverb, the second time having another form, i.e. Comparative of superiority (see the underlined words). No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

- *much-little* as pronouns in:

### **Proverb 13:**

E: Too *much* spoils, too *little* does not satisfy. (E<sub>pronoun</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: *Ni tanto* que enfade, *ni tan poco* que no baste. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: *Ni tan poco* que no baste, *ni tanto* que no se gaste. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-S1'<sub>adv</sub>)

S2: Tanto es *lo de más* como *lo de menos*. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S3: *Demasiado* y *demasiado poco* pierde todo juego. (S3<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb in the sources of our corpus is counterbalanced by the existence of four Spanish variants. The equality in oppositeness is established between the English proverb and each of the Spanish ones, where we find different pairs of opposites, but with equivalent meanings. Several comments need to be made here, namely:

- in S and S1 the oppositeness is established between the same pair of adverbial locutions *ni tanto-ni tan poco*, with an inverted order. Thus S<sub>adv</sub> = S1'<sub>adv</sub> and S'<sub>adv</sub> = S1<sub>adv</sub>, therefore S = S1;
- the S2 pair is expressed by the opposite nominal locutions *lo de más-lo de menos*;
- the S3 pair of opposites also contains a locution, this time adjectival, i.e. *demasiado poco*;
- except for S1, the antonym sequence is the same in all proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on magnitude since the 'bigger term' stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 14:**

E: *Many* are called, but *few* are chosen. (E<sub>pronoun</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: *Muchos* son llamados, y *pocos* los escogidos. (S<sub>pronoun</sub>-S'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

R: *Mulți* chemați, *puțini* aleși (lit. transl. 'Many called, few chosen'). (R<sub>pronoun</sub>-R'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The equality of the relations of oppositeness in the three languages is complete due to the following aspects: the same morphological class of the opposite terms, namely indefinite pronouns; the same plural form; the same antonym sequence, the 'more quantity' term preceding its opposite, which sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude. This perfect match is due to the common biblical origin of the three proverbs, namely *Matthew*, 20: 16 and 22: 14. There is a small difference though which lies on the fact that the Romanian equivalent proverb has a no verb structure, while in the Spanish proverb the verb is missing only in the second part.

- *much-little* as adverb and pronoun in:

### **Proverb 15:**

E: Ask *much* to have *a little*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: Pide *mucho* y obtendrás *algo*. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S1: Pedir *sobrado* por salir con *lo mediado*. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: Pide *lo más*, y *algo* te darán. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

R: Cere *mult* ca să poți căpăta *puțin* (lit. transl. 'Ask much to have a little'). (R<sub>adv</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E ≈ S = R**

Comment: Due to the fact that E<sub>adv</sub> = S<sub>adv</sub> and E'<sub>pronoun</sub> ≠ S'<sub>pronoun</sub> (being synonymous in this context), E ≈ S. The S1 opposite pair is expressed by different terms from the rest of the proverbs. Thus S1 ⇔ S. We also note that S<sub>adv</sub> ≠ S2<sub>noun</sub> and S'<sub>pronoun</sub> = S2'<sub>pronoun</sub> which gives us S2 ≈ S. The R opposite terms are equal to the E ones. The antonym sequence is identical in the five proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on magnitude since the 'bigger size' term precedes its opposite. The final CRO can be represented as follows: E ≈ S [(⇔ S1) ≈ S2] = R.

- *much-little* as adjective and pronoun in:

### **Proverb 16:**

E: He who commences/begins *many* things finishes but *few*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: Quien emprende *muchas* cosas, acaba *pocas*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S1: Quien *mucho* emprende, *poco* acaba. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-S1'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: Cine se apucă de *multe*, *puține* termină (lit. transl. 'He who commences many finishes few'). (R<sub>pronoun</sub>-R'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

R1: Când de *multe* te apuci, mai pe toate le încurci (lit. transl. 'When you begin many you mess-up almost everything'). (R1<sub>pronoun</sub>-0)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: Even though the opposite terms in the three languages are equivalent in meaning, there is a slight difference in their morphological class. Thus E<sub>adj</sub> and S<sub>adj</sub> are quantifiers with adjectival value; E'<sub>pronoun</sub>, S'<sub>pronoun</sub>, R'<sub>pronoun</sub> and R1<sub>pronoun</sub> are indefinite pronouns, while S1 and S1' are adverbs. It is also noticeable the absence of the opposite term of R1<sub>pronoun</sub> (which is equal to R<sub>pronoun</sub>) in the variant of the Romanian proverb, which makes R1 = [0]. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more quantity' term stands before its opposite in E, S, S1 and R. Our final CRO looks like the following: (E = S = S1 = R) ≠ R1[0].

\*See also 2.5.3., Proverb 3.

### **2.1.7. Friendship-enmity**

This oppositeness is represented by the pairs of antonymous nouns *friend-enemy* and the synonym of *enemy*, that is *foe* (*friend-foe*) in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: A wise *enemy* is better than a false *friend*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Más vale *un enemigo* discreto que *un amigo* necio. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: We observe an equal relation of antonymy in the English and the Spanish proverbs, both pairs of opposites being expressed by singular common nouns. We also detect the same antonym sequence in both proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory according to which

the positive term should precede the negative one. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: Better an open *enemy* than a false *friend*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Más vale *enemigo* franco que *amigo* falso. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: El peor *enemigo* es el escondido. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R: Mai bine *vrăjmaș* c-o față, decât *prieten* cu două fețe (lit. transl. 'Better a one-faced enemy than a two-faced friend'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: We observe an equal relation of antonymy in the English, Spanish and Romanian proverbs, the three pairs of opposites being expressed by equivalent singular common nouns. We also see the same antonym sequence in the three languages, contradicting Jones' theory according to which the positive term should precede the negative one. The S1 variant of the Spanish proverb has a '0' relation of oppositeness due to the absence of the opposite term of S1<sub>noun</sub> (*enemigo*).

### **Proverb 3:**

E: Make your *enemy* your *friend*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: *Dușmanului* să-i dai pâine și sare (lit. transl. 'Give you enemy bread and salt'<sup>216</sup>). (R<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R1: *Dușmanul* cel rău cu pâine să ți-l câștigi (lit. transl. 'Earn your worst enemy with bread'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: Because the positive term, i.e. *friend*, of the antonymic pair is absent in the Romanian proverbs, we have a '0' relation of oppositeness. Due to this reason and to the fact that no equivalent Spanish proverb has been found in the sources of our corpus, the English head proverb stands alone in the equation.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: One *enemy* can do more hurt than ten *friends* can do good. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Un singur *dușman* e destul să dărâme ce au lucrat o mie de *prieteni* (lit. transl. 'One enemy is enough to destroy what a thousand friends accomplished'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: The equality of the relation of oppositeness found in the English and Romanian proverbs is based on: the lexical equivalence of the antonymous terms, the same antonym

<sup>216</sup> In Romania, like in many Eastern-European countries, 'bread and salt' is a welcome greeting ceremony, especially on official events. When very important guests arrive, they are received with a loaf of bread, usually with a round form (see photo below), placed on a *ștergar*, a typical hand-made embroidered towel, usually red or white. A salt holder or a salt cellar is placed on top of the bread loaf or secured in a hole on the top of the loaf. Normally, the 'bread and salt' ceremony is presented by young women dressed in national costumes.



Source: <https://www.google.es/>

sequence related to positivity (the negative term precedes its opposite), and the same antonym sequence connected to magnitude (the 'more quantity' term stands after its opposite). The magnitude concept order is given by the same sequence of the noun forms, namely  $E_{\text{noun}}^{\text{singular}}$  -  $E'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{plural}}$  and  $R_{\text{noun}}^{\text{singular}}$  -  $R'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{plural}}$ , with the observation that E' and R' have different determiners, namely *ten friends* versus *o mie de prieteni* ('a thousand friends'), but this does not affect in any way our pairs of opposites.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: His own *enemy* is no one's *friend*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}$ - $E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: In this case, neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverbs have been found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, both opposite terms are singular common nouns with an order that contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since it is the negative term that stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: One *enemy* is too many; and a hundred *friends* too few. ( $E_{\text{noun}}$ - $E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

E1: One *foe* is too many, and a hundred *friends* too few. (LEF) ( $E1_{\text{noun}}$ - $E1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Un *enemigo* es mucho, y cien *amigos* muy poco. ( $S_{\text{noun}}$ - $S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: Pocos son cien *amigos*, y mucho es un *enemigo*. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}$ - $S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S2: Cien *amigos* son pocos; un *enemigo* es mucho. ( $S2_{\text{noun}}$ - $S2'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: Decât un *dușman*, mai bine zece *prieteni* (lit. transl. 'Better ten friends than one enemy'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}$ - $R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R1: O sută de *prieteni* și tot nu-ți prisosesc (lit. transl. 'A hundred friends are not enough'). (LEF) ( $R1_{\text{noun}}$ -0)

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

Comment: At a first glance we observe that there is at least one variant for the head proverb of each language. The only proverb which steps out of line is R1 due to the absence of the second opposite term. What we can say is that R1 represents the first part of S1 and S2, thus the following conclusions can be drawn: ( $S1 = S2$ )  $\supset$  R1;  $S1_{\text{noun}} = S2_{\text{noun}} = R1_{\text{noun}} = E'_{\text{noun}} = E1'_{\text{noun}} = S'_{\text{noun}} = R'_{\text{noun}}$ . We also notice that the antonym sequence based on positivity is not the same in all proverbs. Therefore, the order 'negative term - positive term' (in E, E1, S and R) prevails over the inverted one, namely 'positive term - negative term' (in S1, S2, \*R1 - we include R1 because the positive term appears, even though the negative one is missing). Independently of the antonym sequence, there is constancy in the forms of the positive and negative terms, meaning that the negative opposite has always a singular form while the positive one has always a plural form. The last remark is that of  $E1_{\text{noun}}$  (*foe*)  $\Leftrightarrow E_{\text{noun}}$  (*enemy*). Our final CRO can be represented as follows:  $E (\Leftrightarrow E1) = S = S1 = S2 = R \neq R1[0]$ .

### **Proverb 7:**

E: Peel a fig for your *friend* and a peach for your *enemy*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}$ - $E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: In this case, neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverbs have been found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned we notice that the



antonym sequence proposed by Jones taking into account positivity is accomplished, the positive term preceding its opposite. Both opposite terms are singular common nouns.

### **Proverb 8:**

E: A reconciled *friend* is a double *enemy*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: La verdadera *amistad* es inmortal. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

S1: *Amistad* que no fuera duradera, no fue verdadera. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

S2: Quien deja de ser *amigo*, no lo fue nunca. ( $S2_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq S[0] \neq R[-]$**

Comment: There is a '0' relation of oppositeness in all the Spanish proverbs due to the absence of the second term of the pair of opposites. The English proverb accomplishes Jones' theory about the antonym sequence based on positivity, the positive term standing before its opposite. As for Romanian language, no equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 9:**

E: Treat your *friend* as if he might become an *enemy*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Trata a tu *amigo* como si hubiera de ser tu *enemigo*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: Presume de tu *amigo*, que puede ser en algún tiempo tu *enemigo*. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: All the proverbs accomplish Jones' theory about the antonym sequence based on positivity, the positive term standing before its opposite. It is noticeable that all opposite terms are nouns with a singular form. As for Romanian language, no equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 10:**

E: God defend me from my *friends*; from my *enemies* I can defend myself. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

E1: Save us from our *friends*. ( $E1_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

S: De *los amigos* me guarde Dios; que de *los enemigos* me guardaré yo. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: De quien me fío, Dios me guarde; de quien no me fío, me guardaré yo. ( $0-0$ )

R: Ferește-mă, Doamne, de *prieteni*, că de *dușmani* mă feresc eu (lit. transl. 'God defend me from my friends; from my enemies I can defend myself'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

Comment: Due to their common biblical origin (*Ecclesiasticus*, 6: 13), our English, Spanish and Romanian head proverbs share an equal relation of oppositeness. We note the same antonym sequence, the positive term preceding the negative one (which accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity) and also the fact that all the opposites are expressed by plural nouns. The E1 and S1 variants contain '0' relations of oppositeness due to the absence of one opposite term in E1, and of both opposites in S1. The final CRO can be represented as follows:  $E (\neq E1 = S1 = [0]) = S = R$ .

### **Proverb 11:**

E: Trust not a new *friend* nor an old *enemy*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposites are singular common nouns. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes the negative one.

\*See also 2.1.9., Proverb 8.

### **Proverb 12:**

E: Hatred with *friends* is succour to *foes*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: The sources of our corpus provided no equivalent proverbs for the Spanish and Romanian languages. The antonym sequence in the English proverb accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity since the negative term stands after its opposite. Both antonymic terms are plural nouns.

## **2.1.8. Richness-poverty**

These opposite concepts are encapsulated by:

- the antonymous terms *rich-poor*, which are adjectives in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Poor* men seek meat for their stomach; *rich* men stomach for their meat. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the pair of opposites is expressed by adjectives placed in an order that contradicts Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity since the negative term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: *Rich* man may dine when he will, the *poor* man when he may. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *El rico* come cuando quiere; *el pobre* cuando puede / tiene. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: *Cel bogat* mănâncă când vrea, dar *cel sărac* când are (lit. transl. 'The rich eats when he wants, but the poor when he has got [what to eat]'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: *Bogatul* mănâncă când voiește și *săracul* când găsește (lit. transl. 'The rich eats when he wants and the poor when he finds'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: We observe that the opposite terms found in the English proverb have noun value in the Spanish and Romanian equivalents. In S and R1 the opposite terms are singular nouns with definite articles, namely (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>el</sup> = (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>-(u)/217</sup>. At the same time, the R opposite terms are expressed by nominal locutions, formed of the adjectives *bogat* 'rich', *sărac* 'poor' and the Romanian demonstrative adjectival article *cel* 'the'. The antonym sequence is

<sup>217</sup> Where -(u)l is the enclitic Romanian definite article for masculine singular Nominative-Accusative nouns.

the same in the four proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more wealth' term stands before its opposite.

- and adverbs in:

### **Proverb 3:**

E: Fools live *poor* to die *rich*. ( $E_{adv}-E'_{adv}$ )

S: A quien vive *pobre* por morir *rico*, llámale borrico. ( $S_{adv}-S'_{adv}$ )

S1: Morir *rico* tras vivir *pobre*, llámale bestia y no hombre. ( $S1_{adv}-S1'_{adv}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb may be counterbalanced by the presence of two Spanish counterparts of the English head proverb. The only slight difference we observe related to English and Spanish is the inverted order of the opposite terms in S1, namely the positive term precedes the negative one, which accomplishes Jones' theory of the antonym sequence based on positivity. Thus  $E_{adv} = S_{adv} = S1'_{adv}$  and  $E'_{adv} = S'_{adv} = S1_{adv}$ .

### **Proverb 4:**

E: Make the vine *poor* and it will make you *rich*. ( $E_{adv}-E'_{adv}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, we observe that both opposite terms are adverbs. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more wealth' term stands after its opposite.

- the nouns *the mighty-the poor* in:

### **Proverb 5:**

E: The pleasures of *the mighty* are the tears of *the poor*. ( $E_{noun}-E'_{noun}$ )

E1: Dainties of *the great* are the tears of *the poor*. ( $E1_{noun}-E1'_{noun}$ )

S: Pagan *justos* por *pecadores*. ( $S_{noun}-S'_{noun}$ )

S1: Los griegos pagan las locuras de sus reyes. (0-0)

R: *Bogatul* greșește și *săracul* cere iertare (lit. transl. 'The rich errs and the poor asks for forgiveness'). ( $R_{noun}-R'_{noun}$ )

**CRO:  $E \Leftrightarrow S = R$**

Comment: We have perfect equality between the E and R relations of oppositeness, and equivalence between the Spanish and the English ones. This is due to the fact that the S opposite terms are not equivalent in meaning with the E ones, but they are also antonyms, so the relation of oppositeness is the same in E, S and R. The S1 variant steps out of line because of the '0' relation of oppositeness, while E1 is almost equal to E due to the relationship of the first opposite terms, namely  $E_{noun} \Leftrightarrow E1_{noun}$ , whereas  $E'_{noun} = E1'_{noun}$ . It is noticeable that all the opposite terms are nouns derived from adjectives with a changed value. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, it is the same in all the proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

- the adjective *poor* and the noun *riches*:

**Proverb 6:**

E: Children are *poor* men's *riches*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Quien tiene muchos hijos no muere *rico*. (S<sub>adv</sub>-0)

S1: Con muchos hijos no hay hombre *rico*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-0)

R: Multimea copiilor, *averea* omului (lit. transl. 'Children's multitude, men's richness'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-0)

**CRO: E ≠ (S[0] = R[0])**

Comment: In the Spanish and Romanian equivalents of the English proverb the second term of the E opposite pair is missing, hence '0' relations of oppositeness in S, S1 and R. The E'<sub>noun</sub> has its counterparts in the Spanish *rico* and the Romanian *averea* ('richness'). The absence of the second opposite terms in the S, S1 and R proverbs implies the nonexistence of antonymic pairs which generates the nonequivalent relation of oppositeness in the three languages. Regarding the antonym sequence of the English proverb, it contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more wealth' term stands before its opposite.

- the adjective *rich* in opposition to the noun *poverty*:

**Proverb 7:**

E: He who is content in his *poverty* is wonderfully *rich*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: No hay mayor *riqueza* que contentamiento. (S<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

Comment: In the Spanish equivalent of the English proverb the first term of the E opposite pair is missing. The E'<sub>adj</sub> has its counterpart in the Spanish noun *riqueza*. The absence of the first term in S implies the nonexistence of an antonymic pair which, together with the lack of a Romanian equivalent proverb, generates the nonequivalent relation of oppositeness in the three languages. Regarding the antonym sequence of the English proverb, it contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more wealth' term stands before its opposite.

- the pair of nouns *prosperity*-*adversity* in:

**Proverb 8:**

E: In time of *prosperity* friends will be plenty; in time of *adversity* not one amongst twenty. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Quien tuvo dineros, tuvo compañeros; mas si los dineros perdió, sin compañeros se quedó. (0-0)

R: Ai bani, ai prieteni; n-ai bani, n-ai prieteni (lit. transl. 'You have money, you have got friends; you have no money, you haven't got any friends'). (0-0)

R1: La *belșug* ai prieteni cu duiumul, la vreme de *reștriște* toți te părăsesc (lit. transl. 'In time of prosperity you have got plenty of friends, in time of adversity all of them leave you'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R2: Până-i *bine* mulți cu tine, dar la *nevoi* înapoi (lit. transl. 'While everything goes well, many are by your side, but when in trouble they step aside'). (R2<sub>adv</sub>-R2'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[0]) = R**

Comment: There are '0' relations of oppositeness in S and R because they contain no pairs of opposites, thus  $S = R = [0]$ .  $(R1 \Leftrightarrow R2) = E$  because the R1 opposite pair is synonymous to the R2 one. The same antonym sequence is found in both English and Romanian languages, the positive term preceding its opposite, which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity. In this case, though all of our proverbs have the same biblical origin, i.e. *Ecclesiasticus*, 37: 4-5; 6-8, there is no total equality of the relations of oppositeness in the three languages. Still, they have much in common, since the final CRO can be represented like  $E (\neq S[0] = R[0]) = R1 \Leftrightarrow R2$ .

### **Proverb 9:**

E: *Prosperity* makes friends, *adversity* tries them. ( $E_{\text{noun}} - E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The English proverb contains a pair of opposites expressed by singular common nouns. The antonym sequence is in concordance with Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

- other pairs of words that without context would not be considered antonyms, namely *embroidery-rags*, *courts-cottages* in:

### **Proverb 10:**

E: Better to go to heaven in *rags* than to hell in *embroidery*. ( $E_{\text{noun}} - E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: Neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverbs were found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity is contradicted since the positive term stands after its opposite.

\*See also 2.2.12., Proverb 1.

### **Proverb 11:**

E: Love lives in *cottages* as well as in *courts*. ( $E_{\text{noun}} - E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Amor ni mira linaje, ni fe, ni pleito homenaje. (0-0)

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq S[0] \neq R[-]$**

Comment: In this case, the impure relation of oppositeness found in the English proverb is not present in the Spanish equivalent. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the antonym sequence based on magnitude contradicts Jones' theory, since the 'bigger size' term stands after its opposite.

### 2.1.9. New-old

As *old* is a polysemous word it forms opposite pairs with various antonymous words. If in the first case (2.1.5.), it has the [+animate] feature, in this case the [-animate] predominates, though it can refer to animate things too (see example number 6), but with a totally different meaning from the former.

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Old* chains gall less than *new*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Obiceiul ușurează povara (lit. transl. 'Habit makes burden lighter'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: While the Romanian language provides an equivalent for the English proverb, Spanish does not. Still, the Romanian equivalent contains no pair of opposites, thus there is no equivalent or similar relation of oppositeness in E and R. The antonym sequence of the English proverb contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology since in our real world *new* stands before *old*.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: You cannot teach an *old* dog *new* tricks. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: It is hard to teach an *old* dog tricks. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-0)

S: Caballo *viejo* no aprende trote *nuevo*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: A moro *viejo*, no aprendas algarabía. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-0)

R: Calul *bătrân* cu greu se învață la ham (lit. transl. 'It is difficult for an old horse to get used to the harness'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-0)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: There is an equal relation of oppositeness in the E and S proverbs. The Romanian proverb, just as the Spanish and English variants E1 and S1, is characterized by the absence of the second term of the opposite pair. Thus, we have E1<sub>adj</sub> = S1<sub>adj</sub> = R<sub>adj</sub>, but there is no relation of oppositeness due to the nonexistence of E1', S1' and R'. Hence E1 = S1 = R = [0]. The E and S opposite pairs are expressed by the same adjectives with identical antonym sequence which contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology since in our real world *new* stands before *old*. We also note that E<sub>adj</sub><sup>dog</sup> = E1<sub>adj</sub><sup>dog</sup> = S<sub>adj</sub><sup>caballo</sup> = S1<sub>adj</sub><sup>moro</sup> = R<sub>adj</sub><sup>calul 'horse'</sup>, all these terms determine [+animate] nouns from the fauna field (except *moro*). At the same time, E'<sub>adj</sub><sup>tricks</sup> = S'<sub>adj</sub><sup>trote</sup> determine [-animate] nouns. The antonym sequence is the same in E and S, contradicting Jones' theory based on chronology since in our real world *new* stands before *old*. The final CRO can be represented as follows: (E = S) ≠ (E1 = S1 = R = [0]).

#### **Proverb 3:**

E: Make *new* friends but keep *the old*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Prieteni *noi* să-ți faci, dar d-ăi *bătrâni* să nu te lași (lit. transl. 'Make new friends but keep the old'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Niciodată, pentru un prieten *nou* câștigat, nu lepăda pe cel *vechi* (lit. transl. 'Never give up an old friend for a new one that you made'). (R1<sub>adj</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

**Comment:** The unavailability of a Spanish equivalent is counterbalanced by the existence of two Romanian proverbs, both of them containing an equal relation of oppositeness with the one established in the English proverb. The similarity also lies in the antonym sequence, the term with a higher degree of frequency (in our case *new*) standing before its opposite in the three proverbs. We have the same antonymic structure in the two languages, namely 'adjective-noun'. The only difference is the number of R1, the opposite terms having singular forms. The last remark is related to the Romanian opposite terms between which the following relations are established:  $R_{adj} = R1_{adj}$  and  $R'_{noun} \Leftrightarrow R1'_{noun}$ .

#### **Proverb 4:**

E: The *new* love drives out the *old* love. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: Amor *nuevo*, olvida *el primero*. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{noun}$ )

S1: Amores *nuevos* olvidan *viejos*. ( $S1_{adj}-S1'_{adj}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

**Comment:** We observe equal relations of oppositeness in E and S1, a slight difference being that of number, namely singular in E versus plural in S1. The problem is raised by the S variant, more exactly by the  $S'_{noun}$  term which is different from  $S1'_{adj}$ . It is a strange relation of oppositeness established between the antonym *nuevo* and the heteronym *el primero*. The S opposite terms can be considered both antonyms, if we interpret *el primero* as 'the old', or heteronyms, if we take *nuevo* to mean 'the second'. The first option seems more appropriate to us because of the similarity with the other two proverbs and also due to the fact that *nuevo* is more open to interpretations, it can also mean 'the third, the fourth', etc. As to the antonym sequence, the term with a higher degree of frequency (in our case *new*) stands before its opposite in the three proverbs. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

#### **Proverb 5:**

E: My *old* mare would have a *new* crupper. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: A buey *viejo*, cencerro *nuevo*. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

S1: A mulo *cascado*, arreo *dorado*. ( $S1_{adj}-0$ )

R: La măgărița *bătrână*, frâu poleit (lit. transl. 'To the old mare, a gilding crupper'). ( $R_{adj}-0$ )

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[0]$**

**Comment:** While the E relation of oppositeness is equal to the S one, it does not happen the same with S1 which has two particularities. One consists in the absence of the second opposite term. The other one in the fact that the present term,  $S1_{adj}$ , is different from  $S_{adj}$  being, in some degree, synonym of  $S_{adj}$ , if we take into consideration their definitions provided by RAE, namely *viejo* meaning "Deslucido, estropeado por el uso"<sup>218</sup> and *cascado* meaning "Dicho especialmente de las cosas humanas: Que están gastadas o muy trabajadas, o que carecen de fuerza, sonoridad, entonación, etc."<sup>219</sup>. Thus, regarding the first opposite terms of our proverbs, we have the following relationship: ( $E_{adj} = S_{adj} = R_{adj}$ )  $\Leftrightarrow S1_{adj}$ . We also note that  $S1 = R[0]$  because the Romanian proverb also lacks the second opposite term. Therefore it contains a '0' relation of oppositeness. It is interesting the fact the  $E_{adj}$ ,  $S_{adj}$ ,  $S1_{adj}$  and  $R_{adj}$  terms determine [+ animate] nouns (*mare*, *buey*, *mulo*, *măgărița*) while  $E'_{adj}$  and  $S'_{adj}$  determine [- animate] nouns (*crupper*, *cencerro*). An important similarity lies in the identical 'non verbal' structures of S, S1 and R. Both E and S antonym sequences contradict Jones'

<sup>218</sup> Available from <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=viejo>>.

<sup>219</sup> Available from <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=cascado>>.

theory based on chronology since in our real world *new* stands before *old*. Concluding, the final CRO formula is:  $(E = S) \neq (S1 = R = [0])$ .

### **Proverb 6:**

E: The *old* saints are forgotten in *the new*. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: Al santo *viejo*, telarañas; al santo *nuevo*, lámparas y candeleros de plata. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: It draws our attention that the Spanish proverb is longer than the English one. Still, from the oppositeness point of view, they are equal, both opposite pairs being expressed by adjectives with the same meaning in both languages and also with the same order. Moreover, the opposites of one pair determine the same noun: *saints* in the English proverb, which is elliptic in the second position, and *santo* in the Spanish proverb, appearing twice. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since *old* stands before the opposite term *new*, while in the real world something is first new, then it becomes old. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: *Old* sin makes *new* shame. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: A falta *vieja*, vergüenza *nueva*. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

S1: A pecados *viejos*, penitencia *nueva*. ( $S1_{adj}-S1'_{adj}$ )

R: Păcatul *vechi* aduce rușine *nouă*. ( $R_{adj}-R'_{adj}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

Comment: All our opposite terms are adjectives determining [- animate] nouns; the only distinct one is  $S1_{adj}$  because of its plural form, all the rest having singular forms. Still,  $S = S1$  as far as their relations of oppositeness are concerned. We also note that E and R have the same [+ verb] structures, while S and S1 identical [- verb] structures. The antonym sequence is identical in the four proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world, *new* stands before *old*. The resuming CRO is  $E = S = S1 = R$ .

### **Proverb 8:**

E: Trust not a *new* friend nor an *old* enemy. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposites are adjectives which determine [+ animate] singular common nouns. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world, *new* stands before *old*.

\*See also 2.1.7., Proverb 11.

### **Proverb 9:**

E: Who leaves the *old* way for *the new* will find himself deceived. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: Los caminos *viejos* no dejes por *los nuevos*. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

S1: No dejar los caminos *viejos* por los senderos *nuevos*. ( $S1_{adj}-S1'_{adj}$ )

S2: Más vale camino *viejo* que sendero *nuevo*. ( $S2_{adj}-S2'_{adj}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**



**Comment:** The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb in the sources of our corpus is counterbalanced by the existence of three Spanish variants, all of them equal to the English proverb as far as the relation of oppositeness is concerned. We notice that in E and S both opposites determine the same noun (*way* and *caminos* respectively) which is elliptic in the second position. In S1 and S2 the situation changes since the opposite terms determine a different noun each (*caminos/senderos* and *camino/sendero* respectively). Related to the antonym sequence, it is the same in the four proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *new* stands before *old*. The final CRO can be represented as follows: (E = S = S1 = S2) ≠ R[-].

### **Proverb 10:**

E: Do not put *new* wine in *old* bottles. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

**Comment:** As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by adjectives which determine [-animate] nouns. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *new* stands before *old*.

## **2.1.10. Beauty-ugliness**

- Expressed by the pair of adjectives *fair-foul* (= the archaic term for *ugly*):

### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Fair* in the craddle, *foul* in the saddle. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Bonita* en faja, *fea* en plaza. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** There are equal relations of oppositeness in the English proverb and its Spanish equivalent, while, according to our corpus, the Romanian language provides no equivalent paremia. Both E and S have identical 'non verbal' structures. The antonym sequence accomplishes Jones' theory related to positivity, according to which the negative term stands after its opposite.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: *Foul* in the craddle and *fair* in the saddle. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

**Comment:** A similar proverb to the previous one, it has no counterparts in Spanish and Romanian. It contains the same pair of opposites as Proverb 1, with an inverted antonym sequence, namely the negative term preceding the positive one, which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity. Again, the English proverb has a 'no verb' structure.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: No love is *foul*, nor prison *fair*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: No hay cárcel *bella* ni amada *fea*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness of the English and the Spanish proverbs are equal. The only difference is the antonym sequence, inverted in S, but accomplishing Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite. Thus E<sub>adj</sub> = S'<sub>adj</sub> and E'<sub>adj</sub> = S<sub>adj</sub>. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: The peacock hath *fair* feathers, but *foul* feet. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Păunul pene *frumoase*, dar picioare *urâte* (lit. transl. 'The peacock fair feathers, but foul feet'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness found in the English and Romanian proverbs are equal. Both opposite pairs are expressed by adjectives with the same antonym order, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite. A slight difference draws our attention in the proverbs' structures, the Romanian one being a non-verb one (the verb *to have* present in E misses in R). No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: *Foul* water as soon as *fair* will quench hot fire. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: La vreme de nevoie și cu lături poți stinge cel mai mare foc (lit. transl. 'In time of adversity you can quench the biggest fire even with slops'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: While no Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the Romanian one contains no pair of opposites. As far as the English proverb is concerned, the opposite terms are adjectives. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands after its opposite.

\*See also 2.6.2., Proverb 3.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: In *fair* weather prepare for *foul*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Comprador veterano compra lo de *invierno* en *verano*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Omul cuminte își cumpără *vara* sanie și *iarna* car (lit. transl. 'The wise man buys his sleigh in the summer and his wagon in the winter. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E ≠ (S = R)**

Comment: We observe that in this case the equality of oppositeness is established only between the Spanish and the Romanian proverbs, the opposite terms being heteronyms, while in the English proverb the opposite pair is expressed by antonyms. The antonym sequence is reversed in S and R, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology in R, since in the real world, *summer* stands before *winter* if we take into consideration the four seasons of the year.

In E, it also sustains Jones' theory, but in this case the one based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: *Fair* words and *foul* deeds. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: *Fair* words and *foul* deeds cheat wise men as well as fools. (LEF) (E1(a)<sub>adj</sub>-E1(a)'<sub>adj</sub>;  
E1(b)<sub>adj</sub>-E1(b)'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Buenas* palabras y *ruines* hechos. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E  $\Leftrightarrow$  S  $\neq$  R[-]**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the same sources provided two variants of the English proverb. Lefter's version, E1, is longer than Flonta's, i.e. E, and contains two opposite pairs. It is the (a) pair that interests us in this case. Thus E1  $\supset$  E. The same relation of oppositeness, namely antonymy, is found in the Spanish proverb, but established between different terms from the English ones. That is why E = E1  $\Leftrightarrow$  S. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, it is identical in the three proverbs, and it sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite.

- the adjectives *handsome-ugly*:

### **Proverb 8:**

E: She who loves an *ugly* man thinks him *handsome*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Quien *feo* ama, *hermoso* le parece. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Quien *lo feo* ama, *bello* lo halla. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S2: El deseo hace *hermoso* *lo feo*. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S3: Para las mujeres no hay hombre *feo*. (S3(a)<sub>adj</sub>-0; S3(b)<sub>noun</sub>-S3(b)'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S  $\neq$  R[-]**

Comment: At a first glance it impresses us the great number of Spanish equivalent proverbs versus the nonexistence of a Romanian one. Several aspects draw our attention:

- the second opposite term of S1(= *bello*), which is different from, but synonymous with, its Spanish counterparts S'<sub>adj</sub> = S2<sub>adj</sub> (= *hermoso*);
- the same morphological class of S1<sub>noun</sub> = S2'<sub>noun</sub> (= *lo feo*);
- the absence of the second opposite term of the (a) pair in S3; only the negative term, *feo*, is present. Though there is another pair of opposites, namely (b): *mujeres-hombre*, they are complementaries and cannot be taken into consideration for our CRO. That is why, in the case of S3, we have a '0' relation of oppositeness compared to our English head proverb and excluding the pair if complementaries.
- the only proverb in which the antonym sequence is inverted is S2, where the positive term stands before its opposite. This converts this variant in the only one sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity.

### 2.1.11. Short-long

The adjective *short* appears in several proverbs alongside with its antonym *long*:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Art is *long*, life is *short*. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: El arte es *largo* y la vida *breve*. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

S1: El arte es *eterno*, la vida *breve*. ( $S1_{adj}-S1'_{adj}$ )

R: Omul moare de bătrân și tot nu le învață pe toate (lit. transl. 'Man dies of old age, still he has so much more to learn'). (0-0)

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[0]$**

Comment: Because  $S1_{adj} \neq S_{adj}$  and  $S1'_{adj} = S'_{adj}$ ,  $S \Leftrightarrow S1$  and  $E = S (\Leftrightarrow S1) \neq R[0]$ . The Romanian proverb contains no pair of opposites, therefore a '0' relation of oppositeness. The antonym sequence, identical in E, S and S1, sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more time' term stands before its opposite.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: *Short* boughs, *long* vintage. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: Ramo *corto*, y vendimia *larga*. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness of E and S are equal based on the identical 'no verb' structures of the two proverbs and on the fact that the opposite pairs are equal. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory according to which the term implying 'bigger size' stands after its opposite. Still, the antonym sequence based on magnitude is the same in the two languages, the term implying the 'smaller size' standing first. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

#### **Proverb 3:**

E: *Short* pleasure, *long* pain. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: *Un* deleite, *mil* dolores. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

S1: A placeres *breves*, dolores nada leves. ( $S1_{adj}-0$ )

S2: A placer *pasajero*, dolores años enteros. ( $S2_{adj}-0$ )

R: Plăcerea *scurtă*, căința *lungă* (lit. transl. 'Short pleasure, long repentance'). ( $R_{adj}-R'_{adj}$ )

R1: După o *scurtă* plăcere urmează o *lungă* durere (lit. transl. 'A short pleasure is followed by a long pain'). ( $R1_{adj}-R1'_{adj}$ )

**CRO:  $E (\neq S) = R$**

Comment: At a first glance it draws our attention that both Spanish and Romanian languages provide more than one equivalent proverb; then the similar non-verb structure of all proverbs, except R1 which contains the verb *a urma* 'to follow' (see the underlined word). The Spanish variants raise several problems, namely:

- the S opposite pair is expressed by the adjectives *un-mil* which are not antonyms, they are heteronyms, though, in this case, they imply the 'little-much' concepts;
- even though  $S1_{adj} = E_{adj}$ , since in S1 the second opposite term is missing, we have a '0' S1 relation of oppositeness;
- a similar situation is found in S2, where  $S2_{adj} \neq E_{adj}$ . A relation of oppositeness is established between  $S2_{adj}$  and the syntagm *años enteros* ( $\Leftrightarrow$  'long time'). Still, there is no similar opposite pair to the E one; hence a '0' S2 relation of oppositeness.

Concluding, our CRO can be represented by the following formula:  $E \{ \neq S \neq (S1[0] = S2[0]) \} = R = R1$ .

\*See also 2.1.3., Proverb 16.

#### Proverb 4:

E: *Short reckonings make long friends*<sup>220</sup>. ( $E_{adj} - E'_{adj}$ )

E1: Even reckoning makes *long* friends. ( $E1_{adj} \neq E'_{adj}$ )

S: Cuentas claras, amistades *largas*. ( $S_{adj} \neq S'_{adj}$ )

S1: Las cuentas claras hacen los buenos amigos. (0-0)

S2: Las cuentas *claras* y el chocolate *espeso*. ( $S2_{adj} - S'_{adj}$ )

S3: Buenas cuentas, buenos amigos. (0-0)

S4: Cuenta y razón, conservan amistad. (0-0)

S5: Bien me quieres, bien te quiero; no me toques el dinero. (0-0)

R: Socoteala deasă e frăție aleasă (lit. transl. 'Frequent reckoning is honourable brotherhood'). (0-0)

R1: Cârnatul *lung* e bun, dar socoteala lungă nu e bună (lit. transl. 'The long sausage is good, but the long reckoning is not good'). ( $R1_{adj} - 0$ )

**CRO:  $E \Leftrightarrow S \neq R[0]$**

Comment: A specification needs to be made here, namely that the equivalent CRO is established between the E and the S2 relations of oppositeness. Due to the fact that the S2 opposite pair is expressed by words not equal in meaning with the E pair, we do not have  $E = S2$ , but  $E \Leftrightarrow S2$ . At a first glance it draws our attention the great number of equivalent variants, especially of the Spanish ones. Of the ten proverbs, eight (E1, S, S1, S3, S4, S5, R and R1) contain '0' relations of oppositeness. As marked between brackets, we found two terms in E1 and S, but the underlined ones, namely  $E1_{adj}$  and  $S_{adj}$ , are not antonyms of  $E'_{adj} = S'_{adj}$  ( $= E'_{adj}$ ). The  $R1_{adj}$  ( $= E'_{adj}$ ) term appears twice in the same proverb, but with no opposite. that is why we have also a '0' relation of oppositeness in R1. Regarding the antonym sequence, both E and S2 contradict Jones' theory based on magnitude since the 'bigger size' term stands after its opposite. The final CRO can be represented as follows:  $(E \Leftrightarrow S2) \neq (E1 = S = S1 = S3 = S4 = S5 = R = R1 = [0])$ .

#### Proverb 5:

E: A *long* tongue is a sign of a *short* hand. ( $E_{adj} - E'_{adj}$ )

S: La lengua *larga* es señal de mano *corta*. ( $S_{adj} - S'_{adj}$ )

R: *Bun* de gură,  *rău* de mână (lit. transl. 'Good mouth, bad hand'). ( $R_{adj} - R'_{adj}$ )

R1: *Bun* de gură,  *rău* de lucru (lit. transl. 'Good mouth, bad work'). ( $R1_{adj} - R'_{adj}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S \Leftrightarrow R$**

Comment: We have equal relations of oppositeness in E and S, but equivalent with R. This is due to the fact that the opposite relation in the Romanian proverbs is expressed by different terms, with distinct meanings from their counterparts. In spite of this discrepancy, the R and R1 opposite terms have the same morphological class and they are also antonyms. While E and S proverbs sustain Jones' antonym sequence based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term precedes its opposite, R and R1 variants are also in concordance with Jones' antonym sequence, but in this case based on positivity, since the positive term stands before the negative one.

<sup>220</sup> In LEF the following variant appears: 'Short accounts make long friends'.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: *The longest* way round is *the shortest* way home. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Cine înconjoară ajunge mai curând (lit. transl. 'He who goes round arrives sooner'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: In this case we have a nonexistent Spanish equivalent proverb, a '0' relation of oppositeness in the Romanian one, and an antonymic relation in the English head proverb. The latter is expressed by adjectives, both being at the Superlative degree of comparison and determining the same noun, i.e. *way*. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term precedes its opposite.

- *Long* also contrasts to *little* in:

### **Proverb 7:**

E: *Long* hair, *little* brains. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: *Long* hair and *short* sense. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

E2: *Long* hair and *short* wit. (E2<sub>adj</sub>-E2'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Cabello *luego* y corto el seso. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Las mujeres tienen *largo* el cabello y *corto* el entendimiento. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Coadă *lungă*, minte *scurtă* (lit. transl. 'Long ponytail, short wit'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

R1: Plete *lungi* și minte *scurtă*, judecată mai mărunță (lit. transl. 'Long hair and little brain, smaller judgement'). (R1<sub>adj</sub>-R1'<sub>adj</sub>- R1''<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: There is an equal relation of oppositeness in all our proverbs based on the fact that all opposite terms are adjectives and that the antonym sequence is the same, the 'bigger size' term preceding its opposite, which accomplishes Jones' theory related to magnitude. We also observe the presence of synonymous terms, namely E'<sub>adj</sub> <=> (E1'<sub>adj</sub> = E2'<sub>adj</sub> = S'<sub>adj</sub> = S1'<sub>adj</sub> = R'<sub>adj</sub> = R1'<sub>adj</sub>); S<sub>adj</sub> <=> (S1<sub>adj</sub> = E<sub>adj</sub> = E1<sub>adj</sub> = E2<sub>adj</sub> = R<sub>adj</sub> = R1<sub>adj</sub>). R1<sub>adj</sub> stands out by its plural form versus the singular form of all the other opposite terms. The R1 variant contains another term, namely R1''<sub>adj</sub> (*smaller*)<sup>Comparative of Inferiority</sup> which can also form a pair of opposites with R1<sub>adj</sub>. Last, but not least, we cannot abstain from criticizing the S1 variant which we consider discriminatory and offensive against all women.

## **2.1.12. Laughter-cry**

The opposition is denoted by the opposite verbs *to laugh-to cry* and *to laugh-to weep*:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: *To cry* with one eye, and *laugh* with the other. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Cu un ochi *râde* și cu altul *plânge* (lit. transl. 'He laughs with one eye, and cries with the other'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Din gură *miere* și din inimă *otravă* (lit. transl. 'Honey in the mouth, poison in the heart'). (LEF) (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

**Comment:** The equal relation of oppositeness is established between the English and the Romanian proverbs, the Spanish equivalent being inexistent in the sources of our corpus. The difference between the two pairs lies in the fact that the E opposite terms have ([+ to] and [-to]) Infinitive forms, while the R opposite terms have third-person singular Present Simple forms. We also notice the inverted sequence of the terms, thus the following relations of equivalence are established:  $E_{verb} = R'_{verb}$  and  $E'_{verb} = R_{verb}$ . Even though one can cry of happiness, in this context it is obvious that *cry* has a negative connotation, hence the antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity in E, and sustains it in R and R1. As far as R1 is concerned we found the pair *miere-otravă* ('honey-poison') in which there is a certain degree of oppositeness if we interpret them from the 'sweet-bitter' concepts point of view, but the two terms are not antonyms, so in R1 there is a '0' relation of oppositeness.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: *Laugh* before breakfast, you'll *cry* before supper. ( $E_{verb}-E'_{verb}$ )

E1: He that *laughs* in the morning, *weeps* at night. ( $E1_{verb}-E1'_{verb}$ )

S: Tal que *ríe* ahora, a cabo de rato *llora*. ( $S_{verb}-S'_{verb}$ )

S1: Tú que *riendo estás*, mañana *llorarás*. ( $S1_{verb}-S1'_{verb}$ )

R: Cine astăzi *râde*, mâine *plânge*, că vremea e nestatornică (lit. transl. 'He who laughs today will cry tomorrow because the weather is changing'). ( $R_{verb}-R'_{verb}$ )

R1: *Râsul* peste fire aduce *plâns* după fire (lit. transl. 'Laughter beyond measure brings weeping as to one's nature'). ( $R1_{noun}-R1'_{noun}$ )

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** There is one proverb which steps out of line, i.e. R1, due to the distinct morphological class of the opposite terms (nouns *râsul-plâns* 'the laughter-weeping', versus all the others which are verbs). It has also another peculiarity, namely the fact the first term,  $R1_{noun}$ , is the subject of the second,  $R'_{noun}$ . While in the other proverbs the opposite terms of each pair have the same subject: ( $E_{verb}-E'_{verb}$ )<sup>you</sup> = ( $S1_{verb}-S1'_{verb}$ )<sup>tú 'you'</sup>; ( $E1_{verb}-E1'_{verb}$ )<sup>he</sup> = ( $S_{verb}-S'_{verb}$ )<sup>(s)he</sup> = ( $R_{verb}-R'_{verb}$ )<sup>cine 'who'</sup>. The opposite terms either share or have different verbal forms, namely: ( $E_{verb}$ )<sup>Imperative</sup>; ( $E'_{verb} = S'_{verb}$ )<sup>Future</sup>; [ $(E1_{verb}-E1'_{verb}) = (S_{verb}-S'_{verb}) = (R_{verb}-R'_{verb})$ ]<sup>Present Simple</sup>; ( $S1_{verb}$ )<sup>Present Continuous</sup>. We also observe the same antonym sequence in all our proverbs, the positive term standing before its opposite, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity.

\*See also 2.6.7., Proverb 2.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: *Laugh* and the world laughs with you; *weep* and you weep alone. ( $E_{verb}-E'_{verb}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

**Comment:** No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, it is noticeable its peculiarity that each of the opposite terms repeats itself in the same part of the proverb (see the underlined words), where *laugh* has two different subjects (*Laugh*<sup>you(implied)</sup> = *laughs*<sup>the world(expressed)</sup>), while *weep* has the same subject twice (*weep*<sup>you(implied)</sup> = *weep*<sup>you(expressed)</sup>). Regarding the antonym sequence, Jones' theory based on positivity is accomplished, since the negative term stands after its opposite.

#### **Proverb 4:**

E: There is a time *to weep*, and a time *to laugh*. ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S: Hay tiempos de *llorar*, y tiempos de *reír*. ( $S_{\text{verb}}-S'_{\text{verb}}$ )

R: Vreme e *a râde*, vreme e *a plânge*. ( $R_{\text{verb}}-R'_{\text{verb}}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

Comment: The equality of the oppositeness relations of our three languages is due to the common biblical origin of the proverbs, i.e. *Ecclesiastes*, 3: 4. We observe that the E, S and R opposite terms have identical forms, being Infinitive verbs. The antonym sequence is the same in E and S, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands after its opposite; but it is inverted in the Romanian proverb, where it does sustain Jones' theory.

#### **Proverb 5:**

E: Women *laugh* when they can, and *weep* when they will. ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S: La mujer *ríe* cuando puede, y *llora* cuando quiere. ( $S_{\text{verb}}-S'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S1: Siempre que lo desea, la mujer *llora* y el perro mea. ( $S1_{\text{verb}}-0$ )

S2: Mujer *se queja*, mujer se duele, mujer enferma cuando ella quiere. ( $S2_{\text{verb}}-0$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is counterbalanced by the existence of three Spanish variants. From these three, only S contains a relation of oppositeness equal to the one found in the English proverb. The other two, S1 and S2, have a '0' relation of oppositeness, due to the absence of the second opposite term. Thus  $S1_{\text{verb}} = E'_{\text{verb}}$ , and  $S2_{\text{verb}}$  can be considered a synonym of  $S1_{\text{verb}}$ . All opposites are third-person (plural in E, singular in S, S1, and S2) Present Simple verbs. Our final CRO can be represented as follows:  $E = S \neq (S1[0] = S2[0]) \neq R[-]$ . Related to the antonym sequence, it is identical in E and S, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

#### **Proverb 6:**

E: Learn *weeping*, and you shall gain *laughing*. ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S: Aprende *llorando* y *reirás* ganando. ( $S_{\text{verb}}-S'_{\text{verb}}$ )

R: Cine *seamnă cu lacrimi culege cu bucurie* (lit. transl. 'Who sows with tears picks with joy'). ( $R(a)_{\text{adv}}-R(a)'_{\text{adv}}$ ;  $R(b)_{\text{verb}}-R(b)'_{\text{verb}}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S \Leftrightarrow R$**

Comment: The Spanish proverb presents a peculiarity in the fact that the opposite terms have different forms (Gerund-Future Simple). The Romanian equivalent has another characteristic, namely it contains two pairs of opposites. The first one, (a), of antonyms, is expressed by the nouns *lacrimi-bucurie* ('tears-joy') which form adverbial locutions with the preposition *cu* ('with'). The second pair, (b), is formed by the reversion verbs *a semăna-a culege* ('to sow-to pick'). The English opposite terms are both Gerunds. The same antonym sequence is preserved in the three languages, the term implying 'tears' standing before its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity. The equality and equivalence of CRO formula come from the same biblical origin of our proverbs: *Psalms*, 126: 5.



- and the nouns *laughter-tear* in:

### **Proverb 7:**

E: After *laughter, tears*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: De *la risa al duelo*, un pelo. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: De *la risa al llanto* no hay más que un paso. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: Del *reír* viene el *gemir*. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≈ S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the same sources provided three Spanish equivalents. At a first glance we observe that all opposite terms are nouns, even though the S2 ones are verbs but with substantival value. If the first terms of the opposite pairs are indisputably equal, E<sub>noun</sub> = S<sub>noun</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub> = S2<sub>noun</sub>, the second ones are different, but somehow synonymous since they all imply the 'grief' concept. That is why we consider the English and Spanish relations of oppositeness almost equal. We also note a similarity between E and S in the fact that both proverbs have 'non verbal' structure, which does not happen in S1 and S2 (see the underlined words). Related to the antonym sequence, the positive term stands before its opposite in all of the cases, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity.

### **2.1.13. Beginning-end**

The noun *beginning* forms opposite pair with both of the synonymous nouns *end*, and *ending*:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: Better is *the end* of a thing than *the beginning* thereof. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Mejor es *el fin* del negocio que su *principio*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Mai bun este *sfârșitul* unui lucru decât *începutul* (lit. transl. 'Better is the end of a thing than the beginning'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** There is an equal relation of oppositeness in the three languages due to the common Biblical origin of the proverbs, namely *Ecclesiastes*, 7: 8. We observe that all the opposite terms are nouns and, except S'<sub>noun</sub> (*principio*), all of the rest are marked with the definite article, i.e. *the end*, *the beginning*, *el fin*, *sfârșitul*, *începutul*<sup>221</sup>. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, the order of the opposite terms contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, according to which, logically, *the beginning* should stand before *the end*.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: Such *beginning*, such *end*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: De tal *principio*, tal *fin*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

<sup>221</sup> A peculiarity of the Romanian language is that the definite articles are attached to the end of the nouns as enclitics, instead of being placed in front. In our case, the definite article *-(u)l* corresponds to the form of neuter gender, singular, Nominative-Accusative. For a brief view on Romanian grammar we recommend González-Barros's diagrams (2002).

R: Lucrul bine *început* e pe jumătate *sfârșit* (lit. transl. 'A thing well begun is half done'). (LEF<sup>222</sup>) (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

R1: Ziua bună se cunoaște de dimineață (lit. transl. 'You can recognize a good day by the morning'). (LEF). (0-0)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** In this case we find the same morphological classes in E and S, namely nouns, and a different one in R, i.e. adjectives derived from Past Participles of the verbs *a începe* 'to begin' and *a sfârși* 'to end'. As it can be seen, R1 contains no opposite pair. The antonym sequence is identical in E, S and R, and it sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world if something ends it means that it has previously begun.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: What the fool does in the end, the wise man does at the beginning. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Lo que *a la postre* hace el necio, eso hace el sabio primero. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: Lo que hace el necio *al cabo*, eso hace *al principio* el sabio. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-S1'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** The opposite nouns *the end-the beginning* form here part of the adverbial locutions *in the end* and *at the beginning*, which makes the oppositeness of the English proverb equal to the one of the Spanish proverbs. No Romanian equivalent was found in the sources of our corpus. The opposite terms in S and S1 are not equal, but they are synonyms. Thus S<sub>adv</sub> <=> S1<sub>adv</sub> and S'<sub>adv</sub> <=> S1'<sub>adv</sub>, therefore S <=> S1. The antonym sequence, which is the same in all proverbs, contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, according to which *beginning* should precede its opposite. It is also noticeable that all proverbs contain two pairs of antonyms (see the underlined words).

\*See also 2.1.4., Proverb 7.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: *The end* of passion is *the beginning* of repentance. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Donde *acaba* la ira *comienza* el arrepentimiento. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Como la sombra al cuerpo sigue a la ira el arrepentimiento. (0-0)

R: *Finea* mâniei e *începutul* credinței (lit. transl. 'The end of anger is the beginning of faith'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S) = R**

**Comment:** In this case, the equality is established only between the relations of oppositeness of the English and Romanian proverbs. Both opposite pairs are expressed by singular nouns with definite articles (E<sub>noun</sub><sup>the</sup> = R<sub>noun</sub><sup>-a</sup>; E'<sub>noun</sub><sup>the</sup> = R'<sub>noun</sub><sup>-(u)l</sup>)<sup>223</sup>. S1 variant is excluded for our formula because it contains no opposite pair. S, on the contrary, includes a pair of opposites but, due to the distinct morphological class of its terms, i.e. verb, these are reversives (see 2.5.1.). Regarding the antonym sequence, it is the same in E, S and R, but it contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since, in the real world, *the end* stands after *the beginning*.

<sup>222</sup> Flonta (2001: 33) considers that this Romanian proverb is the equivalent of the English proverb 'Well begun is half done' and records no Romanian equivalent for 'Such beginning, such end'.

<sup>223</sup> Here, the corresponding enclitical Romanian definite articles are: *-a* (*finea*) for feminine singular, Nominative-Accusative nouns, and *-(u)l* (*începutul*) for neuter singular Nominative-Accusative nouns.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: A bad *beginning*, a bad *ending*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Quien mal *empieza*, mal *acaba*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: A mal *empezar*, peor *acabar*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: A faptelor rele *începătură* spre rău *sfârșit* pleacă (lit. transl. 'The beginning of mean deeds goes to a bad ending'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S) = R**

Comment: We notice that the only proverb which slightly differs from the others is S (with its variant S1), where the terms are verbs (versus nouns). That is why these terms are linked by a relation of reversiveness, not antonymy, which generates an E ≠ (S = S1) CRO. But E = R, both pairs are expressed by nouns. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world if something ends it means that it has previously begun.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: A good *beginning* makes a good *ending*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: A buen *principio*, buen *fin*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Lo que bien *empieza* bien *acaba*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Care *începe* bine *sfârșește* frumos (lit. transl. 'What begins well ends nice'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R**

Comment: In S1 and R we find the same reversives as in the previous case of the Spanish proverbs. The opposite terms are nouns in E and S, and verbs (all third-person singular, Simple Present Tense) in S1 and R. Thus, we have two different relations of oppositeness, namely: antonymy in E = S, and reversiveness in S1 = R. Therefore, our final CRO can be represented as follows: (E = S) ≠ (S1 = R). The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world if something ends it means that it has previously begun.

## **2.1.14. Love-hatred**

This opposition is expressed by the opposite nouns *love-hate*, *love-hatred* in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: The greatest *hate* springs from the greatest *love*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: *Iubirea* peste măsură aduce în urmă *ură* (lit. transl. 'Oversized love brings hatred with it'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: The relation of oppositeness in E is equal to the one in R, with the observation that the antonym sequence is inverted in R. But in the latter, it accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite. The opposite terms are all expressed by singular nouns. No equivalent Spanish proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: *Hatred* is blind, as well as *love*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: The sources of our corpus provided no equivalent proverbs for Spanish and Romanian. The antonym sequence in the English proverb contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity since the negative term stands before its opposite. Both opposite terms are uncountable nouns.

- by the opposite verbs *to love-to hate* and their Past Participles *loved-hated* in:

### **Proverb 3:**

E: If you *love* the boll, you cannot *hate* branches. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Pentru fragă și frunza ți-e dragă (lit. transl. 'You love leaf for the fruit'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: While the Romanian language provides an equivalent for the English proverb, Spanish does not. Still, the Romanian equivalent contains no pair of opposites, thus there is no equivalent or similar relation of oppositeness in E and R. The antonym sequence in the English proverb sustains Jones' theory based on positivity since the negative term stands after its opposite.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: There is a time *to love*, and a time *to hate*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Hay tiempo de *amar*, y tiempo de *aborrecer*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Vreme este *să iubești* și vreme *să urăști* (lit. transl. 'It is time to love and time to hate'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The equality of the oppositeness relation of our three languages is due to the common biblical origin of the proverbs, i.e. *Ecclesiastes*, 3: 8. We observe that E and S opposite terms have identical forms, being Infinitives, while the R opposites are second-person singular Subjunctive (Rom. *Conjunctiv*) verbs. The antonym sequence is the same, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: A woman either *loves* or *hates* in extremes. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, the sources of our corpus provided no equivalent proverb for Spanish and Romanian. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by two third-person singular Simple Present verbs, both having the same subject, i.e. *a woman*. The antonym sequence is in concordance with Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands after its opposite.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: The treason is *loved*, but the traitor is *hated*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: A king *loves* the treason, but *hates* the traitor. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: La traición *aplace*, mas no el que la hace. (S<sub>verb</sub>-0)

S1: El rey *ama* la traición; mas al que la hizo no. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-0)

S2: Págase el Rey de la traición, mas no quien la hace. (0-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the same sources provided three Spanish variants. But in spite of their great number, none of them contains an opposite pair. In S and S1 we find two terms, namely the verbs S<sub>verb</sub> ≠ E<sub>adj</sub> and S1<sub>verb</sub> = E<sub>adj</sub>, but with no opposites. The E1 variant differs from the E one by the morphological class of the opposite terms, verbs versus adjectives which are the Past Participles of the E1 verbs. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

### **2.1.15. Warmth-coldness**

This opposition is expressed by:

- the adjectives *warm-cold/cool* in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Cold* hands, *warm* heart. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: A *cold* hand and a *warm* heart. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Manos *frías*, corazón *ardiente*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Manos *frías*, corazón *caliente*, amor de siempre. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Mâini *reci*, inimă *fierbinte* (lit. transl 'Cold hands, hot heart'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

R1: Mână *rece*, inimă *caldă* (lit. transl 'Cold hand, warm heart'). (R1<sub>adj</sub>-R1'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: We observe the equality of the relation of oppositeness in the three languages based on: the same antonym sequence, the same morphological class of all opposite terms, i.e. adjective, and the same first opposite term in all proverbs. As far as the second opposite term is concerned, we remark the presence in S and R of a new synonymous term, namely *ardiente* = *fierbinte* ('hot') which does not appear in English. Thus (S = R) ≈ (E = E1 = S1 = R1). Another slight difference consists in the number of the first term, which is singular in E1 and R1, and plural in E, S, S1 and R; the first term has a singular form in all cases. We also note the identical 'non verbal' structures of all proverbs and the fact that S1 has a more extended length. Thus S1 ⊃ S, with the mention that S'<sub>adj</sub> ⇔ S1'<sub>adj</sub>, while S<sub>adj</sub> = S1<sub>adj</sub>. In the six proverbs, the antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more temperature' term stands after its opposite.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: A *cool* mouth, and *warm* feet, live long. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb we can only say that both opposite terms are adjectives determining nouns which differ in number: (*cool mouth*)<sup>singular</sup>-(*warm feet*)<sup>plural</sup>. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more temperature' term stands after its opposite.

- the nouns *heat-frost*, *heat-cold* in:

### **Proverb 3:**

E: They must hunger in *frost* that will not work in *heat*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Cine *vara* petrece cântând, *iarna* rămâne flămând (lit. transl. 'He who spends the summer singing, starves during the winter'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Cine *vara* stă și doarme, *iarna*, biet, moare de foame (lit. transl. 'He who in the summer lays and sleeps, in the winter, poor, dies of hunger'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R2: Cine n-are *vara* minte, *iarna* nu mănâncă plăcinte (lit. transl. 'He who has got no brains in the summer, in the winter eats no pies'). (R2<sub>noun</sub>-R2'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R**

Comment: Even though the opposite terms *summer-winter* (Rom. *vara-iarna*) in the Romanian proverbs (which are the same in the three variants, hence R = R1 = R2) imply the same *warmth-coldness* concepts as the E pair, they are clearly heteronyms (see Part One, chapter 3.4.6.). That is why the 'E' relation of oppositeness (antonymy) is not equivalent to the 'R' one (heteronymy). The E antonym sequence (inverted in all the Romanian proverbs) contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more temperature' term stands after its opposite. Regarding Spanish, no equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: Neither *heat* nor *cold* abides always in the sky. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: Neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverbs were found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposites are nouns. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more temperature' term stands before its opposite.

## **2.1.16. Fat-lean**

- Expressed by the pair of adjectives *fat-lean*:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: A *lean* agreement is better than a *fat* judgement. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: A *lean* compromise is better than a *fat* lawsuit. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

E2: A *bad* peace is better than a *good* quarrel<sup>224</sup>. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E<sub>2'</sub><sub>adj</sub>)

S: Más vale *mala* avenencia que *buena* sentencia. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Más vale un *mal* ajuste que *buen* pleito. (S<sub>1adj</sub>-S<sub>1'</sub><sub>adj</sub>)

R: Mai bine o pace *strâmbă* decât o judecată *dreaptă* (lit. transl. 'Better a lean peace than a straight lawsuit'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

R1: Mai bine o învoială *strâmbă* decât o judecată *dreaptă* (lit. transl. 'Better a lean agreement than a straight lawsuit'). (R<sub>1adj</sub>-R<sub>1'</sub><sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: All of the seven pairs of opposites are represented by adjectives. There are equivalent pairs in the three languages as it follows: E1-E1' = E-E'; E2-E2' ≠ E-E' = E1-E1'; S-S' ≠ E-E', but S-S' = E2-E2'; S1-S1' ≠ E-E'; S1-S1' = S-S' (both pairs are adjectives, only the gender differs: feminine in S versus masculine in S1); S1-S1' = E2-E2'; R-R' ≠ E-E', but R1-R1' = E2-E2'; R1-R1' ≠ E-E', but R1-R1' = E2-E2', and R1-R1' = R-R'. Therefore we can say that E <=> S = R and E2 = S = R. In all cases the antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before the negative one. Due to the context, in the E and E1 cases *fat* has undoubtedly a positive connotation.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: A *fat* belly, a *lean* brain. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Vientre *lleno*, cabeza *vacía*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Estómago *lleno*, cerebro *vacío*. (S<sub>1adj</sub>-S<sub>1'</sub><sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E <=> S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The pairs of opposites in S and S1 are equal: S<sub>1adj</sub>-S<sub>1'</sub><sub>adj</sub> = S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>, only the gender of S'<sub>feminine</sub> and S<sub>1'masculine</sub> differs. Since the terms of the antonymic pairs in E and S are not equivalent, the relations of oppositeness of the English and the Spanish proverbs are not equal, but equivalent. As far as Jones' antonym sequence based on magnitude is concerned, his criteria according to which the term implying 'bigger size' precedes its opposite, is accomplished in both languages. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: *Fat* paunches have *lean* pates. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Barriga *gruesa* no engendra entendimiento. (S<sub>adj</sub>-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

Comment: As it can be seen, no equivalent Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the Spanish variant, it contains a '0' relation of oppositeness because of the absence of the second opposite term. Thus, we only have S<sub>adj</sub> = E<sub>adj</sub>, but no S'. Related to our English head proverb, both opposite terms are adjectives and their order sustains Jones' antonym sequence based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term precedes its opposite.

<sup>224</sup> The very well-known Tacitus' (55?-117? Roman historian - EWED) phrase 'Una mala paz es todavía peor que la guerra' could clearly be interpreted as the Spanish version of our E2 proverb. Still the sources of our corpus did not provide this variant.

- and by the pair of adjectives *thick-thin*:

**Proverb 4:**

E: Faults are *thick* where love is *thin*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Unde-i dragoste *puțină*, lesne-i a găsi pricină (lit. transl. 'Where little love is, it is easy to find fault'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: We may say that the R<sub>adj</sub> (*puțină* 'little') term is synonymous in this case with the E'<sub>adj</sub> (*thin*) term. Still it has no opposite term in the Romanian proverb, that is why in this language we have a '0' relation of oppositeness. As far as Spanish is concerned, no equivalent proverb has been found in the sources of our corpus. At the same time, the English proverb sustains Jones' antonym sequence based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term precedes its opposite. The opposite terms have different subjects (see the underlined words).

**2.1.17. Admonition-praise**

- expressed by the verbs *to admonish/to blame-to praise*:

**Proverb 1:**

E: *Admonish* your friends in private, *praise* them in public. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Al buen amigo tuyo, *corrígelo* en secreto y *lóalo* en público. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Pe prieten în spate *să-l bați* (lit. trans. 'Beat your friend in the back'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-0)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: There is an equal relation between the oppositeness relations in the English and Spanish proverbs due to the equality of the opposite terms in both languages, all second-person Imperative verbs. In the Romanian proverb the second opposite term is missing, that is why we have a '0' relation of oppositeness. The first term is not even equivalent to its homologues. Thus (E<sub>verb</sub> = S<sub>verb</sub>) ≠ R<sub>verb</sub>. The antonym sequence of E and S contradict Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands before its opposite.

\*See also 2.2.16., Proverb 1.

**Proverb 2:**

E: Neither *praise* nor *blame* until you know. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, both opposite terms are Imperative verbs. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

**Proverb 3:**

E: Who *praises* Saint Peter *does not blame* Saint Paul. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]



**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, both opposite terms are third-person singular Present Simple verbs. The only difference consists of the affirmative (*praises*) versus negative (*does not blame*) forms. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite. We refer here to the meaning of the terms, not to their grammatical (affirmative, negative) forms.

Less productive are other pairs of antonyms, most of them adjectives, such as:

**2.1.18. Light-heavy**

**Proverb 1:**

E: *Light* burdens far *heavy*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: En larga jornada, la *leve* carga es *pesada*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While the Romanian language does not provide any equivalent for the English proverb, Spanish does. Moreover, the Spanish equivalent contains an equal pair of opposites, hence equal relations of oppositeness in E and S. Regarding the English proverb, it lacks the copulative verb *to be*, present in S (*es*). The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude since the 'bigger size' term stands before its opposite.

**Proverb 2:**

E: *Light* gains/winnings make *heavy* purses. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs have been found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb we notice that Jones' theory of antonym sequence based on magnitude is contradicted since the term implying 'bigger weight' stands after its opposite.

**2.1.19. Lucky-unlucky**

**Proverb 1:**

E: *Lucky* at cards/play, *unlucky* in love. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: *Unlucky* in love, *lucky* at play. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Afortunado* en el juego, *desgraciado* en amores. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: In the variant of the English proverb, E1, we observe an inversion of the two parts of the E proverb. Thus, the first part of E ('Lucky at play') becomes the second part of E1, and the second part of E ('unlucky in love') turns into the first part of E1. This causes no alteration of the meaning of the proverb since the two parts are coordinated in both versions. Therefore

$E_{adj} = E1'_{adj}$ ;  $E'_{adj} = E1_{adj}$ , and  $E = E1$ . It is also important to mention that  $E'_{adj} = [un-E_{adj}]_{adj}$  and  $E1_{adj} = [un-E1'_{adj}]_{adj}$ . In the case of the Spanish proverb both  $S_{adj}$  and  $S'_{adj}$  are affixed terms;  $S'$ ,  $E1$  and  $E'$  are prefixed with negative prefixes: *des-* and *un-*. In  $E$  and  $S$  the negative term stands after the positive one. Regarding Jones' antonym sequence based on morphological derivation, according to which the root word stands before the derived one, this is accomplished in  $E$ , but not in  $E1$ . As to the antonym sequence taking into account positivity, it is in concordance with Jones' theory in  $E$  and  $S$ , where the positive term comes first, being inverted in  $E1$ .

### **Proverb 2:**

E: *Unlucky* at cards, *lucky* in love. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: *Desgraciado* en el juego, *afortunado* en amores. ( $S_{adj}-S'_{adj}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: We find the same rule of the prefix *un-* attachment as in the previous proverb:  $E_{adj} = [un-E'_{adj}]_{adj}$ . Also both  $S_{adj}$  and  $S'_{adj}$  are affixed terms;  $S$  and  $E$  are both prefixed with negative prefixes: *des-* and *un-*. And, in this case, in  $E$  and  $S$  the negative term stands before the positive one. The opposite pair in  $E$  contradicts Jones' antonym sequence according to which the root word stands before the derived one. As to the antonym sequence taking into account positivity, it also contradicts Jones' theory in both  $E$  and  $S$ , because the positive term follows the negative one. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **2.1.20. Open-shut**

One may say that these terms exclude themselves and thus they are complementaries. But, since there is an intermediary term between these two opposites, namely *ajar* 'half open', they have been considered antonyms:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: A door must either be *shut* or *open*. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: No equivalent Spanish or Romanian proverbs have been found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the antonyms have the 'either X or Y' structure, both determining the same noun, i.e. *a door*.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: Keep your mouth *shut* and your eyes *open*. ( $E_{adj}-E'_{adj}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: No equivalent Spanish or Romanian proverbs have been found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite adjectives determine different nouns, namely *mouth shut-eyes open*.

### 2.1.21. Crooked-straight

- expressed by the adjectives *crooked-straight*:

#### Proverb 1:

E: *Crooked* logs make *straight* fires. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: La leña *torcida* da fuego *recto*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: La leña *tuerta*, el fuego la *endereza*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S2: La leña *tuerta*, el fuego la *hace derecha*. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Lemnul *strâmb*, focul îl *îndreptează* (lit. transl. 'Crooked log is straighten by the fire') '. (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S ≈ R**

Comment: We observe equal relations of oppositeness in E = S; S1 = R; S2 = R, but S1 ≈ S2 because S1'<sub>verb</sub> <=> S2'<sub>verb</sub>. S1, S2 and R have different structures of the opposite pairs due to the morphological class of the second terms, being third-person singular Present Simple verbs. The verbal locution S2'<sub>verb</sub> is synonymous with S1'<sub>verb</sub> and the same happens with (S1<sub>adj</sub> = S2<sub>adj</sub>) <=> S<sub>adj</sub>. The first terms of the opposite pairs E, S and R are equal, E<sub>adj</sub> = S<sub>adj</sub> = R<sub>adj</sub>, and raise no problem. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite in all proverbs.

#### Proverb 2:

E: If the staff be *crooked*, the shadow cannot be *straight*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: Neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverbs have been found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, the opposite pair is formed of adjectives. If we consider *crooked* as having a negative connotation because it refers to something "not straight, deformed or contorted"<sup>225</sup>, then the antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity since it is the negative term which stands before its opposite.

### 2.1.22. Storm-calm

#### Proverb 1:

E: After *a storm* comes *a calm*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Tras *la tempestad* llega *la calma*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Después de *la tempestad*, viene *la calma*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: Tras *tormenta*, gran *bonanza*. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

<sup>225</sup> According to Collins dictionary: <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/crooked>>.

R: După *furtună*, vine și *vreme bună* (lit. transl. 'After a storm comes good weather, too'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: După *ploaie* așteaptă și *senin* (lit. transl. 'After rain wait clear sky too'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: We observe that the opposite pairs are expressed by equal or synonymous terms, being singular nouns. Thus, the following kinships are established: E<sub>noun</sub> = S<sub>noun</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub>; E<sub>noun</sub> = S2<sub>noun</sub>; S<sub>noun</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub> <=> S2<sub>noun</sub>; E<sub>noun</sub> = R<sub>noun</sub> ≠ R1<sub>noun</sub>; R<sub>noun</sub> = S<sub>noun</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub>; R<sub>noun</sub> = S2<sub>noun</sub>; E'<sub>noun</sub> = S'<sub>noun</sub> = S1'<sub>noun</sub>; E'<sub>noun</sub> = S2'<sub>noun</sub>; S'<sub>noun</sub> = S1'<sub>noun</sub> <=> S2'<sub>noun</sub>; E'<sub>noun</sub> = R'<sub>noun</sub>; E'<sub>noun</sub> = R1'<sub>noun</sub>; R'<sub>noun</sub> <=> R1'<sub>noun</sub> (where R'<sub>noun</sub> is in this case a nominal syntagm, i.e. *vreme bună* 'good weather'). The antonym sequence is the same in the six proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands after its opposite.

### 2.1.23. Avarice-waste

#### Proverb 1:

E: After a *thrifty* father, a *prodigal* son. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: A *thrifty* father rarely has a *thrifty* son. (ISC) (E1<sub>adj</sub> = E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

E2: A *miserly* father makes a *prodigal* son. (ISC) (E2<sub>adj</sub>-E2'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: A padre *guardador*, hijo *gastador*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Tatăl *adună* pietrele ca aurul, fiul *risipește* aurul ca paiele. (lit. transl. 'The father gathers the stones like gold, the son wastes the gold like stones'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Banii *strângătorului* pe mâna *risipitorului* (lit. transl. 'The money of the thrifty on the prodigal's hand'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness are equal in the three languages. There are some small differences though, namely:

- the R opposite terms are nouns, while the E, E1, E2 and S are adjectives;
- E1 contains only an opposite term which repeats itself in the second part of the proverb;
- E ≈ E2 because E<sub>adj</sub> (= E1<sub>adj</sub>) <=> E2<sub>adj</sub> and E'<sub>adj</sub> = E2'<sub>adj</sub>;
- the R opposite pair is expressed by the antonymous verbs *a aduna* 'to gather' - *a risipi* 'to waste';
- E, S and R1 have 'no verb' structures.

The antonym sequence is the same in the six proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

### 2.1.24. Glad-sad

#### Proverb 1:

E: Of thy sorrow be not too *sad*, of thy joy be not too *glad*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Buena o mala la ventura, poco dura. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: No hay alegría que dure ni mal que no se acabe. (0-0)

S2: No hay bien que dure ni mal que no se acabe. (0-0)

S3: No hay mal que cien años dure ni bien que a ellos ature. (0-0)

R: *Nu te-ntrista* prea tare în clipele de restriște și *bucură-te* cu măsură când ești fericit (lit. transl. 'Don't get too sad on bad moments and don't be too glad when you're happy'). (LEF)  
(R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E <=> S = R**

Comment: It is noticeable the great number of the Spanish equivalent proverbs and also their peculiarities. The S variant contains a pair of opposites, not equivalent to the E pair. Though, since they are also antonyms, we consider E <=> S (still it is not a pure equivalence). The S1, S2 and S3 variants contain a pair of opposites each (see the underlined terms), but these pairs have nothing to do with our E pair. They have already been associated to the other pair of opposites (*sorrow-joy*) found in the English proverb. For this reason, in this case, we have zero oppositeness in the three Spanish equivalent proverbs, thus S1 = S2 = S3 = [0]. The Romanian pair of opposites is expressed by two reflexive verbs which imply the meaning of the E pair of adjectives: *a se întrista* 'to become sad' and *a se bucura* 'to feel joy, to become glad'. Regarding the antonym sequence, in E and R the negative term stands before its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, while the S order sustains it.

\*See also 2.1.3., Proverb 10.

## 2.1.25. Strength-weakness

### Proverb 1:

E: The chain is no *stronger* than its *weakest* link. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: *The strength* of the chain is in *the weakest* link. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>adjective</sub>)

S: Por un eslabón se rompe la cadena. (0-0)

R: Dacă se rupe o verigă, tot lanțul se desface (lit. transl. 'If a link breaks the whole chain splits'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ (S[0] = R[0])**

Comment: There is a slight difference between E and E1 in the fact that E<sub>adj</sub> ≠ E1<sub>noun</sub>, but E'<sub>adj</sub> = E1'<sub>adjective</sub> (both being superlatives). The antonymy in E is strengthened by the degree of comparison of the two opposite terms, namely E<sub>comparative</sub>-E'<sub>superlative</sub>. As far as Spanish and Romanian languages are concerned, the two proverbs are equal. This equality is due not only to the absence of an antonymic pair in both proverbs, but also to the fact that they are equivalent in meaning, structure and vocabulary. In both variants of the English proverbs the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude since the 'more strength' term precedes its opposite.

## 2.1.26. Dry-wet

- expressed by the adjectives *dry-wet*:

### Proverb 1:

E: A *dry* March, *wet* April and cool May, fill barn and cellar and bring much hay. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Llueve para mí abril y mayo, y para ti todo el año. (0-0)

S1: Lluvioso abril, si mayo ventea, ya te puedes reír. (0-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** In this case each language presents a different relation of oppositeness, namely a '0' one in the Spanish proverbs, and a nonexistent one in the Romanian language because of the absence of such an equivalent in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, it draws our attention its length. Apparently in contradiction to this, the antonymic terms are very short, both being formed of only three letters.

### 2.1.27. Coward-valiant

- expressed by the adjectives *coward-valiant*:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Necessity and opportunity may make *a coward valiant*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

**Comment:** In this case, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, it is interesting the juxtaposition of the opposite terms *coward* (as a noun) and *valiant* (as an adjective), joint which gives birth to an oxymoron (see Part One, Chapter V.2.). It also draws our attention their position at the end of the proverb, as well as the length of the proverb. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity since it is the negative term which stands before its opposite.

### 2.1.28. Labour-sloth

- expressed by the opposite nouns *labour-sloth*:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Sloth*, like rust, consumes faster than *labour* wears. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: *Lenea e la om ca și rugina la fier* (lit. transl. 'Sloth is on human as rust on iron'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

**Comment:** While no Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the Romanian one contains a '0' relation of oppositeness, due to the absence of the second opposite term. Though we have R<sub>noun</sub> = E<sub>noun</sub>, E ≠ R. Regarding the English proverb, both opposites are uncountable nouns with an order that contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term precedes its opposite.

There are some pairs of opposite adverbs, such as:

### 2.1.29. Always-never

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Always* taking out of the meal-tub, and *never* putting in soon comes to the bottom. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: Donde hay saca y *nunca* pon, presto se acaba el bolsón. (S<sub>adv</sub>-0)

S1: Quien no pone y *siempre* saca, suelo halla. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-0)

S2: A do sacan y no pon, presto llegan al hondón. (0-0)

S3: Quita y no pon, se acaba el montón. (0-0)

S4: Gota a gota la mar se agota / se apoca. (0-0)

R: De unde tot iei și nu pui, curând se isprăvește (lit. transl. 'From where you keep taking out and not put in it will be over soon'). (0-0)

R1: Sacul din care tot iei și nu mai pui se golește (lit. transl. 'The bag from which you keep taking out and never put in gets empty'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ (S[0] = R[0])**

Comment: At a first glance it draws our attention the great number of Spanish equivalents. Of our eight proverbs, seven have a '0' relation of oppositeness as far as our E opposite pair is concerned. This is due to the fact that in S and S1 only one opposite term is present, namely S<sub>adv</sub> = E'<sub>adv</sub> and S1<sub>adv</sub> = E<sub>adv</sub>; in S2, S3, R and R1 the *always-never* oppositeness is implied by the affirmative-negative forms of the verbs; S4 is totally distinct from its equivalents, containing no opposite term or a negative verb. Regarding the antonym sequence, the E pair sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more frequency' term stands before its opposite.

\*See also 2.5.9., Proverb 1.

### 2.1.30. Quickly-slowly

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: A good judge conceives *quickly*, judges *slowly*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Judecata nu se face cu lopata (lit. transl. 'You cannot judge with a shovel'). (LEF) (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: There are no equal or similar relations of oppositeness in the three languages because of the nonexistence of an equivalent Spanish proverb and due to the absence of an opposite pair in the Romanian proverb. As far as the English proverb is concerned, the antonym sequence accomplishes Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more speed' term precedes its opposite.

- or even pronouns, such as:

### 2.1.31. All-nothing

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: He that believes *all*, misses, he that believes *nothing*, misses. (E<sub>pronoun</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: Tan malo es no creer en *nada* como creerlo *todo*. (S<sub>pronoun</sub>-S'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

R: Cel ce pe *toate* le crede greșește, cel ce *nimic* nu crede greșește și el (lit. transl. 'He who believes all, misses, he who believes nothing, misses too'). (LEF) (R<sub>pronoun</sub>-R'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness found in the three languages are equal. All opposite terms are pronouns The only difference lies in the antonym sequence of the Spanish proverb,

which is reversed compared to its homologues, contradicting Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more quantity' term stands after its opposite.

### 2.1.32. Everybody-nobody

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: What is *everybody's* business is *nobody's* business. (E<sub>pronoun</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: The sources of our corpus provided no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs. As far as the English proverb is concerned the antonym sequence proposed by Jones' taking into account magnitude is accomplished, since the 'more people' term stands before its opposite.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: A friend to *everybody* is a friend to *nobody*. (E<sub>pronoun</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: Amigo de *todos* y de *ninguno*, todo es uno. (S<sub>pronoun</sub>-S'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S1: Amigo de *muchos*, amigo de *ninguno*. (S1<sub>pronoun</sub>-S1'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S2: Quien de *todos* es amigo, de *ninguno* es amigo. (S2<sub>pronoun</sub>-S2'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The only proverb which differentiates from the others is S1 because of its first opposite term: S1<sub>pronoun</sub> ≠ (S<sub>pronoun</sub> = S2<sub>pronoun</sub> = E<sub>pronoun</sub>). But the relation of oppositeness in S1 is equivalent to the others, the opposite terms being antonyms. Thus (E = S = S2) <=> S1. In all the proverbs appear Jones' antonym sequence based on magnitude, the 'more people' term standing before its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.



## 2.2. PROVERBS INCLUDING COMPLEMENTARIES

### 2.2.1. Male-female

The most productive complementarity opposition is expressed by the opposites:

- *man-woman, men-women* in:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Six hours' sleep for *a man*, seven for *a woman*, and eight for a fool. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposite terms are singular nouns, preceded by the indefinite article *a*, and the antonym sequence based on gender accomplishes Jones' theory according to which the masculine term stands before its opposite.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: *A man* is as old as he feels, and *a woman* as old as she looks. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposite terms are singular nouns, preceded by the indefinite article *a*, and the antonym sequence based on gender accomplishes Jones' theory according to which the masculine term stands before its opposite.

#### **Proverb 3:**

E: *A man* of straw is worth *a woman* of gold. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Más vale *un hombre* de paja que *una mujer* de plata. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: *Un hombre* de plomo vale más que *una mujer* de oro. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: *Un hombre* de diez maravedís, vale más que *una mujer* de diez mil. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is somehow annihilated by the existence of three Spanish equivalents. The pairs of opposites of S, S1 and S2 are equal to the pair of opposites of the English proverb. Thus E = S = S1 = S2. All opposite terms are singular nouns, preceded by the indefinite article *a* for English, and *un(a)* for Spanish. The equality is total due also to the antonym sequence (the same in the four proverbs) which sustains Jones' theory based on gender, according to which the 'masculine' term precedes the 'feminine' one.

#### **Proverb 4:**

E: *A bad woman* is worse than *a bad man*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Cea mai bună *muiere*, ca cel mai rău *bărbat* (lit. transl. 'The best woman as the worst man'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: In this case, the equality of oppositeness is established between the English proverb and its Romanian equivalent, while no Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. All opposite terms are singular common nouns with identical order, contradicting Jones' antonym sequence related to gender, since the 'feminine' term precedes the 'masculine' one. A slight difference lies in the proverbs' structure, the Romanian one lacking the copulative verb *to be*. Last, but not least, we would like to express our disapproval against the misogynistic meaning of the two proverbs.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: *A woman* is flax, *man* is fire, the devil comes and blows the bellows. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: *Man* is straw, *woman* fire, and the devil blows. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

E2: *Man* is fire, and *woman* tow; the devil comes and sets them ablaze. (E2<sub>noun</sub>-E2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *El hombre* es fuego y *la mujer* estopa; viene el diablo y sopla. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: At a first glance it draws our attention the length of the proverbs, then the great number of the English proverbs compared to the other two languages. While no Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the Spanish equivalent is equal with the English proverbs, as far as the relation of oppositeness is concerned. All the opposite terms are singular nouns. The antonym sequence is the same in E1, E2 and S, but reversed in E, where it contradicts Jones' theory based on gender, since the 'feminine' term precedes the 'masculine' one.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: Genoa has mountains without wood, sea without fish, *women* without shame and *men* without conscience. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Génova la bella, mar sin pescado, montes sin leña, *hombres* sin conciencia, *mujeres* sin vergüenza. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The equality of the two relations of oppositeness in the English and Spanish proverbs is given by the equivalence of the opposite terms and by the fact that they are all plural nouns. There is a slight difference though, namely the antonym sequence based on gender, which is reverted in Spanish, accomplishing Jones' theory according to which the masculine term precedes the feminine one. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: *Men* make houses, *women* make homes. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, in this case no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The oppositeness relation found in the English proverb is established between two irregular plural nouns. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on gender, since the 'masculine' term stands before the 'feminine' one.

### **Proverb 8:**

E: Old *men*, when they marry young *women*, make much of death. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: A quien se casa viejo, o muerte, o cuernos. (0-0)

S1: Al viejo recién casado, rezarle por finado. (0-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent was found in the sources of our corpus, the same sources provided two Spanish variants. Nevertheless, both of them contain '0' relations of oppositeness because no equivalent of the E opposite terms appears in neither of the two. Regarding the English proverb, the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on gender, since the 'masculine' term precedes its opposite. It is also noticeable that E contains two opposite pairs and its length draws our attention too.

\*See also 2.1.5., Proverb 7.

### **Proverb 9:**

E: *Men* get wealth and *women* keep it. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Los hombres* ganan y *las mujeres* guardan. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: *Los hombres* ganan la hacienda y *las mujeres* la conservan. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is counterbalanced by the existence of two Spanish variants, both of them being equal to the English one from the relation of oppositeness point of view. We observe that all our opposites are plural common nouns, the English ones being irregular plurals. The antonym sequence is the same in all the proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on gender, since the 'masculine' term stands before the 'feminine' one. The S1 proverb is longer than its S equivalent.

- *male-female* in:

### **Proverb 10:**

E: Deeds are *males*, and words are *females*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: Deeds are *masculine*, words are *feminine*. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Las palabras son *femeninas*, y los hechos son *machos*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Las palabras *hembras* son, y el hecho *varón*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Vorbele sunt *femei*, faptele sunt *bărbați* (lit. transl. 'Words are women, deeds are men'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: *Femeile* cu vorba, *bărbații* cu faptele (lit. transl. 'Women with words, men with deeds'). (LEF) (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: There is an equal relation of oppositeness between the English pair of opposites and its Spanish and Romanian counterparts. The difference which draws the attention is that of the antonym sequence based on gender. Thus, in English, Jones' theory according to which the tendency is that of the 'masculine' term to precede the 'feminine' one is accomplished. But the sequence is inverted in Spanish and Romanian, where the feminine term comes first. Regarding the morphological classes, we have opposite pairs of nouns in E, S1, R and R1; and pairs of opposite adjectives in E1 and S. Related to number, there is only one term which steps out of line, i.e. S1'<sub>singular</sub> = *varón*, all the other terms being plurals.

- *uncle-aunt* (with the observation that  $X = \textit{uncle}$  and  $Y = \textit{aunt}$  are complementaries only if they accomplish the following *sine qua non* condition: they are married<sup>226</sup>. Thus, if X and Y are married and X is the uncle, it means that X is male and implicitly Y is the aunt and female, and vice versa) in:

### **Proverb 11:**

E: If my *aunt* had been a man, she'd have been my *uncle*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: De-ar avea și *baba* ca oamenii barbă, atunci i-ar zice <<ce mai *moș* de treabă>> (lit. transl. 'If the old *woman* had got beard as men have, then they'd have said to her <<what a nice old *man*>>'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

**CRO:  $E \neq S[-] \Leftrightarrow R$**

Comment: Even though the terms of the E pair are not equivalent to those of the R pair, they are similar since they imply the same concepts, namely the *female-male* oppositeness; hence, an equivalent CRO between E and R. Moreover, the same antonym sequence is found in both languages, the feminine term preceding the masculine one (which contradicts Jones' theory according to which the order of the terms is the other way around).

- *father-mother* (with the observation that  $X = \textit{father}$  and  $Y = \textit{mother}$  are complementaries only if they accomplish the following *sine qua non* condition: they are married<sup>227</sup>. Thus, if X and Y are married and X is the father, it means that X is male and implicitly Y is the mother and female, and vice versa) in:

### **Proverb 12:**

E: Children suck *the mother* when they are young and *the father* when they are old. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Los hijos, siempre mamones; primero de leche; y después de doblones. (0-0)

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq S[0] \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The pair of complementaries existing in E is absent from S, and no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The tendency mentioned by Jones when he refers to the antonym sequence related to gender, according to which the 'masculine' term precedes the 'feminine' one, is not reflected in our English proverb.

\*See also 2.1.5., Proverb 3.

- *son-daughter* (with the observation that  $X = \textit{son}$  and  $Y = \textit{daughter}$  are complementaries only if they accomplish the following *sine qua non* conditions: they are siblings and have different sexes. Thus, if X and Y are siblings and X is the son, it means that X is male and implicitly Y is the daughter and female, and vice versa) in:

<sup>226</sup> We exclude here the gay couples.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibidem*.

### **Proverb 13:**

E: Marry your *son* when you will, your *daughter* when you can. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Casa a tu *hijo* cuando quieras y a tu *hija* cuando puedas. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Casa *el hijo* cuando quisieres y *la hija* cuando pudieres. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: *Însoară* când vrei, *mărită* când poți (lit. transl. 'Marry [your son] when you want, marry [your daughter] when you can'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: *Însoară-ți fiul* când vrei, *mărită-ți fata* când poți (lit. transl. 'Marry your son when you want, marry your daughter when you can'). (LEF) (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The equality of the relations of oppositeness in the three languages is based on the fact that, except R, all opposite terms are singular nouns; their order is the same in all proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on gender, since the 'masculine' term stands before the 'feminine' one. The only problem is raised by the R terms. The two verbs are equivalent to the English verb *to marry*, but one refers to men and the other to women, as explained by DEX:

- *a însura*, reflexive and transitive verb. (Referring to men) To (get) marry (married)<sup>228</sup>.

- *a mărita*, reflexive verb. (Referring to women) To marry; transitive verb. To marry a daughter<sup>229</sup>.

So, in this case, the *male-female* oppositeness is implied by the meaning of the two verbs.

- and the impure opposites *Adam-Eve* and *Jack-Jill* in:

### **Proverb 14:**

E: When *Adam* delved and *Eve* span, who was then a gentleman? (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Cuando *Adán* cavaba y *Eva* hilaba, la hidalguía, ¿dónde estaba? (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Dacă ar fi fost toți bogați, cine ar fi săpat ogoarele? (lit. trans. 'If all of them were rich, who would have digged the field?'). (0-0)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: While in the English proverb and its Spanish homologue there is an equal relation of oppositeness expressed by the same pairs of opposite proper nouns, the Romanian equivalent proverb lacks any pair of opposites. Moreover, both E and S sustain Jones' theory according to which in an antonym sequence the 'masculine' term precedes the 'feminine' one.

### **Proverb 15:**

E: Every *Jack* must have his *Jill*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: There is not so bad a *Gill*, but there's as bad a *Will*. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

E2: Every pot has his cover. (0-0)

S: Tal para tal, *María* para *Juan*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Tot sacul își găsește peticul (lit. transl. 'Every sack finds its patch'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ⇔ S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: It is noticeable the use of proper nouns in English and Spanish languages to express the *male-female* oppositeness. While in E the antonym sequence accomplishes Jones' theory based on gender (the 'masculine' term standing before its opposite), this order changes in E1 and S, where the noun denominating a girl's name comes first. The Romanian proverb

<sup>228</sup> Translated from <<http://dexonline.ro/definitie/%C3%AEnsura>>.

<sup>229</sup> Translated from <<http://dexonline.ro/definitie/marita>>.

contains no pair of opposites, but it has the same structure and meaning as E2. Thus, the relation of all proverbs may be represented as follows:  $(E \Leftrightarrow E1 \Leftrightarrow S) \neq (E2[0] = R[0])$ .

### 2.2.2. Gain-loss

This opposition is expressed by the opposite verbs *to gain-to lose*:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: He *gains* enough whom fortune *loses*. ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: No equivalent proverb has been found in the sources of our corpus as far as the Spanish and Romanian languages are concerned. Regarding the English proverb we observe that the antonym sequence taking into account the positivity factor accomplishes Jones' theory according to which the positive term stands before its opposite. The opposite terms are third-person singular Present Simple verbs.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: A merchant that *gains* not, *loses*. ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S: Donde nada *se gana*, algo *se va perdiendo*. ( $S_{\text{verb}}-S'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S1: Quien nada *gana*, algo *pierde*. ( $S1_{\text{verb}}-S1'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S2: No *ganar* ya es *perder*. ( $S2_{\text{verb}}-S2'_{\text{verb}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is counterbalanced by the existence of three Spanish variants whose relations of oppositeness are equal to the one found in the English proverb. We observe the same antonym sequence in the four proverbs, the positive term standing before its opposite, which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity. Regarding the verb forms of the opposite terms, we have similarities: ( $E_{\text{verb}} = S2_{\text{verb}} =$  negative form, the rest having affirmative forms); ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{verb}}$ )<sup>third-person singular Present Simple</sup> = ( $S1_{\text{verb}}-S1'_{\text{verb}}$ )<sup>third-person singular Present Simple</sup>, and differences: ( $S_{\text{verb}}$ <sup>pronominal verb</sup>- $S'_{\text{verb}}$ <sup>Gerund</sup>)<sup>periphrasis</sup>  $\neq$  ( $S2_{\text{verb}}-S2'_{\text{verb}}$ )<sup>Infinitive</sup>.

#### **Proverb 3:**

E: He that *loses* is merchant as well as he that *gains*. ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S: *Perder y ganar*, todo es comerciar. ( $S_{\text{verb}}-S'_{\text{verb}}$ )

R: De *câştigi*, de *păgubeşti*, tot negustor te numeşti (lit. transl. 'Whether you win or lose, you are still called a merchant'). ( $R_{\text{verb}}-R'_{\text{verb}}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

Comment: In this case we have equal relations of oppositeness in all of our three languages. All the opposite terms are verbs (third-person singular Present Simple in E, second-person singular Present Simple in R, Infinitives in S). As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, it is the same in E and S. But it is inverted in R, where the positive term stands before its opposite, sustaining thus Jones' theory based on positivity.

- the opposite verbs *to win-to lose* and their Past Participles:

**Proverb 4:**

E: *Win* at first and *lose* at last. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by the complementary verbs, both being imperatives. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes the negative one.

\*See also 2.3.5., Proverb 1.

**Proverb 5:**

E: You *win* some, you *lose* some. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Entre hoy y mañana, lo que con unos *se pierde*, con otros *se gana*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The equality is established between the relations of oppositeness found in the English and the Spanish proverbs. The only difference lies in the antonym sequence, inverted in S, where it contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands before its opposite.

**Proverb 6:**

E: Time *lost* cannot be *won* again. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: El tiempo *perdido* no se recupera. (S<sub>adj</sub>-0)

S1: Tiempo *perdido*, para siempre *ido*. (S1<sub>adj</sub> ≠ S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S2: Tiempo *pasado*, jamás *retornado*. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>adj</sub>)

S3: Tiempo mal *gastado* nunca *recobrado*. (S3<sub>adj</sub>-S3'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Timpul *pierdut* nu se mai întoarce (lit. transl. 'Time lost is not coming back'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-0)

**CRO: E <=> S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: It draws our attention the great number of Spanish equivalent proverbs. Of these four, S, like R, contains a '0' relation of oppositeness due to the absence of the second opposite term. Thus: S = R = [0]; S<sub>adj</sub> = R<sub>adj</sub> = E<sub>adj</sub> = S1<sub>adj</sub>. In S1 the highlighted terms are not opposites, hence S1 = [0]. S2 and S3 include two different pairs of opposites formed also by Past Participles of converse verbs. The S2 and S3 pairs are equivalent to E one. Thus E <=> S2 <=> S3. We also note that all opposite terms are Past Participles with adjectival value. The antonym sequence in the E, S2 and S3 contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity due to the fact that the positive term stands after its opposite.

- the pair of nouns *profit-loss, gain-loss* in:

**Proverb 7:**

E: One man's *loss* is another man's *gain*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Lo que uno *pierde*, otro lo *gana*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: No hay *daño* de uno sin *provecho* de otro. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

### **CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: Since no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the problem is raised by the Spanish equivalents. We notice that the E pair of opposites is equal to the S pair, the only difference being the morphological class, namely nouns in E and verbs in S. Regarding S1, it contains a pair of opposite nouns, but the terms are not equivalent with the E terms and the synonymy is not pure. Still,  $S1_{noun} - S1'_{noun}$  are opposites, but we consider them antonyms, not complementaries. Thus, our CRO can be represented as follows:  $(E = S) \neq S1$ . Related to the antonym sequence, it is the same in the three proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term follows the negative one.

#### **Proverb 8:**

E: There's no great *loss* without some *gain*. ( $E_{noun} - E'_{noun}$ )

E1: No great *loss* but some small *profit*. ( $E1_{noun} - E1'_{noun}$ )

S: [-]

R: Nu e *câștig* fără *pagubă* (lit. transl. 'There's no gain without loss'). ( $R_{noun} - R'_{noun}$ )

R1: Unde e *câștig* e și *pagubă* (lit. transl. 'Where there's gain there's loss also'). ( $R1_{noun} - R1'_{noun}$ )

### **CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: The absence of a Spanish equivalent proverb is counterbalanced by the existence of two variants for each of the English and Romanian languages. We observe that R and R1 contain the same pair of opposites, only the structures of the proverbs differ, namely we have 'No X without Y' in R, and 'Where there's X there's Y' in R1. Regarding English,  $E \approx E1$  due to the  $E1'_{noun}$ , which is different from, but synonymous with  $E'_{noun}$ :  $E1'_{noun} \Leftrightarrow E'_{noun}$ , while  $E1_{noun} = E_{noun}$ . The same antonym sequence of E is found in E1, while the one in R is equal to the one found in R1. But the antonym sequence in Romanian is inverted compared to the one in English. It is the antonym sequence in the Romanian proverbs which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite.

- and the pairs of the opposite nouns *success-failure* in:

#### **Proverb 9:**

E: *Success* has many fathers, while *failure* is an orphan. ( $E_{noun} - E'_{noun}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

### **CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by singular nouns. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity since the positive term stands before its opposite.

### **2.2.3. Day-night**

It may be said that these two concepts do not exclude each other totally. In Romanian, for example, *la crăpat de ziuă* 'at the crack of dawn' is considered an intermediate state



between *night* and *day*. It is also said that ‘*day* and *night* overlap’ (Rom. *se îngână ziua cu noaptea*). In English this aspect can be ignored since the very definition of *dawn* "the time at the beginning of the day when light first appears" (LDOCE) makes reference to *day*, excluding the *night*. The same question appears when taking into consideration the *evening*, considered sometimes like belonging to both *day* and *night*. Taking a look to its definition, we have to exclude this hypothesis too, since *evening* is "the early part of the night between the end of the day and the time you go to bed" (LDOCE). So, it is exclusively part of the *night*.

Thus, there is an obvious ‘either-or’ relationship between the two, which makes them complementaries.

### **Proverb 1:**

E: Praise a fair *day at night*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{adv}}$ )

E1: *The evening* crowns/praises *the day*. ( $E1_{\text{noun}} \neq E1'_{\text{noun}}$ , they are not complementaries)

S: No alabes ninguna *jornada* hasta que *la noche* sea llegada. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: *Ziua* bună se laudă *seara* (lit. transl. 'The good day is praised in the evening'). ( $R_{\text{noun}} \neq R'_{\text{adv}}$ , they are not complementaries)

R1: Să nu zici <<ce zi frumoasă>> până nu se va însera (lit. transl. 'Don't say <<what a fine day>> until it's getting dark'). ( $R1_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

R2: După ce apune soarele laudă *ziua* (lit. transl. 'After the sunset praise the day'). ( $R2_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

R3: Nu preamări *ziua* până nu apune soarele (lit. transl. 'Don't praise the day until the sunset'). ( $R3_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[0]$**

Comment: In spite of the different morphological classes of the terms of the pairs  $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{adv}}$  and  $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ , there is an equal relation of oppositeness in E and S, because  $E_{\text{noun}} = S_{\text{noun}}$  and  $E'_{\text{adv}} = S'_{\text{noun}}$ . Regarding the Romanian equivalent proverbs, we observe the absence of the second term of the complementaries pairs and the presence of the first term of E (*day*) and S (*jornada*) in all versions. We can also notice that  $R = E1 = [0]$  (where the terms sequence is changed, but the meaning of the two proverbs is the same) because  $R_{\text{noun}} = E1'_{\text{noun}}$ ;  $R'_{\text{adv}} = E1_{\text{noun}}$ , but the terms of the pairs are not complementaries. The E and S antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *night* stands after *day*.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: Praise *day at night*, and life at the end. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{adv}}$ )

E1: *The evening* crowns/praises *the day*. ( $E1_{\text{noun}} \neq E1'_{\text{noun}}$ , they are not complementaries)

S: A la fin loa la vida y a la tarde loa el día. ( $S_{\text{adv}} \neq S'_{\text{noun}}$ , they are not complementaries)

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq S[0] \neq R[-]$**

Comment: Even though the Spanish equivalent of E1 is found in S ( $S \supset E1$ ), the opposite pair *day-night* is missing. The pairs found in E1 and S are not complementaries, even though they have a certain degree of oppositeness. The second terms ( $E1'_{\text{noun}} = S'_{\text{noun}}$ ) are complementaries while the first ones ( $E1_{\text{noun}} = S_{\text{adv}}$ ) are heteronyms. We notice that  $E_{\text{noun}} = E1'_{\text{noun}} = S'_{\text{noun}}$ . The antonym sequence of the English pair of opposites sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *night* stands after *day*.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: Every *day* comes *night*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{adv}}$ )

S: No hay *día* sin *noche*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: No viene *día* que no venga *tarde*. ( $S1_{\text{noun}} \neq S1'_{\text{adv}}$ , they are not complementaries)

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: Just in the previous case, from the S1 highlighted terms only  $S1_{\text{noun}}$  is a complementary. The equality of oppositeness is established between E and S, since no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. In both E and S the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *night* stands after *day*.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: Sweet discourse makes short *days* and *nights*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: No equivalent Spanish or Romanian proverbs were found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposite terms are plural common nouns. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *day* stands before *night*.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: Who marries for love without money, has good *nights* and sorry *days*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Quien casa por amores, malos *días* y buenas *noches*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The equality of the relations of oppositeness from the English and the Spanish proverbs is 'shadowed' by the reversed antonym sequence. Both opposite pairs are expressed by plural nouns, only the order differs. Thus  $E_{\text{noun}} = S'_{\text{noun}}$  and  $E'_{\text{noun}} = S_{\text{noun}}$ . The antonym order of the English proverb contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *night* comes after *day*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.1.1., Proverb 40.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: Cover your head *by day* as much as you will, *by night* as much as you can. ( $E_{\text{adv}}-E'_{\text{adv}}$ )

S: *De día*, cuando quieras; *de noche*, cuando puedas. ( $S_{\text{adv}}-S'_{\text{adv}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: It is noticeable how all the opposite terms form adverbial locutions with the prepositions *by* in English, and *de* in Spanish. The same antonym sequence appears in both languages, and accomplishes Jones' theory based on chronology, according to which in our real world *night* comes after *day*. As for Romanian, no equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: What is done *by night* appears *by day*. ( $E_{\text{adv}}-E'_{\text{adv}}$ )

S: Lo que *de noche* se hace, *de día* parece. ( $S_{adv}-S'_{adv}$ )

S1: Lo que *de noche* se hace, *a la mañana* parece. ( $S1_{adv} \neq S1'_{adv}$ )

R: Ce se naște *pe întineric* trebuie să se vadă *la lumină* (lit. transl. 'What is born by dark must be seen at light'). ( $R_{adv}-R'_{adv}$ )

R1: *Ziua* multe se descoperă (lit. transl. 'Many things are discovered by day'). ( $R1_{adv}-0$ )

**CRO:  $E = S \Leftrightarrow R$**

Comment: In this case, we observe that all the opposite terms, except  $R1_{adv}$ , are expressed by adverbial locutions. We note the presence of the heteronym *mañana* as  $S1'_{adv}$  which establishes a certain relation of oppositeness with  $S1_{adv}$  (*noche*), but they are not antonyms. So we consider that S1 contains an 'invalid' relation of oppositeness. The same '0' oppositeness is found in R1 due to the absence of the second opposite term. As to the R variant, we notice that the pair of opposites is different from, but synonymous to, the ones of E and S. The following relations can be established between the opposite terms: ( $E_{adv} = S_{adv} = S1_{adv}$ )  $\Leftrightarrow R_{adv}$  and ( $E'_{adv} = S'_{adv} = R1_{adv}$ )  $\Leftrightarrow R'_{adv} \neq S1'_{adv}$ . We also note that the antonym sequence in E, S, S1 and R contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world, *night/dark* comes after *day/light*.

The final CRO can be represented as: ( $E = S \Leftrightarrow R$ )  $\neq$  ( $S1[0] = R1[0]$ ). The first part of this formula is possible thanks to the common biblical origin of the three head proverbs, namely *Luke*, 12: 3.

### **Proverb 8:**

E: He that is a wise man *by day* is no fool *by night*. ( $E_{adv}-E'_{adv}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Related to the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by the adverbial locutions *by day-by night*. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world, *day* stands before *night*.

\*See also 2.1.4., Proverb 6.

## **2.2.4. War-peace**

This opposition is clearly represented by the same pair of opposite nouns *war-peace* in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: Better an egg *in peace* than an ox *in war*. ( $E_{noun}-E'_{noun}$ )

S: Más vale en *paz* huevo que en *guerra* un gallinero. ( $S_{noun}-S'_{noun}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: There are equal relations of oppositeness in the English proverb and its Spanish equivalent. They both accomplish Jones' theory of antonym sequence based on positivity, according to which the positive term (*peace*) precedes the negative one (*war*). No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: He that will not have *peace*, God gives him *war*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: In this case, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, its antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term (*peace*) stands before its opposite (*war*).

### **Proverb 3:**

E: If you want *peace*, you must prepare for *war*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: In time of *peace*, prepare for *war*. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

E2: If you wish for *peace*, be prepared for *war*. (E2<sub>noun</sub>-E2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Si quieres *la paz*, prepárate para *la guerra*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Si quieres asegurar *la paz*, prepárate para *la guerra*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: Vístete en *guerra*, y ármate en *paz*. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, it did not happen the same with the Spanish language, for which we found, just as in the case of English, three variants of the same proverb. The only equivalent proverb that steps out of line is S2 because of its antonym sequence, which is reversed compared to the rest. It is this case only where Jones' theory based on positivity is contradicted, since the negative term stands after its opposite. What needs to be said is the fact that all opposite terms are singular nouns. The final CRO may be represented as follows: (E = E1 = E2 = S = S1 = S2) ≠ R[-].

### **Proverb 4:**

E: A just *war* is better than an unjust *peace*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Más vale buena *guerra* que mala *paz*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Mejor es *guerra* clara que *paz* fingida. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: We observe equal relations of oppositeness in the English and the two Spanish proverbs. All the opposite terms are singular common nouns. The antonym sequence is the same in the three proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity, since it is the negative term that stands first, but accomplishing Jones' theory of idiomacity. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.2.7., Proverb 2.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: He that makes a good *war* makes a good *peace*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: La buena *guerra*, buena *paz* engendra. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The equality between the relations of oppositeness found in the English and the Spanish proverbs is based on the following similarities:

- all the opposite terms are singular common nouns;

- the four opposites are determined by the same adjective, i.e. *good/buena*, which occupies the same position, i.e. before the nouns;
  - the antonym sequence, identical in both proverbs, contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands before its opposite.
- No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: *War* makes thieves, and *peace* hangs them. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: *War* makes the thief, and *peace* brings him to the galows. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *La guerra* hace a los ladrones y *la paz* los ahorca. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: In this case, we have two English variants, a Spanish one and no Romanian. There are equal relations of oppositeness in E, E1 and S: E = E1 = S. All the opposite terms are singular common nouns with the same order which contradicts Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity, since the negative term stands before its opposite. The proverbs have the same structure made of two members, more precisely two sentences; our opposite terms beings the subjects of these two sentences.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: *War* with all the world, and *peace* with England. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Con todo el mundo en *guerra*, y en *paz* con Inglaterra. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Con todos *guerra*, y *paz* con Inglaterra. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: Contrary to the previous case, this time we have two Spanish variants, an English one and no Romanian. There are equal relations of oppositeness in E, S and S1: E = S = S1. All the opposite terms are singular common nouns with the same order which contradicts Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity, since the negative term stands before its opposite. The three proverbs have identical 'non verbal' structures.

### **Proverb 8:**

E: Of all *wars* *peace* is the end. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by two common nouns, one uncountable (*peace*) and the other plural (*wars*). The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands before its opposite.

## **2.2.5. Health-sickness**

This oppositeness is expressed by the uncountable noun pair *health-sickness* and by the adjectives *well-sick*, *healthful-sick* and *whole-sick*:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Health* is not valued till *sickness* comes. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *La salud* no es conocida hasta que es perdida. (S<sub>noun</sub>-0)

S1: ¿Quién querría *la salud* más bien que *el enfermo*? (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≈ S ≠ R [-]**

Comment: There is a certain, but not pure relation of antonymy between the S1 terms, because S1'<sub>noun</sub> is not equal to E'<sub>noun</sub> (it should have been *enfermedad*). That is why we consider the oppositeness relations in E and S1 being almost equal. S is characterized by the absence of the second opposite term. We notice the same antonym sequence in both languages, the positive term preceding its opposite, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity. No equivalent Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: *The sickness* of the body may prove *the health* of the soul. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S [-] = R [-])**

Comment: In this case, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by uncountable nouns preceded by the definite article *the*. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones's theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: He that eats till he is *sick* must fast till he is *well*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Quien comió hasta *enfermar*, ayune hasta *sanar*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Comer hasta *enfermar*, ayunar hasta *sanar*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≈ S ≠ R [-]**

Comment: The relation of oppositeness in E and S are almost equal because of S'<sub>verb</sub> which is lexically different from E'<sub>adj</sub>, but they are synonyms. There are also noticeable the distinct morphological classes of the English (adjectives) and Spanish (verbs) opposite pairs. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative terms precedes the positive one in all of the three proverbs.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: The devil was *sick*, the devil a monk would be; the devil was *well*, the devil a monk was he. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Después de viejo el diablo se hizo fraile. (0-0)

S1: El diablo, harto de hacer daño, se metió a ermitaño. (0-0)

S2: El diablo, harto de carne, se metió fraile. (0-0)

R: Dracu' când a îmbătrânit, atunci s-a călugărit (lit. transl. 'The Devil became a monk when he grew old'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ (S [0] = R [0])**

Comment: In spite of the fact that there is more than one Spanish variant, none of the three proverbs contains an opposite pair. The same happens in the case of the Romanian proverb, thus we have S = S1 = S2 = R = [0]. It is also noticeable that the English proverb is longer

than its equivalents. The E opposite terms are both adjectives. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term precedes the positive one.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: The *healthful* man can give counsel to *the sick*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *El sano al doliente* su regla le mete. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Fácilmente, *el sano* da consejo *al doliente*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R [-]**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the same sources provided two Spanish variants, both of them containing the same pair of opposites. Thus S = S1 and also equal to E, the only difference being the morphological class of the E<sub>adj</sub> (*healthful*, derived from the adjective *health* + the suffix *-ful*) versus all the other opposites being singular nouns. It is also noticeable the same antonym sequence preserved in the three proverbs, which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands after its opposite.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: They that be *whole* need not a physician, but they that are *sick*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Los que están *sanos* no tienen necesidad de médico, sino *los enfermos*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Nu cei *sănătoși* au nevoie de doctor, ci cei *bolnavi* (lit. transl. 'Not the healthy ones need a doctor, but the sick ones'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: We observe that our proverbs are expressed by pretty long statements. The relations of oppositeness established in all of them are equal due to the common biblical origin, namely *Matthew*, 9: 12; *Mark*, 2: 17, and *Luke*, 5: 31. The same antonym sequence is preserved in the three languages, the positive term standing before its opposite, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity. We also note that all the opposites are plurals, and it draws our attention the fact that the S relation of oppositeness is established between an adjective and a noun. At the same time, the Romanian adjectives, together with the adjectival demonstrative article *cei* 'the', form nominal locutions: *cei sănătoși* 'the healthy ones' and *cei bolnavi* 'the sick ones'.

## **2.2.6. Absence-presence**

This opposition is expressed by the opposite nouns *absence-presence* and the adjectives *absent-present* in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Absence* sharpens love, *presence* strengthens it. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: *Absence* kills a little love, but makes the big ones grow (ISC). (E1(a)<sub>noun</sub>-0; E1(b)<sub>adj</sub>-E1(b)<sub>adj</sub>)

S: El enamorado vive *siempre* penando en *la ausencia*. (S<sub>adv</sub> ≠ S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Desde que no la veo, me muero de deseo. (0-0)

R: Ochii care nu se văd rar se iubesc (lit. transl. 'Eyes that are not seen are seldom loved'). (0-0)

R1: Mai răruț, mai drăguț ('Rarer, nicer'). (0-0)

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[0] = R[0])$**

Comment: We observe the absence of one of the looked for opposite terms in E1 and S, where  $E_{\text{noun}} = E1(a)_{\text{noun}} = S'_{\text{noun}}$ . If we consider *ausencia* as a 'never present' concept, than we could say that a certain relation of oppositeness is established between  $S'_{\text{noun}}$  and the  $S_{\text{adv}}$  *siempre: siempre-ausencia* (= *never...*), thus we have the  $S_{\text{adv}} \neq S'_{\text{noun}}$  formula, but they are still not complementaries. E1 contains a pair of opposites, namely the adjectives E1(b) and E1(b)', but they are antonyms, not complementaries. The Romanian variants, just like S1, contain no opposites at all, thus they include '0' relations of oppositeness and  $(E1(a) = S) = (S1 = R = R1) = [0]$ .

### **Proverb 2:**

E: He is neither *absent* without fault, nor *present* without excuse. ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: Ni *ausente* sin culpa, ni *presente* sin disculpa. ( $S_{\text{adj}}-S'_{\text{adj}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The absence of a Romanian equivalent seems to be counterbalanced by the total equivalence of the English and Spanish proverbs. The opposite terms are equal, coordinated complementaries, and have the same structure (neither X... nor Y = ni X ...ni Y) in both languages, implying the exhaustiveness of a scale. The antonym sequence is the same in both proverbs.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: He that fears you *present* will hate you *absent*. ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: Quien de ti habla mal en *ausencia*, teme tu *presencia*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: The relation of oppositeness in the English proverb is equal to the one in the Spanish equivalent in spite of the following two small differences: the morphological class, namely adjective in E and noun in S, on the one hand; and the inverted order of the opposite terms in Spanish compared to English. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: Who takes the lion when he is *absent*, fears a mouse *present*. ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: Quien león mata en *ausencia*, del topo teme en *presencia*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: Quien *ausente* un león mata, de un ratón *presente* se espanta. ( $S1_{\text{adj}}-S1'_{\text{adj}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Instead, two Spanish variants were provided by the sources of our corpus. The only difference between them is the morphological class of the opposite terms, being adjectives in S1 and nouns in S (with the observation that they form adverbial locutions with the preposition *en*). The antonym sequence is the same in the three proverbs, the negative term stands before its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity. Thus we have the following relation of equality:  $E = S = S1$ .



### 2.2.7. Just(ice)-u(i)njust(ice)

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Extreme justice is extreme injustice. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: *Much* law, *little* justice. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Justicia* extrema, extrema *injusticia*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** There are equal relations of oppositeness in E and S, E1 being different because the pair of opposite it includes is formed of antonyms (see 2.1.9.), not of complementaries. We note a complete similarity between English and Spanish due to the antonym sequence and to the fact that both second opposite terms are prefixed with the negative prefix *in-*. Thus E'<sub>noun</sub> = [*in*-(E<sub>noun</sub>)] = [*in*-(S<sub>noun</sub>)] = S'<sub>noun</sub>. The root term stands before the prefixed one, which sustains Jones' theory based on morphological derivation. We also note that our opposite nouns are determined by the same adjective, i.e. *extreme/extrema* (see the underlined words). No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: A just war is better than an unjust peace. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Más vale *buena* guerra que *mala* paz. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Mejor es guerra *clara* que paz *fingida*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** In this case, the relations of oppositeness in the English and the two Spanish proverbs are different, because we have complementaries in E, and antonyms in S and S1. S <=> S1 (the opposites they contain are antonyms, but not synonymous terms). We note that E'<sub>adj</sub> = [*un*-(E<sub>adj</sub>)], sustaining Jones' theory based on morphological derivation, since the root term stands before the derived one. The similarity lies in the fact that all the opposite terms are adjectives which determine the same opposite nouns, namely *war-peace/guerra-paz* (see the underlined words). The antonym sequence based on positivity is the same in the three proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory because the positive term precedes its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.2.4., Proverb 4.

- also expressed by the opposite nouns *right-wrong* in:

#### **Proverb 3:**

E: Two *wrongs* don't make *a right*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Un yerro* no se remedia con otro. (S<sub>noun</sub>-0)

S1: Dos *contrarios* no caben en un sujeto. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the same sources provided two Spanish variants. But neither of the two contains a similar relation of oppositeness to the one found in the English proverb. This is due to the absence of the second opposite term in S and S1. We have S<sub>noun</sub><sup>singular</sup> = E<sub>noun</sub><sup>plural</sup> (they only differ in number) and S1<sub>noun</sub> can be considered in some way synonymous to E<sub>noun</sub>, if we take into consideration

this meaning of *contrario*: "Que daña o perjudica"<sup>230</sup>. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, it contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since it is the negative term which precedes its opposite and not vice versa.

#### **Proverb 4:**

E: He that has *right*, fears; he that has *wrong*, hopes. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by singular nouns with an order that sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite. It is remarkable the fact that the two parts of the English proverb are identical as far as their structure is concerned.

### **2.2.8. Alive-dead**

The opposite of *dead* in this case is expressed by *living* and not by *alive*:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Let *the dead* bury the dead and let *the living* lead a gay life. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: Let *the dead* bury their dead. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

S: Deja que *los muertos* entierren a sus muertos. (S<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R: Lasă *morții* să-și îngroape morții lor (lit. transl. 'Let the dead bury their dead'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-0)

**CRO: E ≠ (S[0] = R[0])**

Comment: We observe that the head English proverb is larger than all the rest, having a different structure. Its second part is absent from all the other proverbs, thus E ⊃ (E1 = S = R). Since the second part of the E proverb is the one which contains the second term of the opposite pair, we have no complementaries in E1, S or R. This generate '0' relations of oppositeness in these proverbs. There is a common feature though, namely the repetition of the first opposite term in the four proverbs (see the underlined words). Related to the antonym sequence, the [-animate] term stands before its opposite, contradicting Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world, one first lives, than dies.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: A *living* dog is better than a *dead* lion. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: Better *live* dog than *dead* lion. (E1<sub>verb</sub>-E1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Mejor es perro *vivo* que león *muerto*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Más vale burro *vivo* que sabio *muerto*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Mai bine un câine *viu* decât un leu *mort* (lit. transl. 'Better a living dog than a dead lion'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The equal relation of oppositeness in the three languages is due to their common Biblical origin: *Ecclesiastes*, 9:4. The only proverb which steps out of line is E1, where the

<sup>230</sup> According to RAE: <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=contrario>>.

opposite terms are represented by verbs and not by adjectives as in the other cases. From the lexical point of view, there is a slight difference in S1 caused by the nouns described by the opposite adjectives. Thus *burro*<sup>vivo</sup>-*sabio*<sup>muerto</sup> in S1  $\neq$  *dog*<sup>living</sup>-*lion*<sup>dead</sup> in E, E1, S and R. This minor difference has no influence on the oppositeness relation that interests us. The antonym sequence, identical in the five proverbs, sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world, *living* stands before *dead*.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: We must live by *the living*, not by *the dead*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: We must live by *the quick*, not by *the dead*. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *El muerto* al hoyo, y *el vivo* al bollo. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: *El muerto* a la huesa, y *el vivo* a la mesa. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: *El muerto* a la fosada, y *el vivo* a la hogaza. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: *Morții* cu *morții* și *viii* cu *viii* (lit. transl. 'The dead with the dead and the living with the living'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: In this case, several aspects draw our attention, namely:

- the presence of the archaic term E1<sub>noun</sub> (*the quick*)  $\Leftrightarrow$  E<sub>noun</sub> (*the living*) since its meaning is "(as noun) living people (esp. in the phrase *the quick and the dead*)"<sup>231</sup>;
- the equality of the three Spanish proverbs: the opposite pairs are the same and the proverbs' structures are identical;
- the repetition of the opposite terms in the Romanian proverb, having the structure 'X with X and Y with Y';
- in Spanish and Romanian the antonym sequence is reversed compared to English, where the [+animate] term precedes the [-animate] one, which sustains Jones' theory based on chronology.

### **2.2.9. Black-white**

Taking a deeper look to this pair of opposites, it might be said that they are antonyms since *grey* could be considered an intermediate term between the two. But the 'either-or' relationship that makes the two words exclude themselves is stronger. And this is how this pair of colour terms is used in everyday language, as exclusive terms.

### **Proverb 1:**

E: Two *blacks* do not make *a white*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: *Înnegrind* pe altul *nu te albești* pe tine (lit. transl. 'Making the other black do not make you white'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E ( $\neq$  S[-])  $\Leftrightarrow$  R**

Comment: There is an equivalent relation of oppositeness in the English proverb and its Romanian homologue. The antonymic relation is strengthened in E by the number oppositeness: E<sub>noun</sub><sup>Plural</sup>-E'<sub>noun</sub><sup>Singular</sup>. In the Romanian proverb the pair of antonyms is expressed by verbs at different tenses and forms: R<sup>GerundAffirmative</sup>-R'<sup>PresentNegative</sup>. Negation

<sup>231</sup> Available from <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/quick>>.

appears in the second part of both proverbs. The antonym sequence is identical in both proverbs. No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: A *black* hen lays a *white* egg. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: La gallina *negra* pone el huevo *blanco*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: La gallina *prieta*<sup>232</sup> pone los huevos *blancos*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S2: De gallina *negra*, huevo *blanco*. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Găina *neagră* face oul *alb* (lit. transl. 'A black hen lays a white egg'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** The only proverb that steps out of line is S1, because of its S1<sub>adj</sub> term being expressed by a different word than its Spanish mates. Still, if we take a look to the definition of its meaning (see corresponding footnote), we can undoubtedly notice that S1<sub>adj</sub> <=> (S<sub>adj</sub> = S2<sub>adj</sub> = E<sub>adj</sub> = R<sub>adj</sub>). S1'<sub>adj</sub> is also different from its counterparts because of the number, i.e. plural, all the others having singular forms. We observe that S2 has a 'non verbal' structure. The antonym sequence is identical in the five proverbs.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: Every *white* has its *black*, and *sweet* its *sour*. (E(a)<sub>noun</sub>-E(a')<sub>noun</sub>; E(b)<sub>noun</sub>-E(b')<sub>noun</sub>)

S: No hay *miel* sin *hiel*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: No hay *dulzura* sin *amargura*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Nu e *miere* fără *fiere* (lit. transl. 'There is no honey without gall'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E ≠ (S = R)**

**Comment:** We observe that the English proverb is longer than its Spanish and Romanian equivalents, having a two element structure. The first part of our head proverb, the one including the (a) pair of opposites, is missing from S, S1 and R. That is why, since the E pair of complementaries *white-black* has no counterparts in the other three proverbs, our CRO looks like E ≠ (S = R <=> S1). The antonym sequence in the English proverb contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term precedes its opposite.

\*See also 2.1.3., Proverb 7.

## **2.2.10. Human being-animal**

Being a polysemous word, *man* forms this time a pair of complementaries with *beast* in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: If the adder could hear, and the blindworm could see, neither *man* nor *beast* would ever go free. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Să te ferească Dumnezeu când o face râma ochi, că-i mai rea decât șarpele (lit. transl. 'God forbid you if the blindworm could see because it would be worse than the snake'). (0-0)

R1: Când ar fi după corbi, toți caii ar fi morți (lit. transl. 'If it was up to the ravens, all the horses would be dead'). (0-0)

<sup>232</sup> "Dicho de un color: Muy oscuro y que casi no se distingue del negro", according to RAE <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=prieto>>.

R2: Când ar fi după pofta câinilor, n-ar mai rămâne vită în sat (lit. transl. 'If it was up to the dogs, it wouldn't be any cow left in the village'). (LEF) (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: Although the first parts of the E and R proverbs are pretty similar, the opposite pair *man-beast* does not appear in the Romanian equivalent. Still, it is interesting that the reference to a reptile is preserved (*adder* in E and *snake* in R). R's variants R1 and R2 also make reference to the animal kingdom and include noun terms related to fauna (*corbi* 'ravens', *caii* 'the horses', *câinilor* 'of the dogs', and *vită* 'cow'). Still, as in R, there is no pair of opposites in none of the two. No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: April rains for *men*; May, for *beasts*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: April rains for corn; May, for grass. (0-0)

S: [-]

R: Ploaia din mai face mălai. (lit. transl. 'May rains for corn'). (0-0)

R1: Dacă nu plouă în mai, nu se mănâncă mălai (lit. transl. 'If it doesn't rain in May, no corn will be eaten'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: While no Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the same sources provided two Romanian variants. Both of them contain no opposite pair, that is why we have '0' R and R1 relations of oppositeness. We observe that the R proverb is similar to the first element of the E1 structure, with a slight variation, i.e. *April ≠ May*. Regarding the English head proverb, both opposite terms are plural common nouns. Our final CRO can be represented as follows: E ≠ S[-] ≠ (E1 = R = R1 = [0]).

## **2.2.11. Truth-lie**

This opposition is expressed not only by the pair *truth-lie* but also by the pair *truth-liar* in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: He that trusts in *a lie* shall perish in *truth*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, we observe that the antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands before its opposite.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: Tell *a lie* and find *a truth*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Di *mentira* y sacarás *verdad*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was provided by our corpus, an equal Spanish one was found instead. All opposite terms are singular nouns, with the only

difference that the definite article in E is absent in S. The antonym sequence is the same in both languages, the negative term standing before its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity.

### 2.2.12. Heaven-hell

Between *heaven* and *hell* there is a clear 'either-or' relationship. Though it might be said that there is an intermediate term between them, namely *earth*, it is a very strong belief that when somebody dies, he/she goes either to *hell* or to *heaven*.

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Better to go to *heaven* in rags than to *hell* in embroidery. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] = R[-]**

Comment: Neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverbs were found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned Jones' antonym sequence based on positivity is accomplished since the positive term stands before its opposite.

\*See also 2.1.8., Proverb 10.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: They that be in *hell* ween there is none other *heaven*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Și hreanul este rău, și viermele șade în mijlocul lui și crede că loc *bun* ca acolo nu mai e (lit. transl. 'The horseradish is bad, and the worm sits in the middle of it and thinks that there is no other place as good as that'). (LEF) (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R**

Comment: Since the pair of opposites in R is expressed by antonyms, not by complementaries like the one in E, there is no equivalent relation of oppositeness in the two languages. Still, we could consider them equivalent if we interpret the *hell-heaven* terms imply the *bad-good* concepts. The antonym sequence is the same in both proverbs, the negative term preceding its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity. Regarding Spanish, no equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### 2.2.13. Affirmative-negative

- expressed by the noun pair *affirmative-negative* in:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Two *negatives* make an *affirmative*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Dos *negaciones* *afirman*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: There are equal relations of oppositeness in the English and the Spanish proverbs. We observe two similarities: the first opposite term is the same in both languages, having a plural noun form, thus  $(E_{\text{noun}} = S_{\text{noun}})^{\text{plural}}$ ; the antonym sequence is also the same, the negative term standing before its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity. The difference lies in the morphological classes of the second opposite terms, namely  $E'_{\text{noun}} = S'_{\text{verb}}$ . It is worth mentioning that both proverbs are paradoxes (*supra* Part One, Chapter V.9). No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

- and by the noun pairs *yes-no* in:

### **Proverb 2:**

E: *No* and *yes* causes long disputes.  $(E_{\text{noun}} - E'_{\text{noun}})$

S: De uno que dice *sí* y otro que dice *no*, nace toda la cuestión.  $(S_{\text{adv}} - S'_{\text{adv}})$

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: Even though the relations of oppositeness of the English and the Spanish proverbs are equal, there are two noticeable differences, namely: the morphological class of the opposite terms (nouns in E, adverbs in S), and the antonym sequence which is reversed in S, where it sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the negative term stands after its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

## **2.2.14. Soberness-drunkness**

These two concepts are included here because they are interpreted as being related by the 'either or' relationship, implying the  $[\pm \text{ alcohol consumption}]$ , no matter what the quantity. Thus, the *dizzy* term, which can be considered an intermediate between the two (in this case *soberness-drunkness* would be antonyms, not complementaries) also implies  $[+ \text{ alcohol consumption}]$ , therefore it is included in the 'drunkness' concept. This sub-class is expressed by:

- the opposite nouns *soberness-drunkness*:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: What *soberness* conceals, *drunkness* reveals.  $(E_{\text{noun}} - E'_{\text{noun}})$

S: Después de *beber*, cada uno da su parecer.  $(S_{\text{verb}} - 0)$

S1: Cuando el vino *entra*, el secreto *sale* fuera.  $(S1_{\text{verb}} - S1'_{\text{verb}})$

S2: Dice *el borracho* lo que tiene en el papo.  $(S2_{\text{noun}} - 0)$

R: Ce e în inima *treazului* este în gura *beatului* (lit. transl. 'What is in the sober man's heart is in the drunk man's mouth').  $(R_{\text{noun}} - R'_{\text{noun}})$

R1: La *beție* se spune adevărul (lit. transl. 'One says the truth when drunk'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R2: Omul la *beție* cade-n nebunie (lit. transl. 'The drunk man falls into madness'). (R2<sub>noun</sub>-0)

**CRO: E (≠ S) = R**

Comment: At a first glance it draws our attention the fact that both Spanish and Romanian languages provide three equivalents of the English proverb each. Then there are several observations that need to be made:

- the E opposite terms have the same structure; they are both derived from adjectives (*sober*, *drunken*) plus the suffix *-ness*;
- the S variant contains no opposite pair, thus it has a '0' relation of oppositeness. Though we find a term, namely the S<sub>verb</sub> (*beber*) which implicitly refers to alcohol consumption, therefore it is related to E'<sub>noun</sub>.
- the S1 variant contains a pair of opposites expressed by the directional verbs *entrar-salir*, which have nothing to do with our E opposites neither in meaning nor in the relation of oppositeness. That is why we consider E ≠ S1;
- in the S2 variant, the S2<sub>noun</sub> (*el borracho*) is semantically related to E'<sub>noun</sub>, being both derived from equivalent adjectives (*drunken* in English, *borracho* in Spanish), although the difference is that E'<sub>noun</sub> is [-animate] while S2<sub>noun</sub> is [+animate]. Since S2<sub>noun</sub> has no opposite term, there is a '0' S2 relation of oppositeness;
- a similar situation is found in R1 and R2, where R1<sub>noun</sub> = R2<sub>noun</sub> = E'<sub>noun</sub>. R1<sub>noun</sub> and R2<sub>noun</sub> form adverbial locutions of time with the preposition *la* 'at'. They have no opposite terms, that is why we have S = S2 = R1 = R2 = [0].
- like S2<sub>noun</sub>, the R opposite terms are nouns derived from adjectives (*treaz* 'sober', *beat* 'drunken'). R'<sub>noun</sub> = S2<sub>noun</sub> and related (but not equal) to E'<sub>noun</sub>, because of the [±animate] semantic feature. In spite of the difference between (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>[-animate]</sup> and (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>[+animate]</sup>, the E and R relations of oppositeness are equal;
- regarding the antonym sequence, E and R sustain Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

\*See also 2.5.6., Proverb 2.

- and by the opposite adjectives *sober-drunk*:

## **Proverb 2:**

E: He that killeth a man when he is *drunk* must be hanged when he is *sober*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: El ce face la *beție* se căește la *trezie* (lit. transl. 'He who does when drunk regrets when sober'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness found in the English proverb and its Romanian equivalent are equal. It only needs to be mentioned the distinct morphological classes of the opposite terms, namely adjectives in E, and nouns in R. The nouns in R form part of the adverbial locutions of time *la beție* and *la trezie*. The antonym sequence is the same in both languages, the negative term preceding the positive one which contradicts Jones' theory according to which the order is the other way around. No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.



### 2.2.15. Human-divine

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: To err is *human*; to forgive, *divine*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Humano* es el error, y *divino* el perdonar. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The equality of oppositeness is established between the Spanish and the English proverbs. All the opposite terms are adjectives, having the same antonym sequence.

Other less productive pairs of complementaries are:

### 2.2.16. In private-in public

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Admonish your friends *in private*, praise them *in public*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: Al buen amigo tuyo, corrígelo *en secreto* y lóalo *en público*. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: Pe prieten *în spate* să-l bați (lit. trans. 'Beat your friend on the back'). (R<sub>adv</sub>-0)

**CRO: E ≈ S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: There is an almost equal relation between the oppositeness relations of the English and Spanish proverbs because one opposite term is equivalent, not equal, to its counterpart, namely S<sub>adv</sub> <=> E<sub>adv</sub> while S'<sub>adv</sub> = E'<sub>adv</sub>. In the Romanian proverb the second opposite term is missing, that is why we have a '0' relation of oppositeness. The present term is synonymous to its homologues, but not equal. Thus E<sub>adv</sub> <=> S<sub>adv</sub> <=> R<sub>adv</sub>.

\*See also 2.1.17., Proverb 1.

### 2.2.17. In general-in special

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Many friends *in general*, one *in special*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: Muchos amigos *en general*, y uno *en especial*. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: Ten muchos conocidos, pero solo un amigo. (0-0)

R: Mai bine un prieten și *bun* decât o mie și *nebuni* (lit. transl. 'Better one good friend than a thousand bad'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R**

Comment: In this case, it is the Romanian proverb that raises an issue, due to the fact that it contains a pair of opposites, but not related to the one which interests us, namely the E pair. Moreover, the R opposites are antonyms, not complementaries. The S1 variant also stands out because of its '0' oppositeness. But it does not affect the equality of E and S, where all the opposite terms are adverbial locutions with the same order which sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term precedes its opposite.

## 2.2.18. Liberty-slavery

### **Proverb 1:**

E: A bean in *liberty* is better than a comfit in *prison*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Más quiero *libertad* con pobreza que *prisión* con riqueza. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: Más quiero *libertad* pobre que *prisión* rica. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: Pasărea în *colivie* nu se bucură, și de e vie (lit. transl. A bird in a cage is not happy even if it is alive'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[0]$**

Comment: There is an equal relation of oppositeness in E, S and S1, the three pairs of complementaries being the same. The Romanian proverb contains no pair of opposites (the second term is missing), hence a '0' R relation of oppositeness. Still, the  $R_{\text{noun}} = \text{colivie}$  ('cage') term is synonymous with the  $E'_{\text{noun}} = S'_{\text{noun}} = S1'_{\text{noun}}$ . The same antonym sequence is found in the three proverbs, the positive term standing before its opposite, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on positivity.

## 2.2.19. Taught-untaught

### **Proverb 1:**

E: Better *untaught* than badly *taught*. ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: Más vale no saber que mal saber. (0-0)

R: Învățătura dată rău se sparge în capul tău (lit. transl. 'Bad taught turns against oneself'). (LEF) (0-0)

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[0] = R[0])$**

Comment: We observe that both the Spanish and the Romanian proverbs contain '0' relations of oppositeness compared to the English one. In S we find a certain relation of oppositeness, but it is established between two syntagms, not two terms, in which the key element is repeated, namely *no saber-mal saber*. Regarding the English proverb, it is interesting that  $E_{\text{adj}} = [\text{un}-(E'_{\text{adj}})]$  because *untaught* = *un-* 'not' + *taught*. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on morphological derivation according to which the root term appears before the derived one.

## 2.3. PROVERBS INCLUDING DIRECTIONALS

### 2.3.1. Up-down

The point of reference for this pair of directional opposites is on the vertical axis in space. The opposition is expressed by:

- the pair of opposites *up-down* in:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: The world is a ladder for some *to go up* and some *down*. ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{adv}}$ )

E1: Thus fareth the world, that one *goes up* and another *goes down*. ( $E1_{\text{verb}}-E1'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S: Unos nacen con estrella y otros (nacen) estrellados. (SEV) (0-0)

R: Aşa e roata lumii, unii *suie*, alţii *coboară* (lit. transl. 'The wheel of world is like this, some go up, and others go down'). ( $R_{\text{verb}}-R'_{\text{verb}}$ )

R1: Lumea e ca un puţ cu două ciuturi; când *se urcă* cea plină, *se coboară* cea deşartă (lit. transl. 'The world is like a well with two buckets; when the full one goes up, the empty one goes down'). ( $R1_{\text{verb}}-R1'_{\text{verb}}$ )

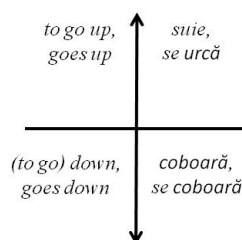
**CRO:  $E (\neq S[0]) = R$**

Comment: In this case, while Flonta provides no Spanish equivalent proverb, Sevilla does, but the S variant contains no opposite pair, that is why we consider  $S = [0]$ . Regarding the other two languages, they contain equal relations of oppositeness, due to the fact that all the opposite terms are expressed by directionals. Several observations need to be made, namely:

-  $E \approx E1$  due to the fact that in E the verb is elliptically used in the second part of the proverb, hence the oppositeness is established between the phrasal verb *to go up* and the adverb (*to go*) *down*. This ellipsis of the verb does not occur in the E1 proverb. We also note that  $E_{\text{verb}}$  is an Infinitive, while ( $E1_{\text{verb}}-E1'_{\text{verb}}$ )<sup>third-person singular Present Simple</sup>.

-  $R \approx R1$  because  $R_{\text{verb}} \Leftrightarrow R1_{\text{verb}}$  while  $R'_{\text{verb}} = R1'_{\text{verb}}$ . It is also noticeable that the R1 verbs are in passive voice (which in Romanian is formed by the reflexive pronoun *se* + the verb), while ( $R_{\text{verb}}-R'_{\text{verb}}$ )<sup>third-person plural Present Simple</sup>.

Our final CRO can be represented as follows:  $E1 (\approx E) = R (\approx R1) \neq S[0]$ . Regarding the antonym sequence, the opposite terms have the same orientation on the vertical axis in space. This can be shown by the diagram below:



- the opposite nouns *brim-bottom*, *top-bottom*, *standing-fall* in:

### **Proverb 2:**

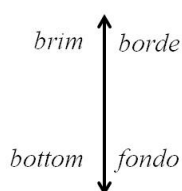
E: Better spare at *brim* than at *bottom*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Más vale ahorrar al *borde* que no al *fondo*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: Sacul de la *gură* se păstrează (lit. transl. 'The sack must be spared at brim'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[0]$**

Comment: All our opposite nouns form adverbial locutions with the corresponding prepositions, namely *at*, *al* and *la*. The  $R_{\text{noun}}$  ( $= E_{\text{noun}} = S_{\text{noun}}$ ) has no opposite, thus we have a '0' R relation of oppositeness. Regarding the antonym sequence, the E and S opposite pairs have the same orientation on the vertical axis, as presented in the below diagram:



### **Proverb 3:**

E: Of wine the middle, of oil *the top*, and of honey *the bottom*, is the best. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

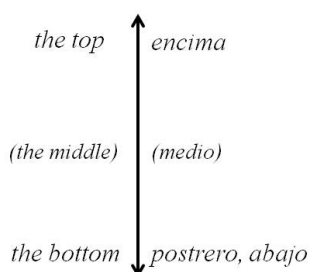
S: El aceite de *encima*; el vino, de en medio; la miel, de lo *postrero*. ( $S_{\text{adv}}-S'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S1: Si quieres bien comprar, el aceite de *encima*, el vino de en medio y la miel de *abajo* has de tomar. ( $S_{\text{adv}}-S'_{\text{adv}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \Leftrightarrow S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the same sources provided two Spanish variants, both of them equivalent to the English proverb as far as the relation of oppositeness is concerned. We note that  $S \approx S1$  due to the fact that  $S_{\text{adv}} = S1_{\text{adv}}$  while  $S'_{\text{adj}} \neq S1'_{\text{adj}}$ ; in this case  $S'_{\text{adj}}$  and  $S1'_{\text{adj}}$  can be considered synonymous. Regarding the antonym sequence, the E and S opposite pairs have the same orientation on the vertical axis, as presented in the below diagram:



We observe the presence of a middle term (see the underlined words) on the same vertical axis, also shown on the diagram.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: *The higher standing, the lower fall.* (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Cuanto mayor es la subida, tanto mayor es la descendida.* (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: *Después de una gran subida, una gran caída.* (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: *Quien sube más arriba de lo que debía, cae más abajo de lo que creía.* (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≈ S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: Due to the following relationships: E<sub>noun</sub> is synonymous but not equal to S<sub>noun</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub> = S2<sub>verb</sub>, and E'<sub>noun</sub> = S'<sub>noun</sub>; E'<sub>noun</sub> = (S1'<sub>noun</sub> = S2'<sub>verb</sub>), S'<sub>noun</sub> ⇔ S1'<sub>noun</sub> = S2'<sub>verb</sub>, there is an almost equal link between the E and S relations of oppositeness. Of the three Spanish variants, S2 steps out of line by the fact that the opposite pair is expressed by verbs, not nouns. The E and S opposite terms are preceded by the corresponding definite articles *the* and *la*, while the S1 opposite terms are preceded by the indefinite article *una*. The antonym sequence is the same in the four proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more altitude' term stands before its opposite. The opposite terms have the same 'up-down' orientation on the vertical axis. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also Proverb 10 below.

- the opposite reversion verbs *to ascend-to descend, to stand-to sit, to raise-to lay* in:

### **Proverb 5:**

E: It is easier *to descend* than *to ascend*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: *Într-un an de zile te sui la deal și într-un ceas te scobori la vale* (lit. transl. 'Within a year you climb up to the hill and within an hour you descend down to the valley'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness in the English and the Romanian proverbs are equal. Both pairs are expressed by verbs, those in R being reflexive and having a Present Tense form, while the E terms have Infinitive forms. It is also worth mentioning that R'<sub>verb</sub> is the archaic form of the verb *a (se) coborî*; and also that the opposite terms in R are redundantly strengthened by the adverbial locutions *la deal* ('up to the hill') and *la vale* ('down to the valley') which gives birth to pleonasm. A very important aspect is also the inverted sequence of the opposite terms, thus E<sub>verb</sub> = R'<sub>verb</sub> and E'<sub>verb</sub> = R<sub>verb</sub>. The antonym sequence can be represented as follows: '↓' (in E) and '↑' (in R). It contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since in order *to descend* one must first *ascend*.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: It is as cheap *sitting* as *standing*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs have been found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposite terms are nouns.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: It is easier *to raise* the devil than *to lay* him. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb has been found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposite terms are [+ to] Infinitives.

- the pair of the antonymous verbs *to increase-to decrease*:

### **Proverb 8:**

E: When riches *increase*, the body *decreases*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: In this case, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb has been found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, we note that the opposite terms are expressed by third-person (singular versus plural) Present Simple verbs, both having the origin in the same Latin verb *crescere* 'to grow' + a prefix (*in-* and respectively, *de-*)<sup>233</sup>.

- the pair of the antonymous nouns *climber-fall*:

### **Proverb 9:**

E: Hasty *climbers* have sudden *falls*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Quien aprisa *sube* aprisa *se hunde*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: A gran *subida*, gran *caída*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: A gran *subida*, gran *descendida*. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S3: Cuanto mayor es *la subida*, tanto mayor es *la descendida*. (SEV) (S3<sub>noun</sub>-S3'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Cine *sare* cam sus îndată *cade jos* (lit. transl. 'He who jumps pretty up falls down immediately'). (R(a)<sub>verb</sub>-R(a')<sub>verb</sub>; R(b)<sub>adv</sub>-R(b')<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E ⇔ S ⇔ R**

Comment: E differs from S1, S2 and S3 in number of the noun terms of the opposite pairs. Due to the fact that E<sub>noun</sub> ≈ (S1<sub>noun</sub> = S2<sub>noun</sub> = S3<sub>noun</sub>), there are almost equal relations of oppositeness in E and S1, S2, S3. S1<sub>noun</sub> = S2<sub>noun</sub> = S3<sub>noun</sub> and S1'<sub>noun</sub> ≠ (S2'<sub>noun</sub> = S3'<sub>noun</sub>), but S1'<sub>noun</sub> and S2'<sub>noun</sub> = S3'<sub>noun</sub> are synonyms. The S opposite verbs are synonymous to their counterparts. R(a)<sub>verb</sub>-R(a')<sub>verb</sub> are redundantly accompanied by the R(b)<sub>adv</sub>-R(b')<sub>adv</sub>: 'up-down' pair. The final CRO can be represented as follows: E ≈ (S1 = S2 = S) ⇔ S ⇔ R.

- the pair of opposites *high-low* as adjectives in:

<sup>233</sup> According to <<http://www.etymonline.com>>.

### **Proverb 10:**

E: The *higher* standing, the *lower* fall. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Cuanto *mayor* es la subida, tanto mayor es la descendida. (S<sub>adj</sub>-0)

S1: Después de una *gran* subida, una gran caída. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-0)

S2: Quien sube *más arriba* de lo que debía, cae *más abajo* de lo que creía. (S2<sub>adv</sub>-S2'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The equality of oppositeness relations is established between E and S2, even though the opposite terms have different morphological classes (adjective versus adverb). S1 = S2 = [0] because in the second part of the proverbs, the first opposite term is repeated (see the underlined words) while the second one is missing. Note the similarity of the E and S2 (also S<sub>adj</sub>) opposite terms, having forms of the comparative of superiority comparison degree. The antonym sequence is the same in E and S2, sustaining Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more altitude' term stands before its opposite. The opposite terms have the same 'up-down' orientation on the vertical axis. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also Proverb 4 above (2.3.1.).

### **Proverb 11:**

E: A house built by the wayside is either too *high* or too *low*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Haz casa en la plaza, y unos dirán que es *alta*, y otros que es *baja*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Quien hace casa en la plaza, o ella es muy *alta* o muy *baja*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S2: A quien labra casa en la plaza, unos dicen: '*alta*', y otros: '*baja*'. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is dimmed by the three Spanish variants, all of them containing the same pair of opposites as the English proverb. There is also the same antonym sequence, the term implying 'more height' standing before its opposite, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on magnitude.

- and as nouns in:

### **Proverb 12:**

E: Death makes equal *the high* and *low*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *El pobre y el cardenal*, todos van por igual. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Muerte y enfermedades no distinguen linajes. (0-0)

S2: La muerte no respeta edades ni dignidades. (0-0)

R: Mor întocmai ca tot omul și *bogatul* ca și *robul* (lit. transl. 'The rich and the slave die as all people'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E ≠ (S ⇔ R)**

Comment: In this case, the pair of directionals *high-low* has a metaphorical meaning and clearly refers to social classes, implying the *rich-poor* concept. The same concept is expressed in S by the pair *el pobre-el cardenal* and in R by the pair *bogatul-robul* ('the rich-the slave'). So, there is certain equivalence between E and its Romance languages homologues. But, since the terms of the E pair of opposites are undoubtedly directionals (referring to the up and down social classes), while the pairs in S and R are antonyms, we cannot establish an equivalent

CRO between E and S or between E and R, but yes between S and R. Regarding the structure of the E, S and R opposite pairs, we can say that they are all coordinated opposites, the Romanian being different from the others, namely 'X as well as Y' (*și bogatul ca și robul*) versus 'X and Y' (*the high and low; el pobre y el cardenal*).

### 2.3.2. Before-after

These directionals have a point of reference on the time axis. The pair of the opposites *before-after* appears as adverbs of time in:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Pride goes *before* and shame follows *after*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Fudulia intră-n casă, sărăcia-i după ușa (lit. transl. 'Arrogancy enters the house, poverty is behind the door'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As for the Romanian equivalent, this contains no opposite pair. In the English proverb the relation of oppositeness is established between two adverbs, their order sustaining Jones' antonym sequence based on chronology, since in the real world *before* stands ahead of its opposite.

The opposite adjectives *early-late* are also included in this category, implying the same opposition:

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: *Late* children, *early* orphans. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by adjectives. Their order contradicts Jones' antonym sequence based on chronology, since in the real world *late* stands after its opposite.

We include here also the pair *in the beginning-in the ending*. At first sight, they seem to be antonyms if we take into consideration the *beginning-ending* pair which certainly admits an intermediate term. But, due to the adverbial value these terms acquire when accompanied by the preposition *in*, they turn into directionals on the time axis, implying the *before-after* (a reference point) concepts.



### **Proverb 3:**

E: Love is sweet *in the beginning* but sour *in the ending*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: El amor *entra* con cantos y *sale* con llantos. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Cosquillas y amores, *empiezan* con risa y *acaban* con dolores. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Cu cât mai dulce limba dragostei *la început*, cu atât mai amară pe *la sfârșit* (lit. transl. 'The sweeter the love language in the beginning, the bitterer in the ending'). (R<sub>adv</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E (<=> S) = R**

Comment: In the Romanian equivalent the relation of oppositeness is expressed by the same adverbial locutions as in the English proverbs, so there is an equal relation between E and R. As far as the Spanish variants are concerned, in this case the opposite relation is expressed by two different (not synonymous) pairs of verbs, namely *entrar-salir* (in S) and *empezar-acabar* (in S1). In this case S1 pair is treated as directional pair, not as a reversive one (as seen at 2.5.1.) because they are opposite terms on the axis of time, having the same subject which is also the reference point. Thus, our CRO formula can be represented as follows: E (<=> S (<=> S1) = R. With regard to the antonym sequence, we observe that it is the same in all proverbs and it sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since, in the real world, *the end* surely stands after *the beginning*, in order *to exit* one should first *enter*; and in order *to end* something one should firstly *begin* it.

See also 2.1.3., Proverb 4.

### **2.3.3. Before-behind**

In this case, *before* establishes a relation of oppositeness with *behind* on the space axis.

The two terms appear as adverbs of time in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: He that looks not *before*, finds himself *behind*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: Quien *adelante* no mira, *atrás* se queda. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: Quien *adelante* no mira, *atrás* se halla. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-S1'<sub>adv</sub>)

S2: El que *adelante* no cata, *atrás* se halla. (S2<sub>adv</sub>-S2'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: There is a total equality between the relations of oppositeness found in English and Spanish. Moreover, the three Spanish variants have the same structure not only as far as the opposite pairs are concerned, but also as proverbs. Thus E = S = S1 = S2. We may say that this equality counterweights somehow the absence of a Romanian equivalent.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: Take heed of an ox *before*, of a horse *behind*, of a monk on all sides. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: Guárdate del *delante* de una mujer, del *detrás* de una mula y de todos los lados de un cura. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The discussion here is between the English and the Spanish *paremiae*, since no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. We observe the

similarities of E and S consisting in the same opposite terms (the only difference being their morphological class) and in the same antonym sequence which contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology. It is interesting the fact that both nouns juxtaposed to our E opposite terms denominate animals and they are preceded by the indefinite article *a(n)*: <sup>an</sup> <sup>ox</sup> (E<sub>adv</sub>) - <sup>horse</sup> (E'<sub>adv</sub>), while in the case of the S opposite terms, these are followed by a [+ human] term and by a [- human] term, namely: (S<sub>noun</sub>) <sup>una</sup> <sup>mujer</sup> - (S'<sub>noun</sub>) <sup>una</sup> <sup>mula</sup> (both singular, feminine nouns, preceded by the indefinite article *una*). It also draws our attention the extended length of both proverbs.

### 2.3.4. In-out

- expressed by the opposite adverbs of place *in-out*:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: When the wine is *in*, the wit is *out*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: Donde *entra* el beber, *sale* el saber. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: El mucho vino *saca* al hombre de tino. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-0)

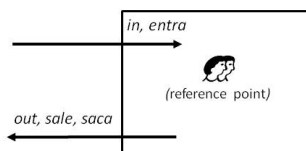
R: Vinul îl bei de *bun* și el te face *nebun* (lit. transl. 'You drink the wine because it's good and it makes you ill'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E  $\Leftrightarrow$  S  $\neq$  R**

Comment: Our CRO can be explained taking into account the following aspects:

- the E opposite terms are directionals but, at the same time, they are complementaries because of their 'either or' relationship. That is why we consider the E relation of oppositeness equivalent to the S relation of oppositeness, expressed by the directional verbs *entrar-salir*, closely related to the *in-out* adverbs, since if one *enters* he is *in*, and if one *exits*, he is *out*.
- the oppositeness found in the Romanian proverb is established between the opposite adjectives *bun-nebun* 'good-ill', where R'<sub>adj</sub> = [*ne*-(R<sub>adj</sub>)], which are antonyms and not complementaries or directionals. That is why the R oppositeness is different from the E and S ones.
- S1 contains no opposite pair, implicitly a '0' relation of oppositeness. Still, it is noticeable that the present term, namely S1<sub>verb</sub> (*sacar*), is also related to E'<sub>adv</sub> (*out*) which makes it a directional verb.

In R, the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite, and also the one based on morphological derivation because the root term precedes the derived one. Regarding E and S, we notice that the opposite terms have the same orientation in relation to the reference point, which can be represented as follows:



## Proverb 2:

E: The sign invites you *in*, but your money redeem you *out*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

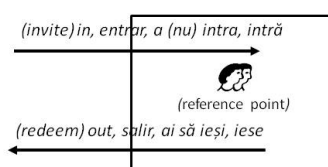
S: Al *entrar*, quiere ingenio; y al *salir*, dinero. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Până *a nu intra* socotește cum *ai să ieși* (lit. transl. 'Consider how are you going to go out before you go in'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Cine *intră* fără tocmeală *iese* fără socoteală (lit. transl. 'He who enters without negotiation leaves without any reckoning'). (R1<sub>verb</sub>-R1'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E <=> (S = R)**

Comment: In this case, the equality stands between the Spanish and the Romanian languages. The S, R and R1 relations of oppositeness are expressed by the same directional verbs *enter-exit*, being thus equivalent to the E one. The difference lies in the forms of the opposite verbs, namely (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Infinitive</sup>; (R<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Infinitive, negative form</sup>-R'<sub>verb</sub><sup>second-person singular Future Tense</sup>; (R1<sub>verb</sub>-R1'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>third-person singular Present Simple</sup>. The antonym sequence is the same in the four proverbs; the opposite terms have the same orientation in relation to the reference point, as shown in the following diagram:



## 2.3.5. At first-at last

## Proverb 1:

E: Win *at first* and lose *at last*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by two adverbial locutions. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *first* comes before *last*.

\*See also 2.2.2., Proverb 4.

The following pairs of directionals refer to space axis, this time to the horizontal one: the opposite verbs *to come-to go*, the adjectives *far-near* (in superlative), and *right-left* in:

### 2.3.6. Come-go

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Easy *come*, easy *go*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

E1: Quickly *come*, quickly *go*. (E1<sub>verb</sub>-E1'<sub>verb</sub>)

E2: Lightly *gained*, quickly *lost*. (E2<sub>verb</sub>-E2'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Lo que *viene* del pífano *se vuelve* para el tambor. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

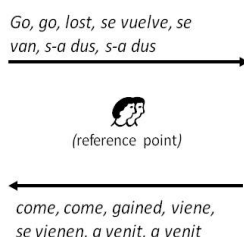
S1: Los dineros del sacristán, cantando *se vienen*, cantando *se van*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: În dar *a venit*, în dar *s-a dus* (lit. transl. 'He came as a gift, he went as a gift'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: De haram *a venit*, de haram *s-a dus* (lit. transl. 'He came as charity, he went as charity'). (R1<sub>verb</sub>-R1'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** The opposite terms of all our proverbs are verbs, most of them being equivalents to their corresponding homologues. Still, there are some of them stepping out of line, namely: E2<sub>verb</sub> and E2'<sub>verb</sub>, which are different from their counterparts. They are not even synonyms of their mates and are linked by another relation of oppositeness, being reversives and not directionals. Another 'different from the rest' term is S'<sub>verb</sub> (*se vuelve*), but this is synonym of the other second terms (except E2'<sub>verb</sub>) of the opposite pairs. Both Romanian pairs of directionals have a distinct verb form, namely Past Tense versus Present Simple. The antonym sequence is the same in all proverbs, having the same orientation in relation to the reference point, as shown in the following diagram:



#### **Proverb 2:**

E: He that *goes* and *comes* makes a good voyage. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien *va* y *vuelve*, buen viaje hace. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

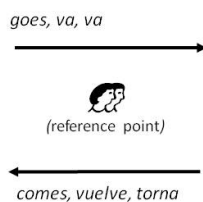
S1: Quien *va* y *torna*, buen viaje toma. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** The nonexistence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is counterbalanced by the existence of two Spanish variants, both of them equal to the English one as far as the relation of oppositeness is concerned. The equality is based on several aspects:

- all opposite terms are third-person singular Present Simple verbs. Moreover, each proverb contains three verbs (the two opposites and a third one - see the underlined words) which have the same subject (*he, quien, quien*);
- the opposite verbs are coordinated and linked by the conjunction *and/y*;
- the antonym sequence is the same in the three proverbs, having the same orientation in relation to the reference point, as shown in the following diagram:



The only difference is noticed between S and S1 due to the second opposite terms which are distinct, but synonymous, namely  $S'_{verb} \Leftrightarrow S1'_{verb}$  while  $S_{verb} = S1_{verb}$ ; that is why  $S \approx S1$ , but  $E = S$  and  $E = S1$ .

### Proverb 3:

E: We weeping *come* into the world, and weeping hence we *go*. ( $E_{verb}-E'_{verb}$ )

S: Todos llorando *nacieron*, y nadie *muere* riendo. ( $S(a)_{verb}-S(a)'_{verb}$ ;  $S(b)_{verb}-S(b)'_{verb}$ )

R: [-]

CRO:  $E \neq S \neq R[-]$

Comment: There is equivalence in meaning as far as the English and the Spanish proverbs are concerned, more concrete if we refer to our opposite verbs. Thus, in this case,  $S(a)_{verb}$  (*nacer*) = *come into the world* (note that the equivalence is established not between the  $S(a)_{verb}$  and  $E_{verb}$ , but between  $S(a)_{verb}$  and a syntagm which includes  $E_{verb}$ ), while  $E'_{verb}$  (*go*) has clearly the meaning of *morir* =  $S(a)'_{verb}$ . In spite of this equivalence, the oppositeness in both proverbs is clearly expressed by directionals in the case of E, and by reversives in the case of S, so we cannot consider the E and S relations of oppositeness as being similar. A similarity lies in the fact that all opposite terms are verbs, but they have different forms, namely: ( $E_{verb}-E'_{verb}$ )<sup>first-person plural Present Simple</sup>;  $S(a)_{verb}$ <sup>third-person plural Past Simple</sup>;  $S(a)'_{verb}$ <sup>third-person singular Present Simple</sup>. We also observe that the Spanish proverb contains two opposite pairs (see the 'b' underlined terms), while the English proverb does not, due to the repetition of the word *weeping* (=  $S(b)_{verb}$ ) in both parts of the proverb. Regarding the antonym sequence, in S it sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *nacer* stands before *morir*<sup>234</sup>. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### Proverb 4:

E: *Come* with the wind, *go* with the water. ( $E_{verb}-E'_{verb}$ )

E1: Light *come*, light *go*. ( $E1_{verb}-E1'_{verb}$ )

S: Lo que el agua *trae*, el agua *lleva*. ( $S_{verb}-S'_{verb}$ )

S1: La ganancia del juego se arde como fuego. (0-0)

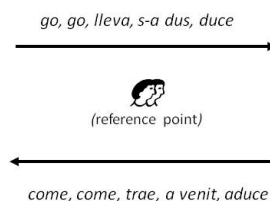
R: Din vânt *a venit*, în vânt *s-a dus* (lit. transl. 'Come with the wind, gone with the wind'). ( $R_{verb}-R'_{verb}$ )

R1: Vântul *aduce*, vântul *duce* (lit. transl. 'The wind brings, the wind takes away'). ( $R1_{verb}-R1'_{verb}$ )

CRO:  $E \Leftrightarrow S = R$

Comment: In this case, the only proverb which steps out of line is S1, due to its '0' oppositeness. The rest of the proverbs contain relations of oppositeness, all of them expressed by directional verbs. The following equalities are established:  $(E = E1 = R) \Leftrightarrow (S = R1) \neq S1[0]$ . The antonym sequence is the same in the five proverbs, the opposite terms having the same orientation in relation to the reference point, as shown in the following diagram:

<sup>234</sup> We exclude here the case when a baby is born dead, meaning that (s)he died before (s)he was born.



### Proverb 5:

E: Diseases *come* on horseback, but *go away* on foot. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Las enfermedades *llegan* a caballo y *se van* a pie. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Las enfermedades *llegan* a galope y *se van* al paso. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S2: Las enfermedades *vienen* al galope, y no *se van* ni al trote. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

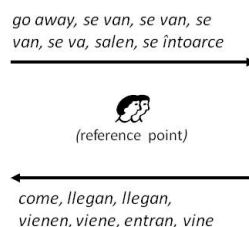
S3: A caballo y de prisa *viene* el mal, y a pie y cojeando *se va*. (S3<sub>verb</sub>-S3'<sub>verb</sub>)

S4: Los males *entran* por arrobos y *salen* por adarques. (S4<sub>verb</sub>-S4'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Boala *vine* cu poșta și *se întoarce* pe jos (lit. transl. 'Disease comes by mail and goes back on foot'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** It draws our attention the great number of Spanish variants of the same proverb and also the synonymous verbs that form the pairs of opposites. Thus, we have E<sub>verb</sub><sup>come</sup> = S2<sub>verb</sub><sup>venir</sup> = S3<sub>verb</sub><sup>venir</sup> = R<sub>verb</sub><sup>a veni</sup> <=> (S<sub>verb</sub><sup>llegar</sup> = S1<sub>verb</sub><sup>llegar</sup>) <=> S4<sub>verb</sub><sup>entrar</sup> and E'<sub>verb</sub><sup>go away</sup> = S'<sub>verb</sub><sup>irse</sup> = S1'<sub>verb</sub><sup>irse</sup> = S2'<sub>verb</sub><sup>irse</sup> = S3'<sub>verb</sub><sup>irse</sup> <=> S4'<sub>verb</sub><sup>salir</sup> <=> R'<sub>verb</sub><sup>a se întoarce</sup> ('go back'). The antonym sequence is the same in the seven proverbs, the opposite terms having the same orientation in relation to the reference point, as shown in the following diagram:



### Proverb 6:

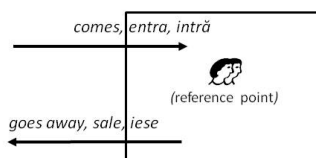
E: Mischief *comes* by the pound and *goes away* by the ounce. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: El mal *entra* a brazadas, y *sale* a pulgaradas. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Boala *intră* cu carul și *iese* pe urechea acului (lit. transl. 'Disease comes by the wagon and goes out through the needle hole'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** There are equal relations of oppositeness in the three languages, due to the fact that all the opposite terms are third-person singular Present Simple verbs and have identical antonym sequence, meaning same orientation in relation to the reference point, as shown in the following diagram:



### Proverb 7:

E: Many *go out* for wool, and *come* home shorn. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: *Fuese* por lana, y *volvió* trasquilado. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: *Ir* por lana y *volver* trasquilado. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S2: Muchos *van* por lana y *vuelven* trasquilados. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

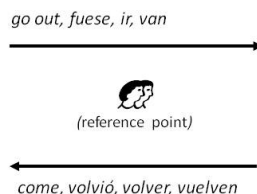
R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While no Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, three Spanish variants were provided by the same sources. Taking into account the relations of oppositeness found in the Spanish proverbs, they are equal to the one existing in the English proverb. All the opposite terms are verbs among which the following relations of equality are established:

- (S<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Subjunctive Preterite Tense</sup> = (S1<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Infinitive</sup> = (S2<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Indicative Present</sup> = (E<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Indicative Present</sup>
- (S'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Indicative Preterite Tense</sup> = (S1'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Infinitive</sup> = (S2'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Indicative Present</sup> <=> (E'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Indicative Present</sup>

Regarding number and person, E and S2 terms are third-person plural verbs, while S terms are third-person singular verbs. The antonym sequence is the same in the four proverbs, the opposite terms having the same orientation in relation to the reference point, as shown in the diagram below:



- also expressed by the pair of verbs: to come-to pass away:

### Proverb 8:

E: One generation *passeth away*, and another generation *cometh*: but the earth abideth for ever. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

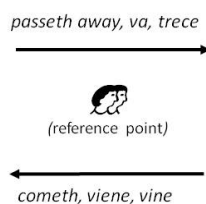
S: Generación *va*, y generación *viene*: mas la tierra siempre permanece. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Un neam *trece* și altul *vine*, dar pământul rămâne totdeauna (lit. transl. 'One generation passes away and another one comes, but the earth abides for ever'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness established in the three languages are equal due to the same biblical origin of the proverbs, i.e. *Ecclesiastes*, 1: 4. It draws our attention the archaic forms of the English opposite terms, namely *passeth away* and *cometh*, both verbs formed with the archaic third-person singular present tense suffix *-eth*, which do not appear in

Spanish or Romanian. All the opposite terms are verbs, having third-person singular Simple Present Indicative forms. Each term of an opposite pair has a different subject. We also note that the sequence of the opposites is the same in the three proverbs, the terms having identical direction in relation to the reference point that can be represented as follows:



### 2.3.7. Far-near

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: *The nearer* the church, *the farther* from God. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

E1: He who is *near* the church is often *far* from God. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Cerca de* la iglesia, *lejos de* Dios. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: De la iglesia *cercano* y de Dios *lejano*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Cu trupul în biserică și cu gândul la dracu' (lit. transl. 'The body in the church, the Devil in the mind'). (0-0)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: Apart from the difference based on the morphological classes of the opposite pairs from E, E1, S and S1, there is another aspect that must be underlined, namely the comparative degree of the E pair. Beside this, the relations of oppositeness in the English and the Spanish languages are equal. Thus, (E = E1 = S = S1) ≠ R[0]. At the same time, the Romanian proverb contains a '0' relation of oppositeness. The antonym sequence, identical in the four proverbs, sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world near stands before far in relation to the same reference point.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: A *near* neighbour is better than a *far*-dwelling kinsman. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: Better is a neighbour that is *near* than a brother *far off*. (E1<sub>adv</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Más vale el vecino *cercano* que el pariente *lejano*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Más vale *buen* vecino que pariente ni primo. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-0)

S2: Mejor es el vecino *cerca* que el hermano *lejano*. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Mai bun e un vecin *aproape* de tine, decât un frate *departe* (lit. transl. 'Better is a near neighbour than a brother far off'). (R<sub>adv</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: Two peculiarities draw our attention, namely the E1'<sub>adj</sub> term, which is different from, but synonym of its homologue E'<sub>adj</sub>; and S1 variant which contains no pair of opposites, having thus a '0' relation of oppositeness. There is one term though, namely S1<sub>adj</sub> (*buen*), which could form an opposite pair, but it is not even equivalent to any other first opposite term of our proverbs. Regarding the rest, we observe the same antonym sequence, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world the 'less distance' term stands



before its opposite. The equality of the opposite relations in the three languages is due to the common biblical origin of our proverbs, namely *Proverbs*, 27: 10.

### 2.3.8. Right-left

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Industry is fortune's *right* hand, and frugality her *left* hand. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Cumpătul ține sănătatea omului și hărnicia ține averea (lit. transl 'Moderation sustains one's health, and industry sustains the fortune'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S[-] ≠ R[0]**

Comment: In this case, no Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus and the Romanian proverb contains no pair of opposites. The E pair is expressed by adjectives which determine the same noun, i.e. *hand*.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: When thou doest alms, let not thy *left* hand know what thy *right* hand doeth. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: No sepa tu mano *izquierda* lo que hace *la derecha*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Que tu mano *izquierda* no sepa lo que hace tu mano *derecha*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S2: Cuando hicieres limosna, si lo sabe *esta* mano, no lo sepa *la otra*. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S<sub>pronoun</sub>)

R: Să nu știe mâna *stângă* ce face/dă *dreapta* (lit. transl. 'Do not let your left hand know what the right does/gives'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The only proverb which gets out of line is S2, where (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>pronoun</sub>) ≠ (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>) = (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>) = (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>) = (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>). The equality of the opposite relations in the three languages is due to the common origin of the proverbs, namely: *Matthew*, 6: 3.

## 2.4. PROVERBS INCLUDING CONVERSES

The proverbs including converses can be classified into two main groups according to the pairs of converses they contain, namely pairs of opposite verbs and pairs of opposite nouns.

Of the first group, the most productive pair of converses is *give-take/receive*.

### 2.4.1. To give-to take/to receive

Note that beside the semantic oppositeness between the converse terms, there is another type of oppositeness, namely a time opposition expressed by the different tenses or modes of the verbs, e.g. Simple Present versus Future Tense, as in proverbs number 6, 7; or Infinitive versus Past Tense Indicative, as in the example number 2, etc.

#### Proverb 1:

E: *Give* a thing, and *take* a thing, to wear the devil's gold ring. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

E1: *Give* a thing and *take* again, and you shall ride in hell's wain. (E1<sub>verb</sub>-E1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: A quien *da* y *quita* lo dado, lléveselo el diablo. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Santa Rita, Rita, Rita, lo que *se da* no *se quita*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Mortul de la groapă nu se mai întoarce (lit. transl. 'The dead is not coming back from his tomb'). (LEF) (0-0)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: The Romanian equivalent proverb contains no pair of opposites while the relation of oppositeness in English is equal to the one in Spanish. We observe only a slight difference in S1, the S1'<sub>verb</sub> having a negative form versus the affirmative forms of all of the other seven opposite terms. The antonym sequence is the same in E, E1, S and S1.

#### Proverb 2:

E: Fortune can *take* from us nothing but what she *gave* us. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: No puede la fortuna *quitar* lo que *no dio*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The verb forms are the same in both languages with an equal relation of oppositeness, namely (E<sub>verb</sub> = S<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Infinitive</sup> and (E'<sub>verb</sub> = S'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>third-person singular Past Tense</sup>. The only difference is that S'<sub>verb</sub> has a negative form while E'<sub>verb</sub> a positive one. The antonym sequence is identical in both proverbs. As for Romanian, no equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: She that *takes* gifts, herself she sells, and she that *gives*, does not else. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: La mujer que *recibe*, a *dar* se obliga. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: La mujer que *toma*, su cuerpo *dona*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S2: Moza que *da* y *toma*, se abandona. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, for Spanish there are three variants of the same proverb. Thus several relations are established between the opposite terms: E<sub>verb</sub> = S<sub>verb</sub> <=> (S1<sub>verb</sub> = S2'<sub>verb</sub>); (E'<sub>verb</sub> = S'<sub>verb</sub> = S2<sub>verb</sub>) <=> S1'<sub>verb</sub>. A peculiarity is found in S2 because of the twisted order of the opposite terms compared to all the other pairs. Another slight difference is the form of the S'<sub>verb</sub>, which is an infinitive versus all the other opposites that are third-person singular, Simple Present verbs.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: He that *gives* his goods before he be dead, *take up* a mallet and knock him on the head. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien *da* lo suyo antes de su muerte, merece que le den con un mazo en la frente. (S<sub>verb</sub>-0)

S1: Quien *da* sus bienes antes de la muerte, espere mala suerte. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-0)

S2: Quien *da* lo suyo antes de morir, aparéjese a bien sufrir. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The relation of oppositeness found in the English proverb has no counterparts in the Spanish equivalent proverbs because of the absence of the second terms of the opposite pairs. Only E<sub>verb</sub> appears in S, S1 and S2 in the shape of its equivalent Spanish verb *dar* (with the same third-person singular Simple Present form). In the case of Spanish proverbs, their second part is expressed by other verbs (*merecer*, *esperar*, *aparejar*) which are not antonymous with *dar*. It is also noticeable that the opposite E verbs have different subjects (*he gives*, *you take up*). If in Spanish we found three equivalent proverbs, in Romanian we came up with none.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: *Give* him an inch, and he'll *take* an ell. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Al villano, *dadle* el dedo, y *se tomará* la mano. (SEV) (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Îi *dai* un ort și-ți *ia* un cot (transl. 'Give him a coin and he'll take you the wallet'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness of the three proverbs are equal. We have equality also regarding the verbal forms, namely: (E<sub>verb</sub> = S<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Imperative</sup>; (E'<sub>verb</sub> = S'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Future</sup>; (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>Simple Present</sup>. We observe that the opposite terms of the same pair have different subjects. i.e. (E<sub>verb</sub><sup>you(singular/plural)</sup> = S<sub>verb</sub><sup>you(plural)</sup> = R<sub>verb</sub><sup>you(singular)</sup>)<sup>second person</sup> and (E'<sub>verb</sub> = S'<sub>verb</sub> = R'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>third person singular</sup>.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: One 'Take it' is worth more than two 'I'll give you'. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Más vale un '*toma*' que dos '*te daré*'. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Mai bine o dată: *na!* decât tot: stai că ți-oi *da!* (R<sub>interjection</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Decât doi ți-oi *da*, mai bine un *na* (lit. transl. 'Better one 'Take it' than two 'I'll give you').  
(R1<sub>verb</sub>-R1'<sub>interjection</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** There is perfect equality of the opposite relations in the three languages. The antonym sequence is the same in E, S and R, being inverted in R1. It is noticeable that all the opposite pairs have the same forms, namely one term is an imperative (E<sub>verb</sub> = S<sub>verb</sub> = R<sub>interjection</sub> = R1'<sub>interjection</sub>) and the other an Indicative Future Tense verb (E'<sub>verb</sub> = S'<sub>verb</sub> = R'<sub>verb</sub> = R1<sub>verb</sub>). The Romanian opposite terms have the following peculiarities: one term is expressed by the interjection *na* which has the same meaning as the imperative verb *take*. DEX<sup>235</sup> defines "Na interjection. Familiar (used to show that a person gives something to another person) Here you go; take it; here you have". The other term is expressed by the first-person singular Indicative Future of the verb *a da* 'to give', with a changed form because the corresponding flecional morpheme with which future tense is formed in Romanian, namely *voi (da)*, is, in this case, reduced to the *oi -(da)* popular form by the omission of *v*.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: It is better *to give* than *to receive*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

E1: Better *give* and *take*. (E1<sub>verb</sub>-E1'<sub>verb</sub>)

E2: It is more blessed *to give* than *to receive*. (E2<sub>verb</sub>-E2'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Más vale *dar* que *tomar*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Más vale *dar* que *recibir*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S2: Más vale *dar* que *pedir*. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

S3: Más bienaventurada cosa es *dar* que *recibir*. (S3<sub>verb</sub>-S3'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Mai bine este *a da* decât *a lua*. (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Mai bine *să dai* decât *să capeți*. (R1<sub>verb</sub>-R1'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** At a first glance we can notice the great number of equivalent proverbs and also the fact that all the opposite terms are verbs, having Infinitive forms in E [+to], E1 [-to], E2 [+to], S, S1, S2, S3, R, and Subjunctive forms in R1. The antonym sequence is the same in all proverbs, the first terms of the opposite pairs being equal (the equivalents of *to give* in Spanish and Romanian). The peculiarity is given by the second terms of the opposite pairs, these being expressed by synonymous terms. Hence the following relations between terms: (E'<sub>verb</sub> = E2'<sub>verb</sub>) <=> E1'<sub>verb</sub>; (S'<sub>verb</sub> <=> S2'<sub>verb</sub>) ≠ S1'<sub>verb</sub> = S3'<sub>verb</sub>; R'<sub>verb</sub> <=> R1'<sub>verb</sub>; E'<sub>verb</sub> = E2'<sub>verb</sub> = S1'<sub>verb</sub> = S3'<sub>verb</sub> = R1'<sub>verb</sub>; E1'<sub>verb</sub> = R'<sub>verb</sub>. Concluding, there is an equal CRO in the three languages due to the common biblical origin of the proverbs, namely *Acts*, 20: 35.

Other pairs of converse verbs are:

### **2.4.2. To buy-to sell**

### **Proverb 1:**

E: He that *buys* what he does not want, must often *sell* what he does want. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

E1: *Buy* what you do not want and you *will sell* what you cannot spare. (E1<sub>verb</sub>-E1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: El que *compra* lo que no necesita acaba *vendiendo* lo que necesita. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Quien *compra* lo que no puede, *vende* lo que le duele. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

<sup>235</sup> Translated from <<http://dexonline.ro/definitie/na>>.

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The terms of the opposite pairs in English and Spanish are equivalent also in their variants. This fact gives birth to an equal relation of oppositeness in E and S. The only difference lies on the tenses of the verb terms, namely: E<sup>Present</sup>-E<sup>Infinitive</sup>, E1<sup>Imperative</sup>-E1<sup>Future</sup>, S<sup>Present</sup>-S<sup>Gerund</sup>, S1<sup>Present</sup>-S1<sup>Present</sup>. We note that the opposite terms have the same antonym sequence in all of our proverbs. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: The father *buys*, the son *big*s, the grandchild *sells*, and his son *begs*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Padre comerciante, hijo estudiante, nieto mendigante. (0-0)

S1: Padres ganadores, hijos caballeros, nietos pordioseros. (0-0)

R: Tatăl *adună* paiele ca aurul, fiul *risipește* aurul ca paiele (lit. transl. 'The father gathers the bran as gold, the son wastes the gold as bran'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R**

Comment: There is no pair of converses in neither of the two Spanish proverbs due to the absence of any verb in their structure; thus S = S1 = [0]. As far as the Romanian proverb is concerned, it contains a pair of opposite verbs, but they are reversives, not converses, which makes the relations of oppositeness in the three languages being different. Regarding the English proverb, both opposites are third-person singular Present Simple verbs.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: Love can neither be *bought* nor *sold*; its only price is love. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Amor con amor se paga. (0-0)

S1: Amor no se alcanza sino con amor. (0-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S[0] ≠ R[-]**

Comment: From the two variants of the Spanish proverbs, none contains a relation of oppositeness, both having similar structures and sharing with E proverb the following characteristic: the repetition of the word *love* (Sp. *amor*) which is the kernel of the structure. For the Romanian language, no equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, the pair of converses is expressed by the Past Participles forms of the verbs *to buy-to sell*, here being adjectives.

It has been included here also the noun pair *the buyer-the seller* in:

### **Proverb 4:**

E: *The buyer* needs a hundred eyes, *the seller* but one. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: *The seller* needs but one eye; *the buyer* one hundred. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Quien *compra* ha de tener cien ojos; a quien *vende* le basta uno solo. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Cine deschide ochii după ce *cumpără*, *cumpără* totdeauna marfă proastă (lit. transl. 'Who opens his eyes after he buys, always buys bad merchandise'). (R<sub>verb</sub> = R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Cine nu deschide ochii deschide punga (lit. transl. 'Who does not open the eyes, opens the bag'). (0-0)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[0]**

**Comment:** In spite of the distinct morphological classes of the English (noun) and Spanish (verb) converses, there are equal relations of oppositeness in the two languages. Both of the two Romanian similar proverbs contain '0' relations of oppositeness, therefore  $R = R1 = [0]$ . This is due to the fact that, while in  $R1$  none of our opposites is found, in  $R$ , there is one opposite term only appearing twice, i.e.  $R_{verb} (cumpără) = S_{verb}$ . The antonym sequence is the same in  $E$  and  $S$ , but inverted in  $E1$ .

### 2.4.3. To borrow-to lend

The oppositeness is expressed by the nouns *the borrower-the lender* in:

#### **Proverb 1:**

$E$ : *The borrower* is servant to *the lender*. ( $E_{noun}-E'_{noun}$ )

$S$ : El que toma *prestado*, siervo es del que *empresta*. ( $S_{verb}-S'_{verb}$ )

$R$ : Cel ce *împrumută* este slujitor celui de la care *se împrumută* (lit. transl. 'He who borrows is servant to the lender'). ( $R_{verb} = R'_{verb}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

**Comment:** Both Spanish and Romanian pairs of opposites are expressed by verbs while the English converse terms are nouns derived from verbs. The tenses differ, i.e.  $S^{PastParticiple} - S^{SimplePresent}$ ,  $R^{SimplePresent} = R^{SimplePresent}$ ; still the person and the number are the same: third-person singular. Regarding the Romanian proverb, we have to do with a case of enantiosis<sup>236</sup>, the verb *a împrumuta* being both liative and ablative<sup>237</sup>, and having the meaning of 'to borrow' (*a împrumuta* something from someone) and also of 'to lend' (*a împrumuta* something to someone). In spite of all these peculiarities and due to the common biblical origin of the proverbs (*Proverbs*, 22:7), there are totally equal relations of converse oppositeness in the three languages.

The second main group of proverbs of this category are those including converse nouns, such as:

### 2.4.4. Husband-wife

#### **Proverb 1:**

$E$ : A deaf *husband* and a blind *wife* always make a happy couple. ( $E_{noun}-E'_{noun}$ )

$E1$ : To make a happy couple *the husband* must be deaf, and *the wife* blind. ( $E1_{noun}-E1'_{noun}$ )

$E2$ : A *husband* must be deaf and *the wife* blind to have quietness. ( $E2_{noun}-E2'_{noun}$ )

$S$ : *Marido sordo y esposa ciega* hacen siempre buena pareja. ( $S_{noun}-S'_{noun}$ )

<sup>236</sup> See Part One, Chapter 4.1.

<sup>237</sup> See Part One, Chapter 3.4.4.

S1: Para no reñir un matrimonio, *la mujer* ha de ser ciega, y *el marido* sordo. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: *Bărbatul* surd și *nevasta* oarbă, cea mai tihnită căsătorie (lit. transl. 'A deaf husband and a blind wife, the most peaceful marriage'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Când *muierea*-i mută și *bărbatul* surd, viața cea mai bună între amândoi (lit. transl. 'When the woman's dumb and the man deaf, the best life between them'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: At first glance it draws our attention the fact that in each language there are at least two equivalent proverbs; then also the detail that all the opposite terms are singular nouns. Regarding the antonym sequence, only S1 and R1 have an inverted order, the feminine term preceding the masculine term, which contradicts Jones' theory based on gender. We also find three different terms from the rest, namely S1<sub>noun</sub> (*la mujer* 'the woman'), R<sub>noun</sub> (*bărbatul* 'the man'), and R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub> (*muierea-bărbatul* 'the woman-the man'), but, according to their definitions, these terms are synonyms of *wife* and *husband*, respectively:

- *mujer*: "5. f. mujer casada, con relación al marido"<sup>238</sup>;

- *bărbat*: "2. Soț ('husband')"<sup>239</sup>;

- *muiere*: the popular form of *femeie* 'woman' "2. Femeie căsătorită; soție ('Married woman, wife')"<sup>240</sup>.

Due to this fact, there are equal relations of oppositeness in all our proverbs: E = E1 = E2 = S = S1 = R = R1.

## **Proverb 2:**

E: A good *husband* makes a good *wife*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: A good *Jack* makes a good *Jill*. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *El buen marido* hace buena *mujer*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The antonym sequence is the same in the English and the Spanish proverbs, the 'masculine' term standing before the 'feminine' one, which accomplishes Jones' theory related to gender. All the opposite terms are singular nouns; the only difference lies in the fact that the E1 pair is expressed by proper nouns which, in this case, imply the same opposition as *husband-wife*. As we have seen in the previous proverbs, *mujer* has also the meaning of *wife*, being thus equal to E'<sub>noun</sub>. As to Romanian, no equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

## **Proverb 3:**

E: A good *wife* makes a good *husband*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: Behind every great *man* there is a great *woman*. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

E2: Behind every successful *man* there is a *woman*. (E2<sub>noun</sub>-E2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *La mujer* hace al *marido*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Quien buena *mujer* tiene, seguro va y seguro viene. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

S2: A quien su *mujer* ayuda, camino está de fortuna. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

<sup>238</sup> According to RAE <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=mujer>>, where '5' stands for the fifth meaning of the word.

<sup>239</sup> According to DEX <<http://dexonline.ro/definitie/b%C4%83rbat>>, where '2' stands for the second meaning of the word.

<sup>240</sup> According to DEX <<http://dexonline.ro/definitie/muiere>>, where '2' stands for the second meaning listed for this entry.

**Comment:** While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the same sources provided three variants for English and three for Spanish. Taking into account the relations of oppositeness found in the six paremia, the following relationships are established:  $E \neq (E1 = E2)$ , due to the fact that the E opposites are converses, while the E1 and E2 opposite terms are complementaries;  $S1 = S2 = [0]$  because the second opposite term is missing, while  $S1_{\text{noun}} = S2_{\text{noun}} = S_{\text{noun}}$ ;  $E = S$ . The similarity of all proverbs lies in the fact that all opposite terms are singular nouns. Regarding the antonym sequence, only in E1 and E2 it sustains Jones' theory based on gender, contradicting it in E and S, since the 'feminine' term precedes the 'masculine' one.

#### **Proverb 4:**

E: In *the husband* wisdom, in *the wife* gentleness. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

**Comment:** The sources of our corpus provided no equivalent proverbs for Spanish and Romanian languages. As far as the English proverb is concerned, we notice that the antonym sequence based on gender accomplishes Jones' theory according to which the 'masculine' term stands before its opposite. The English proverb lacks any verb. Both opposites are preceded by the definite article *the*.

#### **Proverb 5:**

E: *The cunning wife* makes her *husband* her apron. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: Vai de casa unde *bărbatul* e *muiere* (lit. transl. 'Pitty the house where the man is a woman'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

**CRO:  $E (\neq S[-]) = R$**

**Comment:** As seen in the proverb 1 above, the meanings of the R opposite terms, which can also be translated into English as *man-woman* (in this case they would be complementaries, not converses), make the relations of oppositeness of the English and the Romanian proverbs equal. The opposite terms are all singular nouns with a reversed order in the Romanian proverb. But it is in this case where the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on gender, since the 'masculine' term precedes the 'feminine' one. No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

#### **Proverb 6:**

E: *The husband* is the head of *the wife*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: *El marido* es cabeza de *la mujer*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: La cabeza de *la mujer* es *el varón*. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: *Bărbatul* este cap *femeii* (lit. transl. 'The husband is the head of the wife'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

**Comment:** We observe that all the opposite terms are singular nouns with definite articles:  $E_{\text{noun}}^{\text{the}} = S_{\text{noun}}^{\text{el}} = R_{\text{noun}}^{-(u)l241} \neq S1'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{el}}$ ;  $E'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{the}} = S'_{\text{noun}}^{\text{la}} = S1_{\text{noun}}^{\text{la}} = R'_{\text{noun}}^{-i242}$ . We also note

<sup>241</sup> The definite Romanian article is enclitic. In this case,  $-(u)l$  is the definite article for masculine, singular, Nominative-Accusative, 'u' appears when the noun ends in consonant.

<sup>242</sup>  $-i$  corresponds to the Romanian definite article for feminine, singular, Genitive-Dative form.



the presence of equivalent terms to *husband-wife*, namely *man* (Rom. *bărbat*)/*male* (Sp. *varón*)-*woman* (Rom. *femeie*, Sp. *mujer*). For the equivalent meanings of *mujer*, *bărbat*, *femeie* to the E pair of opposites, see proverb 1 above. As far as *varón* term is concerned, according to RAE, it is not synonym of *husband*, yet of  $R_{\text{noun}}$  (*man*), thus  $S1 \approx S$ . Regarding the antonym sequence, the only proverb different from the rest and contradicting Jones' theory based on gender, is S1, where the 'masculine' term stands after its opposite. Last, but not least, we would like to express our disapproval towards the sexist character of this group of proverbs.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: *The husband* reigns, but it is *the wife* that governs. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: En la casa, *el hombre* reina y *la mujer* gobierna. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R$  [-]**

Comment: Taking into account the definitions of the two Spanish opposite terms (for *mujer* see Proverb 1 above; *hombre*: "7. m. colloquial marido"<sup>243</sup>), it is obvious that the E opposite pair = S opposite pair. All the opposite terms are singular nouns with definite articles: *the*, *el*, *la*. The antonym sequence is the same in both proverbs, the 'masculine' term preceding the 'feminine' one, accomplishing thus Jones' theory based on gender. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

A special case is represented by the pair *man-wife* in the below proverbs, where *man* may be said that it is equivalent to *husband* taking into consideration the logical statement that 'every man that has a *wife* is implicitly a *husband*'.

### **Proverb 8:**

E: *A man's* best fortune or his worst is *a wife*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: La mayor dicha o desdicha del *hombre* es *la mujer*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R$  [-]**

Comment: We observe the same antonym sequence in both the English and the Spanish proverbs (which accomplishes Jones' theory based on gender, according to which the 'masculine' term precedes the 'feminine' one). As we have seen before (*supra* 2.2.1.), the pairs of opposite *man-woman* are complementaries. But, in this case we have to interpret the  $S'_{\text{noun}}$  (*mujer*) with the meaning of a 'married person', according to the definition given by the RAE dictionary (see the fifth meaning below): "1. f. Persona del sexo femenino; 2. f. mujer que ha llegado a la pubertad o a la edad adulta; 3. f. mujer que tiene las cualidades consideradas femeninas por excelencia; 4. f. mujer que posee determinadas cualidades; 5. f. mujer casada, con relación al marido"<sup>244</sup>, which is the same as *wife* "one's (female) partner in marriage; a married woman"<sup>245</sup>. Therefore, if at first glance the S pair of opposites seemed

<sup>243</sup> Available from <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=hombre>>, where '7' stands for the seventh meaning of this entry.

<sup>244</sup> Available from <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=mujer>>.

<sup>245</sup> According to <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/wife>>.

complementaries, after taking a deeper look we can say that they are converses just as the E terms are. As far as Romanian is concerned, no equivalent proverb in this language was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 9:**

E: *A man without a wife is but half a man.* (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: *A man is only half a man without a wife.* (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

E2: *A man without a woman is like a ship without a sail.* (E2<sub>noun</sub>-E2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Hombre sin mujer al lado, nunca bienaventurado.* (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: *Sin una mujer al lado, el hombre es un desdichado.* (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: *Casa fără femeie e pustie pe dinăuntru* (lit. trans. 'The house without a woman is deserted inside'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R1: *Casa fără muiere, ca o floare fără miros* (lit. trans. 'The house without a woman, like a flower with no perfume'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

**CRO: E ≈ S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: In this case, several aspects draw our attention:

- the great number of equivalents of our English head proverb;
- the E and E1 opposite pairs are equal. Moreover, the first opposite term (*man* - see the underlined words) appears twice in each of the two proverbs;
- the E2'<sub>noun</sub> (*woman*) term is different from its English counterparts, but they are synonyms since in this case it has the following meaning: "(informal) a wife, mistress, or girlfriend"<sup>246</sup>. Thus E2'<sub>noun</sub> <=> (E'<sub>noun</sub> = E1'<sub>noun</sub>);
- a similar situation is that of the Romanian terms R<sub>noun</sub> (*femeie*) and R1<sub>noun</sub> (*muiere*) which are different but synonymous, and equivalent to E2'<sub>noun</sub>. Regarding these terms, we also note that they have no opposites. From the absence of the second terms of the opposite pairs result the '0' R and R1 relations of converseness;
- the same pair of opposites appears in the two Spanish variants, but with reversed antonym sequence. It is the S proverb which has the same converse order as the English ones, this antonym sequence sustaining Jones' theory based on gender, since the 'masculine' term precedes its opposite. Regarding the Spanish pair of opposites, as we have seen above, in the previous groups of proverbs, the *mujer-hombre* terms are usually complementaries. But in this case they must be interpreted with the meanings of the converses *wife-husband*;
- both S and R1 proverbs have 'non verbal' structures;

Thus the following relations are established between the opposite terms of the three languages: E<sub>noun</sub> = E1<sub>noun</sub> = E2<sub>noun</sub> = S<sub>noun</sub> = S1'<sub>noun</sub> and (E'<sub>noun</sub> = E1'<sub>noun</sub>) <=> (E2'<sub>noun</sub> = S'<sub>noun</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub> = R<sub>noun</sub> = R1<sub>noun</sub>). As far as the corresponding relations of oppositeness are concerned, we can come up with the following formula: (E = E1) ≈ (E2 = S = S1) ≠ (R = R1).

### **Proverb 10:**

E: *Three things drive a man out of his house - smoke, rain and a scolding wife.* (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: *Play, women and wine, undo men laughing.* (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Tres cosas echan al hombre de su casa: el humo, la gotera y la mujer brava.* (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: *Tres cosas echan al hombre de su casa fuera: el humo, la gotera y la mujer vocinglera.* (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: *Humo, gotera, y mujer parlara, echan al hombre de su casa fuera.* (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S3: *Tabaco, vino y mujer, echan al hombre a perder.* (S3<sub>noun</sub>-S3'<sub>noun</sub>)

S4: *El humo y la mujer y la gotera, echan al hombre de su casa fuera.* (S4<sub>noun</sub>-S4'<sub>noun</sub>)

<sup>246</sup> According to <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/woman>>.

R: Trei lucruri te scot din casă: fumul, *muierea* rea și picătura (lit. trans. 'Three things drive you out of your house: smoke, bad wife and leak'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

R1: Fumul, *femeia* rea și picușul te scot din casă (lit. trans. 'Smoke, bad wife and leak drive you out of your house'). ( $R1_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

R2: Trei lucruri nu lasă în pace pe *om*: vinul, *femeia* și banul (lit. transl. 'Three things do not leave the man alone: the wine, the woman and the money'). ( $R2_{\text{noun}}-R2'_{\text{noun}}$ ).

**CRO: E = S ≠ R**

Comment: This is another case of a great number of equivalent proverbs. Particularly, Spanish gains the ranking with five variants, followed by Romanian with three, and English with two. Except E1, S3 and R2, where *women-men*, *mujer-hombre*, *om-femeia* are undoubtedly complementaries, in the rest of the proverbs the *man-woman* terms which form the opposite pairs, are converses, being equivalent to the *man-wife* E pair, with the *husband-wife* meaning. The difference is given by the meaning of the proverbs. If E1, S3 and R2 refer to men and women in general, the rest of the proverbs in which this oppositeness appears, makes reference to *man* (husband) and *wife*, the meaning being limited to a concrete situation by these similar syntagms: Eng. *out of his house*, Sp. *de su casa*, Rom. *din casă*. All the opposite terms are singular nouns, except  $E1_{\text{noun}}$  and  $E1'_{\text{noun}}$  which have irregular plural forms. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, the 'masculine' term precedes its opposite (sustaining Jones' theory based on gender) in: E, S, S1 and R2; the 'feminine' term stands before its opposite in: E1, S2, S3 and S4. The 'feminine' term is also present in R and R1, being expressed by different but synonymous words:  $R_{\text{noun}} \Leftrightarrow (R1_{\text{noun}} = R2'_{\text{noun}})$ . But both R and R1 lacks the second opposite term, the 'masculine' one, generating thus a '0' relation of oppositeness. Our final CRO can be represented as follows:  $(E = S = S1 = S2 = S4)^{\text{converses}} \neq (E1 = S3 = R2)^{\text{complementaries}} \neq (R = R1 = [0])$ . It is also important to mention the common biblical origin of our ten proverbs, namely *Proverbs*, 10: 26; 19: 13; 27: 15.

### **Proverb 11:**

E: There is one good *wife* in the country, and every *man* thinks he has her. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by singular common nouns. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on gender, since the 'feminine' term precedes the 'masculine' one. We also note that the proverb is pretty long and it contains two elements with independent verbal nucleuses.

The pair *cock-hen* has in the following context the metaphorical meaning of *husband-wife*:

### **Proverb 12:**

E: It is a sad house where *the hen* crows louder than *the cock*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Triste está la casa donde *la gallina* canta y *el gallo* calla. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: En casa de Gonzalo más puede *la gallina* que *el gallo*. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S2: Casa perdida, donde calla *el gallo* y canta *la gallina*. ( $S2_{\text{noun}}-S2'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: Vai de casa unde cotcorogesc *găinile* și *cocoșul* tace (lit. transl. 'Pitty on the house where the hen crows and the cock is silent'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R1: Vai de casa în care găina cântă *cocoșește* (lit. transl. 'Pitty on the house where the hen crows <<cockly>>'). ( $R1_{\text{noun}} \neq R1'_{\text{adv}}$ )

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The following peculiarities draw our attention: except  $R1'_{\text{adv}}$  (which we deliberately translated *ad litteram*), all opposite terms are nouns having definite articles<sup>247</sup>, most of them with singular forms, except  $R_{\text{noun}}$  that is a plural. Since  $R1'$  is an adverb and  $R$  is a noun, there is no pure opposite relation, thus we cannot consider the two terms complementaries. Regarding the antonym sequence, the 'masculine' term precedes the 'feminine' one in  $E$  and  $S2$ , which accomplishes Jones' theory based on gender; and it is reversed in  $S$ ,  $S1$  and  $R$ .

#### 2.4.5. Master-servant; mistress-maid

##### Proverb 1:

$E$ : Fire and water are good *servants*, but bad *masters*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

$S$ : El fuego y el agua son buenos *servidores*, mas ruines *amos*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

$S1$ : El agua y el fuego son buenos *servidores*, pero malos *amos*. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

$R$ : [-]

**CRO: E = S  $\neq$  R[-]**

Comment: There is equality between the relation of oppositeness of the English and the Spanish proverbs.  $S$  and  $S1$  are also equal. It is noticeable that all the opposite terms are plural nouns. The antonym sequence is the same in both languages. Thus the 'more authority' term stands after its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude.

\*See also 2.1.1., Proverb 3, and 2.6.2., Proverb 1.

##### Proverb 2:

$E$ : *A master* of straw eats *a servant* of steel. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

$S$ : [-]

$R$ : [-]

**CRO: E  $\neq$  (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: In this case, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs were found in the sources of our corpus. As to the English proverb, the opposite pair is expressed by singular nouns, both preceded by the indefinite article *a*. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude since the 'more authority' term stands before its opposite.

##### Proverb 3:

$E$ : Tell your secret to your *servant* and you make him your *master*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

$S$ : A quien dices tu secreto, haces tu dueño. (0-0)

$S1$ : Di tu secreto a tu amigo, y serás siempre su cautivo. (0-0)

$S2$ : Di a tu amigo tu secreto, y tenerte ha el pie en el pescuezo. (0-0)

<sup>247</sup> In this case, the definite articles corresponding to the Romanian terms are: *-le* (for feminine, plural Nominative noun: *găinile*), *-(u)l* (for masculine, singular, Nominative noun: *cocoșul*) and *-a* (for feminine, singular Nominative noun: *găina*).

R: Secretul ce-l ascunzi *inamicului* nu-l spune *amicului* (lit. transl. 'Don't tell your friend the secret you keep from your enemy'). (GHE) ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

**CRO:  $E \neq S[0] \neq R$**

Comment: In this case, we have no equivalent or equal relations of oppositeness in the three languages. Moreover, each tongue presents a peculiarity. Thus, the English proverb contains a pair of converses, expressed by singular nouns. Spanish is characterized by '0' relation of oppositeness because none of the three variants contains any opposite pair, thus  $S = S1 = S2 = [0]$ . Even though it contains an opposite pair expressed also by singular nouns (*inamic-amic* 'enemy-friend'), the Romanian proverb is different from the English one due to the fact that its opposite terms are antonyms, not converses. Their peculiarity lies in the fact that  $R_{\text{noun}} = [in-(R'_{\text{noun}})]$ . The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, in English (the 'more authority' term stands after its opposite), and the ones based on positivity and morphological derivation, in Romanian (the positive root term following the derived negative one).

#### **Proverb 4:**

E: Money is a good *servant*, but a bad *master*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: El dinero es bueno para *siervo*; pero malo para *dueño*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: El dinero es buen *servidor*, pero como *amo*, no lo hay peor. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, two Spanish variants were provided by the same sources. There are equal relations of oppositeness in E and S on the one hand, and in E and S1 on the other hand. This is due to the fact that the S and S1 opposite terms are different, but synonymous. Thus  $S \Leftrightarrow S1$  because  $S_{\text{noun}} \Leftrightarrow S1_{\text{noun}}$  and  $S'_{\text{noun}} \Leftrightarrow S1'_{\text{noun}}$ . We find the same singular nouns as opposite terms, and also the same antonym sequence, the 'more authority' term standing after its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude.

\*See also 2.1.1., Proverb 8.

#### **Proverb 5:**

E: A *servant* is known by his *master's* absence. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: In this case, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the pair of converses is expressed by singular nouns, their order contradicting Jones' antonym sequence based on magnitude, since the 'more authority' term stands after its opposite.

#### **Proverb 6:**

E: One must be a *servant* before one can be a *master*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

**Comment:** As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, the pair of converses is expressed by singular nouns, preceded by the indefinite article *a*, their order contradicting Jones' antonym sequence based on magnitude, since the 'more authority' term stands after its opposite.

The *master-servant* opposition is also expressed by the noun pair *master-man*, where *man* in this case means "a subordinate, servant, or employee contrasted with an employer or manager"<sup>248</sup>:

### **Proverb 7:**

E: Like *master*, like *man*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Tal *amo*, tal *criado*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Cual *el amo*, tal *el criado*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: De tal *amo*, tal *criado*. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

S3: A tal *señor*, tal *servidor*. (S3<sub>noun</sub>-S3'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Cum e *stăpânul* e și *sluga* (transl. 'Like master, like servant'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Cum e *boierul* și *sluga* (transl. 'Like landowner, like servant'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** There are equal relations of oppositeness in our three languages. Still, some observations need to be made:

- first, it draws our attention the great number of Spanish equivalent proverbs;
  - then, the similar 'non verbal' structure of the proverbs, except the Romanian ones, where the verb *to be* is present twice and once, respectively: lit. transl. 'As the master *is* so *is* the servant' (R); 'As the landowner *is*, so the servant' (R1);
  - we also note that all opposites are singular nouns with no article in E, S, S2 and S3, and with definite articles in S1, R and R1: S1<sub>noun</sub><sup>el</sup>-S1'<sub>noun</sub><sup>el</sup>; R<sub>noun</sub><sup>-(u)l</sup>-R'<sub>noun</sub><sup>-a</sup>; R1<sub>noun</sub><sup>-(u)l</sup>-R1'<sub>noun</sub><sup>-a</sup><sup>249</sup>;
  - as far as the opposite terms are concerned, the following relations are established: E<sub>noun</sub> = S<sub>noun</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub> = S2<sub>noun</sub> (<=> S3<sub>noun</sub>) = R<sub>noun</sub> (<=> R1<sub>noun</sub>) and E'<sub>noun</sub> = S'<sub>noun</sub> = S1'<sub>noun</sub> = S2'<sub>noun</sub> (<=> S3'<sub>noun</sub>) = R'<sub>noun</sub> = R1'<sub>noun</sub>.
  - the same antonym sequence appears in all of the seven proverbs, the 'more authority' term standing before its opposite, which accomplishes Jones' theory based on magnitude.
- Our final CRO may be represented by this formula: (E = S = S1 = S2) <=> (S3 = R ≈ R1).

We also included here the opposite pair of *mistress-maid* which are not one 100% pure converses because if 'X is the mistress of Y' it does not necessarily mean that 'Y is the maid of X' because Y can be a servant (either male or female). But, if we know that both X and Y are females, then the following logical equivalences are true: 'X is the mistress of Y' <=> 'Y is the maid of X'.

<sup>248</sup> Available from <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/man>>.

<sup>249</sup> In this case, the definite articles corresponding to the Romanian terms are: *-(u)l* (for masculine, singular, nominative noun: *stăpânul*, *boierul*) and *-a* (for feminine, singular nominative noun: *sluga*).

### **Proverb 8:**

E: Like *mistress*, like *maid*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Cual *el ama*, tal *la cría*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: We have equal relations of oppositeness in the English and the Spanish proverbs. At the same time, no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The four opposite terms are feminine singular nouns, with the same antonym sequence which sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more authority' term precedes its opposite.

## **2.4.6. Question-answer**

### **Proverb 1:**

E: Ask *a silly question*, you'll get *a silly answer*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: *Silly question*, *silly answer*. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As proverbs, E ⊃ E1, E1 is expressed by a longer statement than E1. E1 is characterized by the lack of the verb. Regarding the E and E1 relations of oppositeness, they are totally equal (E = E1) being expressed by the same terms in the same order, all of them being preceded and determined by the same adjective, i.e. *silly*. As far as the other two languages are concerned, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: Every *question* requires not *an answer*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: No *toda pregunta* requiere *respuesta*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: A *pregunta* necia, *disimulada respuesta*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: A *demanda* presurosa, *respuesta vagarosa*. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: There is equality between the relations of oppositeness of the English and the Spanish proverbs because of the same morphological class of all opposite terms (singular noun), the identical antonym sequence and the equivalent meaning of the opposite nouns. The only term that steps out of line is S2<sub>noun</sub> which is different from, but synonymous to its Spanish counterparts. Thus, E = S = S1; S = S1 ≈ S2, but S2 = E because S2<sub>noun</sub> ⇔ (S<sub>noun</sub> = S1<sub>noun</sub>). We also note a small difference between the structures of the proverbs E and S, which include a verb, and the structures of the proverbs S1 and S2, which do not include a verb. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: Like *question*, like *answer*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: A tal *pregunta*, tal *respuesta*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Cual *pregunta* harás, tal *respuesta* habrás. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Cum e *întrebarea*, așa e și *răspunsul* (lit. transl. 'As the question is, so is the answer'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: In this case, there are equal relations of oppositeness in the three languages. All the opposite terms are singular nouns, and the opposite pairs have the same antonym sequence in the four proverbs. There are two differences, namely:

- the E and S proverbs have 'non verbal' structures, while the S1 and R proverbs contain two verbs each (see the underlined words);
- only the R opposite terms have definite articles: R<sub>noun</sub><sup>-a</sup>-R'<sub>noun</sub><sup>-(u)</sup>250.

## **2.4.7. Master-scholar**

### **Proverb 1:**

E: He can ill be *a master* that never was *a scholar*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Nu te arăta *dascăl* până a nu fi *ucenic* (lit. transl. 'Do not be a master unless you were a scholar'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness found in the English and Romanian proverbs are equal due to the same meaning of the opposite terms, the same morphological class (all being singular nouns), and the same antonym sequence (the 'more experience' term preceding its opposite, which sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude). No Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: *The scholar* may waur<sup>251</sup> *the master*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *El buen discípulo* pasa *al maestro*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the Spanish variant is equal to the English head proverb. Both opposite pairs are expressed by singular nouns with definite articles (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>the</sup> = (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)<sup>al (=a +el)</sup><sup>el</sup> and having the same antonym sequence which contradicts Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'more experience' term follows its opposite.

<sup>250</sup> These are the forms of the enclitic definite articles for feminine singular, Nominative-Accusative, i.e. *întrebarea*, and for neuter gender, singular, Nominative-Accusative, i.e. *răspunsul*.

<sup>251</sup> Flonta explains the meaning of this word used as a verb, namely "be better than" (2001: 418).



### 2.4.8. Parent-child

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Children* when (they are) little make *parents* fools, when (they are) great (they make them) mad. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Hijos chicos, chicos dolorcillos, hijos mayores, grandes dolores. (0-0)

R: Copii mici, griji mici, copii mari, griji mari (lit. transl. 'Little children, small concerns, big children, great concerns'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ (S[0] = R[0])**

Comment: As it has already been seen in 2.1.2., Proverb 10, the three proverbs contain two pairs of opposites each. The corresponding pairs of antonyms have been analyzed under the appropriate group. The pair of converses present in the English proverb has no counterpart in the Spanish and Romanian equivalents. So, in this case, the only equal relation of oppositeness is that between S and R, which is equal to [0].

\*See also 2.1.2., Proverb 10.

### 2.4.9. Creditor-debtor

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Creditors* have better memories than *debtors*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *El acreedor* tiene mejor memoria que *el deudor*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: *El acreedor* es más memorioso que *el deudor*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Cine *dă* nu uită; uită cel care *ia* (lit. transl. 'He who gives does not forget; he who takes does forget'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S <=> R**

Comment: The antonymic terms of the E (plural) and S (singular) pairs differ in number and also by the fact that all the Spanish nouns are preceded by the definite article *el* while the English nouns have no article. The 'black sheep' here is the Romanian proverb which contains a pair of opposite verbs (*give-take*) instead of nouns. Still, the 'sheep is not so black' because, though of a different morphological class and with distinct meanings, the opposite verbs are also converses, which makes the relation of oppositeness in R equivalent to the ones in E and S.

### 2.4.10. Cause-effect

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Take away *the cause* and *the effect* must cease. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Quitada *la causa*, cesa *el efecto*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: There is perfect equality between the English and the Spanish proverbs. The opposite terms are all singular nouns with definite articles (*the* for E, *la* and *el* for S). The

antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *the effect* comes after *the cause*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

As it has been stated before (see part I, chapter III.4.4.) a major group of converses is provided by the comparative forms of antonymous adjectives. Pairs of this type that appear in English proverbs are *more-less*, *better-worse* in:

### 2.4.11. More-less

#### Proverb 1:

E: Anyone who can do *more* can do *less*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: Quien puede *lo más*, puede *lo menos*. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: In this case we have equal corresponding relation of oppositeness in English and Spanish due to the same equivalent opposite terms, same degree of comparison, namely comparative, and also same antonym sequence based on magnitude, where the term implying 'bigger volume of work' stands before its opposite. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

#### Proverb 2:

E: The *more* haste, the *less* speed. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Más de prisa, más despacio*. (S(a)<sub>adv</sub> = S(a)<sub>adv</sub>; S(b)<sub>adv</sub>-S(b')<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: A *gran prisa, gran vagar*. (S1(a)<sub>adj</sub> = S1(a)<sub>adj</sub>; S1(b)<sub>noun</sub>-S1(b')<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: Quien caminando lleva *priesa*, en camino llano tropieza. (0-0)

R: Cine pornește cu *graba* se-ntâlnește cu *zăbava* (lit. transl. 'He who starts with haste meets the delay'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Cu prea *multă* grabă nu faci *multă* ispravă (lit. transl. 'With too much haste you don't make much work'. (R1<sub>adj</sub> = R1<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E ≠ (S ⇔ R)**

Comment: In this case, several observations need to be made in order to understand the differences and the similarities of the three languages, namely:

- the E opposite pair is expressed by the comparative forms of *much* and *little*;
- the S and S1 proverbs theoretically contain two opposite pairs (a) and (b); practically, just one, since the (a) pair is formed by the same term which appears twice. Which interests us are the (a) pairs. We note that S(a)<sub>adv</sub> has no opposite term, it repeats itself in the second part of the S proverb, thus S(a)=[0];
- the S2 variant contains a '0' oppositeness, in spite of the presence of the underlined word, i.e. *priesa*, which is equivalent to S1(b)<sub>noun</sub> (*prisa*);
- the R proverb does contain an opposite pair, but it is equal to the S1 (b) pair: R = S1(b);

- it is the R1 oppositeness which interests us because  $R1_{adj}$  is related to  $E_{adj}$  term, differing in the comparison degree. But, just as in the case of  $S(a)_{adv}$  and  $S1(a)_{adj}$ ,  $R1_{adj}$  stands alone, repeating itself, but having no opposite. Hence  $R1 = S1(a)$ ;

- the E, S and S1 proverbs have 'non verbal' structures.

The antonym sequence in the English proverb sustains Jones' theory based on magnitude, since the 'bigger size' term precedes its opposite.

#### 2.4.12. Better-worse

##### **Proverb 1:**

E: Chastise the good and he *will mend*; chastise the bad and he *will grow worse*. ( $E_{verb}$ - $E'_{PhrasalVerb}$ )

S: Con el castigo, el bueno *se hace mejor* y el malo *se hace peor*. ( $S_{verb}$ - $S'_{verb}$ )

S1: Castiga al bueno y *mejorará*; castiga al malo y *empeorará*. ( $S1_{verb}$ - $S1'_{verb}$ ).

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \approx S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: We notice that the antonymic pairs are expressed by multi-word verbs<sup>252</sup>, i.e. verbs + adverbs in the case of E', S and S', and by simple verbs in the case of E, S1 and S1'. The tense (Future Tense) is the same in E and S1.  $E_{verb} \neq S_{verb}$  but they are synonyms (the meaning of *mend* is "to improve; become better"<sup>253</sup>). There is also an almost equality between E and S, amplified by the fact that the proverbs in both languages contain two pairs of opposites each (see 2.1.1. Proverb 2), and the positive term precedes the negative one.

\* See also 2.1.1., Proverb 14.

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<sup>252</sup> The "multi-word verb" term is borrowed from Foley and Hall (2004: 156).

<sup>253</sup> <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/mend>>.

## 2.5. PROVERBS INCLUDING REVERSIVES

The pairs of reversive verbs that have been found in the English proverbs are the following:

### 2.5.1. To live-to die; to be born-to die; to give life-to kill

Note here that the opposites have various forms, e.g. Present Simple and Future Tense (in 10), Past Tense and Future Tense (in 4).

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: As soon as a man *is born* he begins *to die*. ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{verb}}$ )

E1: It is as natural *to die* as to be *born*. ( $E1_{\text{verb}}-E1'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: *Al nacer*, empezamos a *morir*. ( $S_{\text{verb}}-S'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S1: Cuando empezaste a *vivir*, empezaste a *morir*. ( $S1_{\text{verb}}-S1'_{\text{verb}}$ )

R: Omu-i cu *moartea* după cap (lit. transl. 'Man has death on his shoulders'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[0]$**

Comment: We observe that  $E'_{\text{verb}} = E1_{\text{verb}}$ , they are both [+to] Infinitives;  $E_{\text{adj}} = E1'_{\text{adj}}$ , where the adjective forms a pair of opposite with a verb maybe due the fact the adjective comes from the Past Participle of the verb *to bear*.  $S1_{\text{verb}} \neq S_{\text{verb}}$  and  $S1'_{\text{verb}} = S'_{\text{verb}}$ . The Romanian proverb contains a '0' relation of oppositeness due to the absence of the second opposite term for  $R_{\text{noun}}$  (*death*) which is a heteronym, not a reversive. The antonym sequence is the same in E, S and S1 (reverted in E1), sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology since in our real world if one dies it means that (s)he has been born first.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: He that once *is born*, once must *die*. ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S: Todo lo que *nace muere*, sea lo que fuere. ( $S_{\text{verb}}-S'_{\text{verb}}$ )

R: Cine vede *nașterea* vede și *moartea* (lit. transl. 'He who sees birth sees also death'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R1: Ce *naște moare* (lit. transl. 'What gives birth dies'). ( $R1_{\text{verb}}-R1'_{\text{verb}}$ )

**CRO:  $E = S = R$**

Comment: As in the previous proverb, we find the adjective *born* (Past Participle of the verb *bear*) forming an opposite pair with the verb *die*. Then we have two pairs of reversive verbs in S and R1 (where  $R1_{\text{verb}} = S_{\text{verb}}$ ,  $R1'_{\text{verb}} = S'_{\text{verb}}$ ), and a pair of heteronym nouns in R. Our final CRO can be represented as follows: ( $E = S = R1$ )  $\neq$  R.

#### **Proverb 3:**

E: There is a time *to be born*, and a time *to die*. ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S: Hay tiempos de *nacer*, y tiempos de *morir*. ( $S_{\text{verb}}-S'_{\text{verb}}$ )

R: Vreme este să *te naști* și vreme să *mori* (lit. transl. 'There is a time to be born, and a time to die'). ( $R_{\text{verb}}-R'_{\text{verb}}$ )

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The equality of the oppositeness relations of our three languages is due to the common biblical origin of the proverbs, i.e. *Ecclesiastes*, 3: 2. We observe that the E and S opposite terms have identical forms, being Infinitives, while the R opposites are second-person singular Subjunctive (Rom. *Conjunctiv*) verbs. The antonym sequence is the same, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world someone dies after (s)he is born.

**Proverb 4:**

E: Men know where they *were born*, but not where they *will die*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Se sabe donde *se nace*; pero no donde *se muere*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The difference between the English pair of opposites and the Spanish one is based on the fact that we have E<sup>Past</sup>-E<sup>Future</sup> and S<sup>SimplePresent</sup>-S'<sup>SimplePresent</sup> and also that in E we find third-person plural verbs while in S the verbs are impersonal. The antonym sequence is the same in both proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world someone dies after (s)he is born.

**Proverb 5:**

E: He who pleased everybody *died* before he *was born*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, we observe that both opposite terms are third-person singular Past Simple verbs. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world one firstly is born, then dies.

**Proverb 6:**

E: He that *lives* in court *dies* upon straw. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien en palacio *envejece*, en pajas *muere*. (S<sub>verb</sub> ≠ S'<sub>verb</sub> are not reversives)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: Although E<sub>verb</sub> = S'<sub>verb</sub>, there is no equivalent relation of oppositeness between the English and the Spanish proverbs. This is due to the fact that, even though we can say that there is a certain relation of oppositeness established between S<sub>verb</sub> and S'<sub>verb</sub> (possible if we interpret the verb *envejecer* as implying the 'living' concept - in order to grow old you need to live), the two terms are not reversives. In both proverbs, the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *live* and *grow old* (*envejecer*) stand before *die*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

**Proverb 7:**

E: He who *lives* by the sword *dies* by the sword. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien a hierro *mata*, a hierro *muere*. (S<sub>verb</sub> ≠ S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Cine scoate sabia, de sabie va pieri (lit. transl. 'He who takes the sword out, will die by the sword'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-0)

**CRO: E ≠ (S[0] = R[0])**

Comment: Although  $E'_{verb} = S'_{verb} = R_{verb}$ , in this case, there is no equivalent relation of oppositeness in the three languages. This is due to the fact that the S terms are not opposite at all, while in R the second opposite term is missing, thus we have a '0' oppositeness. The similarity of the three proverbs lies in the fact that all opposite terms are verbs and that the structures of the proverbs are identical. Moreover, we observe that there is a key element which appears in both segments of each proverb (see the underlined words). In the English proverb the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *live* stands before *die*.

### **Proverb 8:**

E: Better *die* with honour than *live* with shame. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

E1: Better a glorious *death* than a shameful *life*. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Más vale *morir* con honra que *vivir* en vilipendio. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Más vale con honra *morir* que deshonorado *vivir*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S2: Más vale bien *morir* que mal *vivir*. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

S3: Antes *muerte* que vergüenza. (S3<sub>noun</sub>-0)

S4: Antes *morir* que ensuciar/manchar *el vivir*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Mai bine *moarte* cinstită decât cu rușinea în nas (lit. transl. 'Better an honourable death than live with shame'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R1: Mai bine *mort* decât cu rușinea în nas (lit. transl. 'Better dead than live with shame'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-0)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: At the very first glance it draws our attention the great number of variants of the head English proverb, especially in the Spanish language. We have equal relations of oppositeness in E = S = S1 = S2 = S4. E1 contains the equivalent terms of E but, because of their morphological class, namely noun, they are heteronyms (see Part III, 2.6.1.) => E ≠ E1. We also notice that the second term of the heteronym pair of E1, namely E1'<sub>noun</sub> = *life*, is absent in S3, R and R1. The first heteronym term, namely E1<sub>noun</sub> = *death*, has distinct morphological classes in S3<sub>noun</sub>, R<sub>noun</sub> and R1<sub>adj</sub>, hence S3 = R = R1 = [0]. The antonym sequence of E, E1, S, S1, S2 and S4 contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *live/life* stand before *die/death*.

### **Proverb 9:**

E: They *die* well that *live* well. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien bien *vive* bien *muere*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: We notice a reversed antonym sequence in the two equivalent proverbs (E and S). Thus,  $E_{verb} = S'_{verb}$  and  $E'_{verb} = S_{verb}$ . The person is the same in E and S, but the number is different, namely plural in E, and singular in S. It is the S antonym sequence which sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *live* stands before *die*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 10:**

E: Who *lives* by hope *will die* by hunger. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

E1: He that *lives* on hope has a slender diet. (E1<sub>verb</sub>-0)

E2: He that *lives* upon hope *will die* fasting. (E2<sub>verb</sub>-E2'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien de esperanzas *vive*, de hambre *muere*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Cel ce *trăiește* sperând e în risc de a *muri* de foame (lit. transl. 'He who lives hoping is risking dying of starvation'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Cine *trăiește* nădăduind *moare* jinduind (lit. transl. 'He who lives hoping dies craving'). (R1<sub>verb</sub>-R1'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: We notice the same antonym sequence in all proverbs, accomplishing Jones' theory based on chronology, according to which in our real world in order *to die* one must *live* first. All the opposite terms are verbs with identical or different forms. Thus (E<sub>verb</sub> = E1<sub>verb</sub> = E2<sub>verb</sub> = S<sub>verb</sub> = R<sub>verb</sub> = R1<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>third-person singular Simple Present</sup>; (E'<sub>verb</sub> = E2'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>third-person singular Future</sup>, (S'<sub>verb</sub> = R1'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>third-person singular Simple Present</sup>, while R'<sub>verb</sub> is an Infinitive with an adjectival value (*risc de a muri* - lit. transl. 'risk to die = of dying'). Our last remark concerns the absence of the second opposite term in E1, where we therefore have a '0' relation of oppositeness. Our final CRO can be represented as follows: (E = E2 = S = R = R1) ≠ E1[0].

### **Proverb 11:**

E: All that *lives* must *die*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: *Se nace* para *morir*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Câte-n lume *se nasc*, *mor* toate (lit. transl. 'All that is born in this world die'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Cine *trăiește* trebuie *să moară* (lit. transl. 'He who lives must die'). (R1<sub>verb</sub>-R1'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E ≈ S = R**

Comment: Because (S<sub>verb</sub> = R<sub>verb</sub>) ≠ E<sub>verb</sub>, but S'<sub>verb</sub> = R'<sub>verb</sub> = E'<sub>verb</sub>, the relations of oppositeness of S and R are almost equal to the E one: E ≈ (S = R). The opposite pair in R1 is equal to the one in E, which makes (E = R1) ≈ (R = S). The second opposite term is equal in the four proverbs, even though with different verbal forms: E'<sub>verb</sub><sup>[-to]Infinitive</sup> = S'<sub>verb</sub><sup>Infinitive</sup> = R'<sub>verb</sub><sup>Present Simple</sup> = R1'<sub>verb</sub><sup>Subjunctive</sup>. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, in all of our proverbs Jones' theory based on chronology is accomplished, *die* term standing after its opposites *to live* and *to be born*.

### **Proverb 12:**

E: He that *lives* most *dies* most. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb we observe that both opposite terms have the same third-person singular Simple Present verb form. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world one lives before dying.

### **Proverb 13:**

E: *Dying* is as natural as *living*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs were provided by the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposite terms are Gerund verbs with substantival value. The antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world one lives before dying.

- We included here the pair of the verbs *to kill-to give life* because they imply the same concepts as *to die-to live*:

#### **Proverb 14:**

E: The letter *killeth*, but the spirit *giveth life*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: La letra *mata*, (mas) el espíritu *vivifica*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Litera *ucide*, iar duhul *face viu* (lit. transl. 'The letter kills, but the spirit gives life'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The equality of the three relations of oppositeness spreads from the common biblical origin of our proverbs: *II Corinthians*, 3: 6. All the opposite terms are third-person singular verbs. It draws our attention the archaic forms of the E verbs, constructed with the *-eth* suffix. The antonym sequence is the same in the three languages, the negative term standing before its opposite, which contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity.

### **2.5.2. To sow-to reap/to gather**

- expressed by the opposite verbs *to sow-to reap*:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: As you *sow*, so you *reap*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Como *siembres*, *recogerás*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Como *sembrares*, *cogerás*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S2: Tal *coge* cada uno cual *siembra*. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

S3: Según *siembras*, así *recogerás*. (S3<sub>verb</sub>-S3'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Cum *sameni*, așa *culegi* (lit. transl. 'As you sow, so you reap'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Cum *vei semăna*, așa *vei și secera* (lit. transl. 'As you sow, so you will mow'). (R1<sub>verb</sub>-R1'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: It draws our attention the great number of equivalent proverbs, especially Spanish. We also note their equality due to the common biblical origin of our proverbs, namely *Galatians*, 6: 7. The opposite terms are all reversive verbs, some of them equal, others synonymous, in some cases differing in tense, mode and person. Regarding the latter, only S2 is distinct, S2<sub>verb</sub> and S2'<sub>verb</sub> being third-person singular, while the rest are second-person singular. Taking into account tense and meaning we have the following relationships:

- E<sub>verb</sub><sup>PresentSimple</sup> = S<sub>verb</sub><sup>PresentSimple</sup> = S1<sub>verb</sub><sup>Future</sup> = S2'<sub>verb</sub><sup>PresentSimple</sup> = S3<sub>verb</sub><sup>PresentSimple</sup> = R<sub>verb</sub><sup>PresentSimple</sup> = R1<sub>verb</sub><sup>Future</sup>. Related to mode, S<sub>verb</sub> and S1<sub>verb</sub> are Subjunctives, the rest being Indicatives. R<sub>verb</sub> is an archaic form, the second-person singular Present Tense of Indicative being *semeni*.

- E'<sub>verb</sub><sup>PresentSimple</sup> = S'<sub>verb</sub><sup>Future</sup> = S3'<sub>verb</sub><sup>Future</sup> <=> (S1'<sub>verb</sub><sup>Future</sup> = S2<sub>verb</sub><sup>PresentSimple</sup>) = R'<sub>verb</sub><sup>PresentSimple</sup> <=> R1'<sub>verb</sub><sup>Future</sup>.

As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, except S2, all our proverbs sustain Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *sow* stands before *reap* and *mow*, as the very below proverb states.



### **Proverb 2:**

E: You must *sow* ere you *reap*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: In this case, no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposite terms are second-person singular Present Simple verbs. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, it sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *sow* precedes *reap*, as the proverb itself points out.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: One *sows* and another *reaps*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Uno *siembra*, otro *coge*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Uno *siembra* y otro *siega*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S2: Unos lo *siembran* y otros lo *siegan*. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: De multe ori unii *sămănă* și alții *seceră* (lit. transl. 'Often ones sow and others mow'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Unul *macină*, altul *mănâncă* (lit. transl. 'One grinds and another eats'). (R1<sub>verb</sub> ≠ R1'<sub>verb</sub>; 0-0)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: This is a similar case to the first proverb of this group, with an equality of the relations of oppositeness due to the common biblical origin of the proverbs, namely: *John*, 4: 37. The only proverb that steps out of line is R1, where we have a '0' relation of oppositeness, since the two highlighted verbs are not opposites in spite of them being placed in the two opposed segments of proverb structure. It is noticeable that all opposite terms are third-person (plural S2 and R, singular the rest) Present Simple. Some are equal, some synonymous: (E<sub>verb</sub> = S<sub>verb</sub> = S1<sub>verb</sub> = S2<sub>verb</sub> = R<sub>verb</sub>) ≠ R1<sub>verb</sub> (R<sub>verb</sub> is an archaic form, the current one being *seamănă*); (E'<sub>verb</sub> = S1'<sub>verb</sub> = S2'<sub>verb</sub> = R'<sub>verb</sub>) ⇔ S<sub>verb</sub> ≠ R1'<sub>verb</sub>. As far as the antonym sequence is concerned, except R1 which does not count because of its '0' oppositeness, all our proverbs sustain Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *sow* stands before *reap*.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: He that *sows* thistles *shall reap* prickles. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien *siembra* espinas abrojos *coge*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Cine *seamănă* spini, spini *culege* (lit. transl. 'He that sows prickles, reaps prickles'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The three proverbs are equal from the oppositeness point of view. All opposite terms are third-person singular Simple Present verbs, except E'<sub>verb</sub> which has a Future Tense form. The antonym sequence is the same in our three languages, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *sow* stands before *reap*.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: He that *sows* virtue *reaps* fame. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien *siembra* virtud *coge* fama. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: There is perfect equality between the relations of oppositeness established in the English and the Spanish proverbs. All opposite terms are third-person singular Simple Present verbs. The antonym sequence is the same in both proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world one must first *sow* in order to *reap*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 6:**

E: They that *sow* the wind shall *reap* the whirlwind. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

E1: If you *sow* the wind, you *reap* the whirlwind. (E1<sub>verb</sub>-E1'<sub>verb</sub>)

E2: *Sow* the wind and *reap* the whirlwind. (E2<sub>verb</sub>-E2'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien *siembra* vientos *recoge* tempestades. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Cine *seamnă* vânt *culege* furtună (lit. transl. 'He that sows wind reaps storm'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: There is perfect equality between the relations of oppositeness established in the three languages, due undoubtedly to the common biblical origin of the proverbs, i.e. *Hosea*, 8: 7. Almost all opposite terms are third-person Simple Present Indicative verbs, except E1 opposites which differ in person (second-person) and E2 terms that are second-person Imperative verbs. Another similarity lies in the fact that in each proverb the opposite terms have the same subject: (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>they(expressed)</sup> = (E1<sub>verb</sub>-E1'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>you(expressed)</sup> = (E2<sub>verb</sub>-E2'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>you(implicit)</sup> = (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>quien(expressed)</sup> = (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)<sup>cine 'who'(expressed)</sup>. The antonym sequence is identical in the five proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world one must first *sow* in order to *reap*.

- and by expressed by the opposite verbs *to sow-to gather*:

### **Proverb 7:**

E: He that speaks *sows* and he that holds his peace *gathers*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

E1: He that speaks *sows*; he that hears *reaps*. (E1<sub>verb</sub>-E1'<sub>verb</sub>)

E2: Who speaks *sows*; who keeps silence, *reaps*. (E2<sub>verb</sub>-E2'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien habla *siembra*; quien escucha, *recoge*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Hablar es *sembrar*, y el oír es *cosechar*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Cine vorbește *seamnă*, cine ascultă *culege* (lit. transl. 'He that speaks sows, he that listens reaps'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: In this case, English (three) has more variants than Spanish (two) and Romanian (one). It draws our attention the identical structures of the six proverbs, each of them containing four verbs, two more (the underlined words) beside the marked opposite terms. All opposite terms are third-person singular Present Simple verbs, except S terms that are Infinitives. The first opposite term is equal in all proverbs: E<sub>verb</sub> = E1<sub>verb</sub> = E2<sub>verb</sub> = S<sub>verb</sub> = S1<sub>verb</sub> = R<sub>verb</sub>, while the second term varies, being expressed by synonymous terms: E'<sub>verb</sub> <=> (E1'<sub>verb</sub> = E2<sub>verb</sub>) = S'<sub>verb</sub> (<=> S1<sub>verb</sub>) = R<sub>verb</sub>. Regarding the antonym sequence, it is the same

in all our proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world *sow* stands before *gather* or *reap*.

### 2.5.3. To begin-to end

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Better never *to begin* than never *to make an end*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>PhrasalVerb</sub>)

E1: Let him that *beginneth* the song *make an end*. (E1<sub>verb</sub>-E1'<sub>PhrasalVerb</sub>).

S: Mejor es *no comenzar* lo que no se puede *acabar*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Más vale *no empezar* que lo empezado *no acabar*. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Când *te apuci* de vreo treabă n-o lăsa fără *ispravă* (lit. transl. 'When you begin a thing finish it'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Cine nu poate *săvârși* un lucru, *să nu se apuce* de el (lit. transl. 'He that cannot finish a thing must not begin it'). (R1<sub>verb</sub>-R1'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: There is a slight difference between E and E1, where E1<sup>SimplePresent</sup> = E<sup>[+to]Infinitive</sup> and E<sup>[+to]Infinitive</sup> = E1<sup>[-to]Infinitive</sup>. Note also that E1 is the archaic third-person singular Simple Present Indicative form of E. S1<sub>verb</sub> <=> S<sub>verb</sub>, they are synonyms and have both negative forms, while S1<sup>negative</sup> = S<sup>affirmative</sup>. R1<sup>Infinitive</sup>-R1'<sup>Imperative</sup>; R1<sub>verb</sub> (third-person singular) = R<sub>verb</sub> (second-person singular). R and R1' differ in person, mood (Indicative versus Imperative), form (affirmative versus negative) and they also occupy inverse places in the pairs of opposites they are part of. Except for R1, the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology since in our real world in order to finish something you need to begin it first.

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: Good *to begin* well, better *to end* well. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: *Începutul* fie cum o fi, *sfârșitul* să fie bun (lit. transl. 'No matter how the beginning, the ending should be good'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) = R**

Comment: There are equal relations of oppositeness in the English proverb and its Romanian equivalent. The only difference is the morphological class of the reversives (verbs in E versus nouns in R). The antonym sequence is the same in both proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology since in our real world *begin* stands before *end*.

The same opposition is expressed by the synonym of *begin*, i.e. *commence* and its opposite, the synonym of *end*, i.e. *finish* in:

#### **Proverb 3:**

E: He who *commences/begins* many things *finishes* but few. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien *emprende* muchas cosas, *acaba* pocas. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Quien mucho *emprende*, poco *acaba*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Cine *se apucă* de multe, puține *termină* (lit. transl. 'He who begins many finishes few'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Când de multe *te apuci*, mai pe toate le încurci (lit. transl. 'When you begin many things you mess up almost all of them'). (R1<sub>verb</sub>-0)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: Except R1 (where the opposite term of R1<sub>verb</sub> is missing) in which the verb is second-person singular - *te apuci* ('you commence') - all the opposite terms are verbs at the Simple Present Tense, third-personal singular. A slight difference lies in the R<sub>verb</sub> = R1<sub>verb</sub> term, which is a reflexive verb: *a se apuca* ('to commence'). The antonym sequence is the same in the five proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology since in our real world in order to finish something one needs to begin it first.

\*See also 2.1.6., Proverb 16.

#### 2.5.4. To go to bed-to wake up

This sub-class is expressed by opposite verbal locutions and verbs: *to go to bed-to rise, to lie down-to get up*:

##### **Proverb 1:**

E: Better *go to bed* supperless than *to rise* in debt. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Más vale *acostarse* sin cena que *levantarse* con deuda. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: *Acuéstate* sin cena, y *amanecerás* sin deuda. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Cine *se culcă* flămând *se scoală* fără datorii (lit. transl. 'He who goes to bed starving gets up with no debts'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: We have verb pairs of reversives in all of the three languages. Some of them have similar forms, namely: E<sup>Infinitive</sup> = S<sup>Infinitive</sup>; E'<sup>Infinitive</sup> = S'<sup>Infinitive</sup>; S1<sup>Imperative</sup> = S'<sup>Infinitive</sup>. S1'<sub>verb</sub> ≠ S'<sub>verb</sub>, but they are synonyms. All the verb terms of the opposite pairs of S, S1 and R are reflexive. In all of our proverbs, the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since, in the real world, in order *to rise* one must have previously *gone to bed*. Our final CRO can be represented as follows: E = (S <=> S1) = R.

##### **Proverb 2:**

E: He that *goes to bed* thirsty *ris*es healthy. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: Neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverb has been found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, both opposite terms are third-person Present Simple verbs (E<sub>verb</sub> is verbal locution). The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since, in our real world, in order *to rise* one must have previously *gone to bed*.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: If *lie down* with dogs, you *will get up* with fleas. ( $E_{\text{verb}}-E'_{\text{verb}}$ )

E1: He that *sleeps* with dogs must *rise up* with fleas. ( $E1_{\text{verb}}-E1'_{\text{verb}}$ )

E2: *Lay down* with dogs, *get up* with fleas. ( $E2_{\text{verb}}-E2'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S: Quien con perros *se acuesta*, con pulgas *se levanta*. ( $S_{\text{verb}}-S'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S1: Quien con perros *se echa*, con pulgas *se levanta*. ( $S1_{\text{verb}}-S1'_{\text{verb}}$ )

R: Cine *doarme* cu câinii *se scoală* plin de purici (lit. transl. 'He who sleeps with dogs gets up with fleas all over'). ( $R_{\text{verb}}-R'_{\text{verb}}$ )

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: We have an equal relation of oppositeness in the three languages due to the same antonym sequence (which sustains Jones' theory based on chronology) and also to the fact that all opposite terms are verbs. If the terms are not equivalent in two languages, they are synonyms. Thus  $E_{\text{verb}} \Leftrightarrow E1_{\text{verb}} \Leftrightarrow E2_{\text{verb}}$ ;  $E1_{\text{verb}} = R_{\text{verb}}$ ;  $S_{\text{verb}} \Leftrightarrow S1_{\text{verb}}$ ; ( $E'_{\text{verb}} = E2'_{\text{verb}} = S'_{\text{verb}} = S2'_{\text{verb}} = R'_{\text{verb}}$ )  $\Leftrightarrow E1'_{\text{verb}}$ . Hence the following final CRO:  $E = E2 (\Leftrightarrow E1) = S (\approx S) = R$ .

### **2.5.5. To do-to undo**

These reversible verbs are represented here by the pair of Past Participles *done-undone* in:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: What's *done* cannot be *undone*. ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{adj}}$ )

E1: Things *done* cannot be *undone*. ( $E1_{\text{adj}}-E1'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: A lo *hecho*, pecho. ( $S_{\text{adj}}-0$ )

S1: Lo que *hecho* es, *hecho* ha de ser por esa vez. ( $S1_{\text{adj}} = S1_{\text{adj}}$ )

S2: No se puede *desandar lo andado*. ( $S2_{\text{verb}}-S2'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: Lucrul *făcut* nu se mai poate *desface* (lit. transl. 'Thing done cannot be undone'). ( $R_{\text{adj}}-R'_{\text{verb}}$ )

R1: Ce-i *făcut* e bun *făcut* (lit. transl. 'What's done is done'). ( $R1_{\text{adj}} = R1_{\text{adj}}$ )

**CRO: E ( $\Leftrightarrow$ ) S = R**

Comment: We observe that  $S1 = R1$ ; they have the same structure, namely the second term of the pair of opposites is missing and the first term appears again in the second part of the proverb. In spite of this, the first term is equal in all proverbs except S2, where the antonym sequence is inverted, namely the term implying 'reversion of the action' stands first. We also need to point out the presence of one prefixed term with a negative prefix in the E, E1, S2 and R opposite pairs, namely:  $E'_{\text{adj}} = E1'_{\text{adj}} = [un-(E_{\text{adj}} = E1_{\text{adj}})]$ ;  $S2_{\text{verb}} = [des-(S2'_{\text{noun}})]$ ;  $R'_{\text{verb}} = [des-(R_{\text{adj}})]$ . As far as the morphological derivation is concerned, we notice that only S2 does not accomplish Jones' theory according to which the root term precedes the derived one. Another observation worth mentioning here is the fact that all the adjective terms are Past Participles.

- and by the pair of verbs *to err-to mend*:

### **Proverb 2:**

E: Who *errs* and *mends*, to God himself commends. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien *yerra* y *se enmienda*, a Dios se encomienda. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The opposite terms in the English proverb and its Spanish equivalent are all expressed by third-person singular Simple Present verbs. The antonym sequence is the same, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity because the negative term stands before its opposite, but accomplishing Jones's theory based on chronology, since in order to mend something you should have previously erred.

### **2.5.6. To cover-to discover**

- expressed by the opposite verbs *to cover-to discover*, *to conceal-to reveal*:

### **Proverb 1:**

E: He that *covers* thee *discovers* thee. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Quien te *cubre* te *descubre*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The same antonym sequence is found in both proverbs, the unprefixd term preceding the prefixed one, which sustains Jones' theory based on morphological derivation, according to which the root term stands before its opposite. Both E'<sub>verb</sub> and S'<sub>verb</sub> are prefixed with the same prefix, namely *dis-* with its Spanish variant *des-*<sup>254</sup>. Note also that the four verbs have the same form: Simple Present, third-person singular. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: What soberness *conceals*, drunkenness *reveals*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Después de beber, cada uno da su parecer. (0-0)

S1: Cuando el vino *entra*, el secreto *sale* fuera. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S2: Dice el borracho lo que tiene en el papo. (0-0)

R: Ce e în inima treazului este în gura beatului (lit. transl. 'What is in the sober man's heart is in the drunk man's mouth'). (0-0)

R1: La beție se spune adevărul (lit. transl. 'One says the truth when drunk'). (0-0)

R2: Omul la beție cade-n nebunie (lit. transl. 'The drunk man falls into madness'). (0-0)

**CRO: E ≠ S ≠ R[0]**

Comment: At a first glance it draws our attention the fact that both Spanish and Romanian languages provide three equivalents of the English proverb each. But, of the seven proverbs, five contain a '0' relation of oppositeness because no similar or equivalent to the E opposite pair appears. Only the S variant contains a pair of opposite verbs, but they are directionals, not

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<sup>254</sup> See the resuming Table of prefixes in Part One, Chapter 3.2.10.

reversives as  $E_{verb}$  and  $E'_{verb}$ . That is why our final CRO looks like  $E \neq S1 \neq (S = S2 = R = R1 = R2 = [0])$ . A similarity lies in the common characteristic of E and S1, i.e. the opposite terms are expressed by third-person singular Present Simple verbs.

\*See also 2.2.14., Proverb 1.

### 2.5.7. To lose-to find

- expressed by the Past Participles of the verbs *to lose-to find*:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: A friend is easier *lost* than *found*. ( $E_{adj}$ - $E'_{adj}$ )

E1: A friend is not so soon *gotten* as *lost*. ( $E1_{adj}$ - $E1'_{adj}$ )

S: Más hay que hacer en saber al amigo conservar que en saberlo alcanzar. (0-0)

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq S[0] \neq R[-]$**

Comment: While no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the Spanish equivalent does not contain an opposite pair. The English variants are almost equivalent ( $E \approx E1$ ), due to the fact that  $E1_{adj} \Leftrightarrow E'_{adj}$  while  $E1'_{adj} = E_{adj}$ . We also note that the antonym sequence is reversed. It is the E variant which sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since, in the real world, in order *to find* something it must have been previously *lost*.

### 2.5.8. To open-to close

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: When one door *closes*, another one *opens*. ( $E_{verb}$ - $E'_{verb}$ )

E1: Where one door *shuts*, another *opens*. ( $E1_{verb}$ - $E1'_{verb}$ )

S: Cuando una puerta *se cierra*, otra *se abre*. ( $S_{verb}$ - $S'_{verb}$ )

S1: Cuanto una puerta *se cierra*, ciento *se abren*. ( $S1_{verb}$ - $S1'_{verb}$ )

S2: Jamás *cerró* una puerta Dios sin que *abriese* dos. ( $S2_{verb}$ - $S2'_{verb}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: There are equal relations of oppositeness in the English head proverb and its Spanish equivalents. It is noticeable that all opposite terms are verbs and the antonym sequence is the same in all the proverbs. Except  $E_{verb} \Leftrightarrow E1_{verb}$  (they are synonyms), all the other first terms of the opposite pairs are united by the '=' relation, as well as the second terms.  $S'_{verb}^{singular}$  and  $S1'_{verb}^{plural}$  differ in number, but not in person (the third). And it is also visible that S2 is distinct from the other proverbs by the forms of the verb terms, namely  $S2_{verb}^{PretéritoPerfectoSimple}$ - $S2'_{verb}^{PretéritoImperfecto}$ , which not only differ externally (from their homologues in the other proverbs) but also internally ( $S2_{verb} \neq S2'_{verb}$ ). No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### 2.5.9. To put in-to take out

The verb *put* appears in the phrasal verb *put in*, making a pair of opposites with another phrasal verb, that is *take out*:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Always *taking out* of the meal-tub, and never *putting in* soon comes to the bottom. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Donde hay *saca* y nunca *pon*, presto se acaba el bolsón. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Quien *no pone* y siempre *saca*, suelo halla. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S2: A do *sacan* y *no pon*, presto llegan al hondón. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

S3: *Quita* y *no pon*, se acaba el montón. (S3<sub>verb</sub>-S3'<sub>verb</sub>)

S4: Gota a gota la mar se agota / se apoca. (0-0)

R: De unde tot *iei* și *nu pui*, curând se isprăvește (lit. transl. 'From where you keep taking out and not put in it will be over soon'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: Sacul din care tot *iei* și *nu mai pui* se golește (lit. transl. 'The bag from which you keep taking out and never put in gets empty'). (R1<sub>verb</sub>-R1'<sub>verb</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: At a first glance it draws our attention the great number of Spanish equivalents. Then we observe that R and R1 contain the same opposite pair, while S4 contains a '0' oppositeness. Regarding the antonym sequence, only S1 differs from the rest, having an inverted order. S3<sub>verb</sub> (*quita*) is different from, but synonymous to its counterparts. Another observation that needs to be made is that some terms have negative forms, namely: S1<sub>verb</sub> = S2'<sub>verb</sub> = S3'<sub>verb</sub> = R'<sub>verb</sub> = R1'<sub>verb</sub>, the rest being affirmatives.

\*See also 2.1.29., Proverb 1.



## 2.6. PROVERBS INCLUDING HETERONYMS

As it has been explained before (see Part One, Chapter III.4.6), this is a special type of opposites. They are not opposite extremes, but just members of a set of different expressions. They involve more than two words, and the relation of oppositeness can be established between various terms of the series. Take, for instance, the series *yesterday-today-tomorrow*: there is an oppositeness established between *yesterday* and *today*, and another relation of oppositeness between *today* and *tomorrow*.

For a better understanding, the pairs of heteronyms included in proverbs have been placed in the series they belong to. The terms which do not appear in the selected proverbs have been written between brackets.

### 2.6.1. Yesterday-today-tomorrow

This paradigm is expressed on one hand by the *today-tomorrow* pair:

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: Better an egg *today* than a hen *tomorrow*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

E1: An egg *today* is worth a hen *tomorrow*. (E1<sub>adv</sub>-E1'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: Más vale un huevo *hoy* que una gallina *mañana*. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: Más quiero huevo *hoy* que *mañana* pollos. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-S1'<sub>adv</sub>)

S2: Mejor es huevo *hoy* que pollo *mañana*. (S2<sub>adv</sub>-S2'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: E mai bun oul *azi* decât găina de *mâine* (lit. transl. 'It is better the egg today than the hen of tomorrow'). (R<sub>adv</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

R1: Mai bine *astăzi* oul decât *mâine* boul (lit. transl. 'Better the egg today than the ox tomorrow'). (R1<sub>adv</sub>-R1'<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: There is an obvious equality of all the relations of oppositeness in the three languages. It is noticeable the fact that in every language there is at least one variant of the head proverb. The same antonym sequence based on chronology is preserved in the seven proverbs, the opposite terms order being 'from present to future', represented as follows: (present) → (future), which sustains Jones' theory based on chronology. One remark needs to be done regarding R<sub>adv</sub> (*azi*) <=> R1<sub>adv</sub> (*astăzi*). The two words have exactly the same meaning, and they coexist in the present-day language. *Astăzi* comes from the Lat. *ista die* (*astă* 'this' + *zi* 'day')<sup>255</sup> and *azi* comes from the Lat. *hac die*<sup>256</sup>, being a shorter form of *a(stă)zi*.

<sup>255</sup> According to Oprea's dictionary (2006).

<sup>256</sup> *Ibidem*.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: Here *today* and gone *tomorrow*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

E1: *Today* gold, *tomorrow* dust. (E1<sub>adv</sub>-E1'<sub>adv</sub>)

E2: *Today* a man, *tomorrow* none. (E2<sub>adv</sub>-E2'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: *Hoy* somos, *mañana* no. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: *Hoy* en figura, y *mañana* en sepultura. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-S1'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: *Astăzi* ești, *mâine* nu ești (lit. transl. 'You exist today, you don't exist tomorrow'). (R<sub>adv</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

R1: *Azi* pe pământ, *mâine* în mormânt (lit. transl. 'On earth today, in the grave tomorrow'). (R1<sub>adv</sub>-R1'<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: In this case, all our relations of oppositeness are equal. All opposite terms are adverbs of time with the same antonym sequence which sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *today* stands before *tomorrow*. It draws our attention the R<sub>adv</sub> and R1<sub>adv</sub> terms which are equal in meaning, but different in forms (see the previous group of proverbs).

### **Proverb 3:**

E: I *today*, you *tomorrow*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: *Hoy* por mí, *mañana* por ti. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: *Hoy* por mí y *cras* por ti. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-S1'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: *Azi* mie, *mâine* ție (lit. transl. 'To me today, to you tomorrow'). (R<sub>adv</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: This is another case of equality of the oppositeness relations in the three languages, due to the common biblical origin, i.e. *Ecclesiasticus*, 38: 22. All opposites are adverbs of time with identical antonym sequence which sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *today* stands before *tomorrow*. In this case, one term steps out of line, namely S1'<sub>adv</sub> (*cras*) which is the obsolete equivalent to S'<sub>adv</sub> (*mañana*). Thus E = S ( $\approx$  S1) = R.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: If *today* will not, *tomorrow* may. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: Lo que no ocurre *hoy*, puede ocurrir *mañana*. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S  $\neq$  R[-]**

Comment: The E and S oppositeness relations are equal due to the equality of the opposite pairs (the terms are adverbs of time) and to the identical antonym sequence which, again, sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *today* stands before *tomorrow*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: One *today* is worth two *tomorrows*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Más vale un '*hoy*' que diez '*mañanas*'. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Más vale un *presente* que dos *después*, y decir atiende. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S  $\neq$  R[-]**

**Comment:** The E and S oppositeness relations are equal due to the equality of the opposite pairs (the terms are nouns derived from adverbs of time) and to the identical antonym sequence which, again, sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *today/present* stand before *tomorrow/after*. We observe that the S and S1 pairs are expressed by different opposites, but in this case they are synonymous. The S1 opposite terms can also be considered heteronyms, if we interpret *después* as *future*. In our paradigm they occupy the same positions as E and S terms, namely (*yesterday*-) *today-tomorrow*; (*past*-)*present-future*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Our final CRO can be represented as follows:  $E = S (<=> S1) \neq R[-]$ .

### **Proverb 6:**

E: Stuff *today* and starve *tomorrow*. ( $E_{adv}-E'_{adv}$ )

S: *Día* de mucho, *vispera* de nada. ( $S_{noun}-S'_{noun}$ )

R: *Astăzi* când are parale mănâncă zaharicale; când se caută *mâine*, n-are cu ce să-și ia pâine (lit. transl. 'Today, when he has got money, he eats sweets; tomorrow, when he looks into his pockets, he has got no money for bread'). ( $R_{adv}-R'_{adv}$ )

R1: *Azi* are, satura zece, și *mâine* flămând petrece (lit. transl. 'He has got enough today, can feed ten people, and he will spend tomorrow starving'). ( $R1_{adv}-R1'_{adv}$ )

R2: *Azi* întinde pân-o rupe, *mâine* n-are s-o astupe (transl. 'Stuff today and starve tomorrow'). ( $R2_{adv}-R2'_{adv}$ )

**CRO:  $E (<=> S) = R$**

**Comment:** At a first glance it draws our attention the great number of Romanian equivalent proverbs (three versus an English and a Spanish ones). They have equal relations of oppositeness,  $R = R1 = R2$ , the only observation is that  $R1_{adv} = R2_{adv}$  (*azi*), is the short form of  $R_{adv}$  (*astăzi*) (see proverb 1 above). In this case, the problem is raised by the Spanish proverb, where the relation of oppositeness is established between the nouns *día-vispera* that are equivalent to the English terms *day-yesterday*. If we consider *day* as referring to the present day, i.e. *today*, then the S terms become also heteronyms, even though they occupy distinct positions in our *yesterday-today-tomorrow* paradigm, having an opposite orientation, namely: 'from present to future' in E, R, R1 and R2, represented as follows: (present = *today*, *astăzi*, *azi*) → (future = *tomorrow*, *mâine*); and 'from present to past' in S, represented as follows: (present = *día* [ $<=>$  *today*]) → (past = *vispera*<sup>257</sup> [ $<=>$  *yesterday*]). Because of this latter orientation the antonym sequence of S contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *vispera* should come first. But it is sustained by the rest of the proverbs. Note also the 'non verbal' structure of the Spanish proverb and the fact that the R variant is much longer than its homologues. The final CRO can be represented as follows:  $E (<=> S) = (R = R1 = R2)$ .

### **Proverb 7:**

E: *Today* a man, *tomorrow* a mouse. ( $E_{adv}-E'_{adv}$ )

S: *Hoy* en palco, y *mañana* en catafalco. ( $S_{adv}-S'_{adv}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

<sup>257</sup> Taking into account the definition given by RAE (<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=v%C3%ADspera>): "Día que antecede inmediatamente a otro determinado, especialmente si es fiesta".

**Comment:** The E and S oppositeness relations are equal due to the equality of the opposite pairs (the terms are adverbs of time); to the identical antonym sequence which sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *today* stands before *tomorrow*; and also to the same 'non-verbal' structures. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 8:**

E: Never put off till *tomorrow* what you can do / what may be done (LEF) *today*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

E1: Work *today*, for you know not how much you may be hindered *tomorrow*. (E1<sub>adv</sub>-E1'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: No dejes para *mañana* lo que puedes hacer *hoy*. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: Lo que has de hacer *hoy*, no lo dejes para *mañana*. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-S1'<sub>adv</sub>)

S2: Antes *hoy* que *mañana*. (S2<sub>adv</sub>-S2'<sub>adv</sub>)

R: Nu lăsa pe *mâine* ce poți face *astăzi* (lit. transl. 'Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today'). (R<sub>adv</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

R1: Ce poți lucra *astăzi* nu lăsa pe *mâine* (lit. transl. 'What you can do today do not put off till tomorrow'). (R1<sub>adv</sub>-R1'<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** In this case, all our relations of oppositeness are equal. All opposite terms are adverbs of time. The antonym sequence is the same in E, S and R on one hand and in E1, S1, S2 and R1 on the other. It is the latter group that sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *today* stands before *tomorrow*. We also want to point out the extended length of the E1 variant and also the 'non verbal' structure of S2.

- and on the other hand by the *yesterday-today* opposite pair:

### **Proverb 9:**

E: *Today* is the scholar of *yesterday*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Cada *día* es maestro del siguiente. (S<sub>noun</sub>-0)

S1: Cada *día* es discípulo del anterior. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

S2: *Mañana* es discípulo de *hoy*. (S2<sub>noun</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≈ S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** Making a deeper analysis of S and S1, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- S implies the heteronyms *today-tomorrow*, by the S<sub>noun</sub> (*día*) and the adjective *siguiente* which determines the same noun *día*, elliptic in this case. Because of this ellipsis there is a '0' pair of opposites;

- S1 implies the heteronyms *today-yesterday*, by the S<sub>noun</sub> (*día*) and the adjective *anterior* which determines the same noun *día*, elliptic in this case also. Because of this ellipsis there is a '0' pair of opposites.

Since the relations of oppositeness established in S and S1 are void (S = S1 = [0]), the comparison must be made between the E and S2 relations which are not totally equal, since both pairs of opposites are expressed by heteronyms, even though with different orientations on the time axis, namely: 'from present to past' in E, represented as follows: (present = *today*) → (past = *yesterday*); and 'from future to present' in S, represented as follows: (future = *mañana*) → (present = *hoy*). Thus E<sub>noun</sub> = S2'<sub>noun</sub> while E'<sub>noun</sub> = S2<sub>noun</sub>. Regarding the antonym sequence, in both cases (E and S2), it contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *today* stands before *tomorrow* and after *yesterday*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

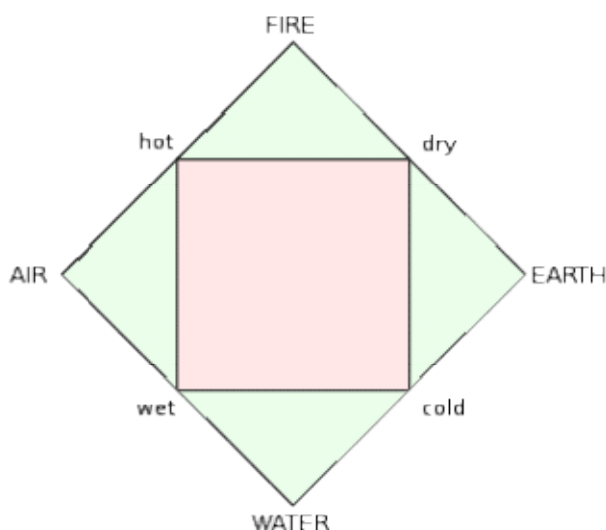
## 2.6.2. Fire-earth(-air)-water

This paradigm represents the classical elements of astrology, being also interconnected with the four seasons of the year and the twelve signs of the zodiac as related below<sup>258</sup>:

- Spring (wet becoming hot) - Air: Aries, Taurus, Gemini;
- Summer (hot becoming dry) - Fire: Cancer, Leo, Virgo;
- Autumn (dry becoming cold) - Earth: Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius;
- Winter (cold becoming wet) - Water: Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces.

According to Judy Hall (2005: 124-125), the four elements represent "los distintos modos de percibir la vida. En la práctica, tierra, el mundo se experimenta a través de los sentidos; en el agua se experimenta a través de la sensación. El aire permite entender a través del pensamiento, mientras que el fuego es intuitivo y conocedor".

As it can be seen in the following diagram<sup>259</sup>, just as in the case of the four seasons of the year (since they are closely related), these heteronyms oppose perpendicularly (*fire-water*) and diametrically (*air-earth*):



(Where the corners of the big square are the classical elements, while the corners of the small square are the properties.)

<sup>258</sup> Available from <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Astrology\\_and\\_the\\_classical\\_elements](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Astrology_and_the_classical_elements)>.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibidem*.

The same relations of oppositeness established between the elements *water-fire* and *air-earth* are pointed out by Judy Hall (2005: 125) who explains that

Los signos que comparten el mismo elemento resuenan entre sí, pero a los independientes signos de fuego, los de agua les parecen demasiado dependientes e introspectivos, haciendo que las relaciones sean difíciles; los signos de agua se expresan no-verbalmente, mientras que los signos de aire de comunican principalmente con palabras. Los signos de tierra son esencialmente prácticos, y tienen poco tiempo para dedicar a los vuelos de fantasía o a los estallidos emocionales.

### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Fire and water are good servants, but bad masters.* (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *El fuego y el agua son buenos servidores, mas ruines amos.* (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: *El agua y el fuego son buenos servidores, pero malos amos.* (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: There is equality between the relation of oppositeness of the English and the Spanish proverbs. The antonym sequence is the same in E and S, and inverted in S1, the opposite terms being coordinated and united by the same preposition, *and*, respectively *y*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

\*See also 2.1.1., Proverb 3 and 2.4.5., Proverb 1.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: *Dirty water will quench fire.* (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *El agua apaga la ardiente llama.* (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: *Apa cât de tulbure, tot stinge focul* (lit. transl. 'Water, no matter how muddy, still quenches fire'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: *Toată apa stinge focul* (lit. transl. 'All the water quenches fire'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness found in the four proverbs are equal. This equality is based on: the same meaning of the opposite terms; the identical [+verb] structures of the proverbs; the same antonym sequence; the similarity of the proverbs in the fact that the first opposite term is the subject of the second; the common biblical origin of the proverbs, i.e. *Ecclesiasticus*, 3: 30. Our final CRO looks like the following: E = S = R = R1.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: *Foul water as soon as fair will quench hot fire.* (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: *La vreme de nevoie și cu lături poți stinge cel mai mare foc* (lit. transl. 'When needed, even with slops you can quench the biggest fire'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) ≈ R**

Comment: Since, no Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, the comparison is made between the English and the Romanian paremia. We observe that R'<sub>noun</sub> = E'<sub>noun</sub>, but R<sub>noun</sub> <=> E<sub>noun</sub> due to the meaning of R<sub>noun</sub> (*lături* 'slops') which implies *water*. This fact is proven by the very definition of the Romanian term. Let's take, for example, the

one provided by DEX<sup>260</sup>: "LĂTÚRĂ, lături, s. f. (Mai ales la pl.) Apă murdară rămasă după spălat" (lit. transl. 'SLOP, slops, feminine noun (especially plural) Dirty water left after washing'). Of the four opposites, R<sub>noun</sub> is the only one with a plural form. The antonym sequence is the same in both proverbs.

\*See also 2.1.10., Proverb 5.

#### **Proverb 4:**

E: *Water* afar off quenches not *fire*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Agua* de lejos no apaga *fuego*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: *El agua* lejana no apaga *fuego* vecino. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: *Apa* depărtată nu stinge *focul* (lit. transl. 'Far away water does not quench fire'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness found in the four proverbs are equal. Similar to Proverb 2 above, this equality is based on: the same meaning of the opposite terms; the identical [+verb] structures of the proverbs; the same antonym sequence; the similarity of the proverbs in the fact that the first opposite term is the subject of the second. Therefore, our final CRO looks like the following: E = S = S1 = R.

#### **Proverb 5:**

E: *Water, fire, and soldiers*, quickly make room. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Al humo, al agua y al fuego* se le hace lugar luego luego. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: In this case, the equality sign stands between the English and the Spanish relations of oppositeness, while no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. The opposite pairs are equal and, at the same time, the antonym sequence is identical in both proverbs. We observe that our pairs are part of a three-elemented serie, the third element being different in E and S, namely: '*water, fire, and soldiers*' versus '*al humo, al agua y al fuego*'.

We can also include here the pair *sea-land*, which clearly implies the *water-earth* pair of heteronyms, with the mention that, as in the case of *summer-winter* (see the group 2.6.5. below), they do not oppose perpendicularly nor horizontally, but obliquely:

#### **Proverb 6:**

E: Being on *sea*, sail; being on *land*, settle. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Romanian or Spanish proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, we notice the symmetrical structures of its two parts.

<sup>260</sup> Available from <<http://dexonline.ro/definitie/latura>>.

### **Proverb 7:**

E: Praise *the sea*, but keep on *land*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Loa *el mar* y vive *en la tierra*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: Ve *el mar* y estáte *en tierra*. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S2: Alaba *el mar*, pero no intentes navegar. ( $S2_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

R: Frumos să privești furtuna pe *mare*, dar cam de departe (lit. transl. 'Nice to see the storm on sea, but from a far distance'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-0$ )

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[0]$**

Comment: In this case, the equality of oppositeness is established between English and Spanish, on the one hand, and between Spanish and Romanian, on the other hand. Thus, we have  $E = S = S1$  (equal opposite pairs, identical antonym sequence, similar structures, with the presence of two Imperative verbs - see the underlined words) and  $S2 = R = [0]$  due to the absence of the second opposite terms in both proverbs. We note that  $S2_{\text{noun}} = R_{\text{noun}} = E_{\text{noun}} = S_{\text{noun}} = S1_{\text{noun}}$ . Our final CRO can be represented as follows:  $(E = S = S1) \neq (S2[0] = R[0])$ .

### **Proverb 8:**

E: Wisdom has one foot on *land*, and another on *sea*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$**

Comment: As it can be seen, no Romanian or Spanish proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the English proverb, we notice that both opposite terms are uncountable nouns.

## **2.6.3. (birth-)Life-death**

### **Proverb 1:**

E: A fair *death* honours *the whole life*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Un buen *morir* honra un largo *vivir*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

Comment: There are equal relations of oppositeness in E and S due to the fact that all the opposite terms are nouns coming from verbs. The nouns in S are determined, like  $E_{\text{noun}}$ , by the indefinite article *un* = *a*. In both proverbs, the antonym sequence contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology since, in our real world, *death* comes after *life*, not before<sup>261</sup>. No equivalent Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

<sup>261</sup> Except the case when a baby is born dead. In this situation, *death* stands before *life*, where *life* is interpreted as "the period between birth and death" (according to Collins: <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/life>>), but this is also questionable if we take into account the intrauterine life, defined as "the interval of life between conception and birth; in humans, usually divided into embryonic and fetal periods" (<<http://www.definition-of.com/intrauterine+life>>). This particularly case of 'death at birth' will be excluded in all of our proverbs including the *birth-life-death* heteronyms.



### **Proverb 2:**

E: A good *life* makes a good *death*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: No Spanish or Romanian proverb was found in the sources of our corpus. As to the English proverb, the antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *life* precedes *death*.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: *Life* without a friend is *death* without a witness. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: *Life* is *death* without real friends. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Vida* sin amigos, *muerte* sin testigos. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: At a first glance we observe that all opposite terms are singular nouns. The same antonym sequence appears in the three proverbs, in agreement with Jones' theory based on chronology. It is also interesting the difference between the structures of the proverbs. While in E and E1 we have the same 'X is Y' ('life (...) is death') structure, the S terms are coordinated ('X, Y': 'vida (...), muerte') and the structure lacks the verb. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

### **Proverb 4:**

E: Such a *life*, such a *death*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: As a man *lives*, so shall he *die*, as a tree falls, so shall it lie. (E1<sub>verb</sub>-E1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Tal *vida*, tal *muerte*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Cual *la vida*, tal *la muerte*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: Como *se vive*, *se muere*. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: While English and Spanish present more than one variant of the head proverb, Romanian provides none. There are two proverbs, namely E1 and S2, which contain pairs of reversives, not of heteronyms, due to the distinct morphological class of the opposite terms, i.e. verb. The rest of the proverbs include equal heteronyms, therefore they have equal relations of oppositeness. All their opposite terms are expressed by singular nouns. And the antonym sequence is the same in all proverbs, in concordance with Jones' theory based on chronology. We also note the identical 'non-verbal' structures of the E, S and S1 proverbs.

### **Proverb 5:**

E: There is but one way to enter this *life*, but the gates of *death* are without number. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Una sola puerta tiene *el nacimiento*, y *la muerte* más de ciento. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≈ S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The relations of oppositeness found in the English and the Spanish proverbs are almost equal due to the fact that S'<sub>noun</sub> = E'<sub>noun</sub> but S<sub>noun</sub> ≠ E<sub>noun</sub>. Even though S<sub>noun</sub> and E<sub>noun</sub> occupy different positions on our paradigm, namely *birth* (= S<sub>noun</sub>)-*life*(= E<sub>noun</sub>)-*death*(= E'<sub>noun</sub> = S'<sub>noun</sub>), both E and S are pairs of heteronyms. In both proverbs the antonym sequence

sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since in our real world *life* and *birth* precede *death*. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

#### 2.6.4. First-second-third(-...)-last

- *the first-the second*

##### **Proverb 1:**

E: Take *the first* advice of a woman and not *the second*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: De la mujer, *el primer* consejo; *el segundo* no lo quiero. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S1: De la mujer, *el consejo primero*; del hombre, *el postrero*. (S1(a)<sub>adj</sub>-S1(a')<sub>noun</sub>; S1(b)<sub>noun</sub>-S1(b')<sub>noun</sub>)

S2: De la mujer, *el consejo repentino*; del hombre, *el meditado y detenido*. (S2(a)<sub>adj</sub>-S2(a')<sub>adjetivos</sub>; S2(b)<sub>noun</sub>-S2(b')<sub>noun</sub>)

S3: En repentino menester, *el consejo de la mujer*. (0-0)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

Comment: The absence of a Romanian equivalent proverb is counterbalanced by the three variants of the Spanish proverb. We notice that E and S have equal relations of oppositeness. S1 and S2 contain two pairs of opposites each, the (b) pair - *mujer-hombre* - being present in both variants. Curiously, the first term of this (b) pair, namely *mujer* = S1(b) = S2(b), also appears in E and S3, but without its opposite *hombre* = S1'(b) = S2'(b). As far as the (a) pairs in S1 and S2 are concerned, we can say that S1(a) = S = E, but S1(a) ≠ S2(a); and S1'(a) ≠ S' ≠ S2(a)'. Even though S1(a)' ≠ E', S1(a) = *primero* and S1(a)' = *el postrero* ('the last') are still heteronyms. This does not happen in the case of S2, where S2(a) and S2(a)' share a certain degree of oppositeness, but they are not heteronyms. Moreover, S2(a)' is a multiple term, formed of two coordinated adjectives: *meditado y detenido*. Our final CRO can be represented as follows: E = S (<=>) S1 ≠ S2 ≠ S3[0]) ≠ R[-].

##### **Proverb 2:**

E: *The first* faults are theirs that commit them, *the second* theirs that permit them. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Si otro te engañare *una vez*, mal haya él; y si *dos*, tú y él; y tú sólo si *tres*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: A quien me engaña *una vez*, fáltale Dios, y ayúdele si *dos*. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S2: Daño es ser engañado *una vez*; *dos*, necedad es. (S2<sub>adj</sub>-S2'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Când te-a înșelat cineva *o dată*, e de vină el; când te-a înșelat *a doua oară*, ești de vină singur (lit. transl. 'If someone cheated you once, he is to blame; if he cheated you twice, you are to blame yourself'). (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: In this case, the relations of oppositeness found in our three languages are equal. The only proverb that steps out of line is S because of the presence of three heteronyms. We note that all opposite terms are adjectives and an observation needs to be made here: in E, S, S1 and S2, the heteronyms determine the same noun, expressed only for the first term, being elliptic in the second/third, namely: *the first faults-the second [faults]*, *una vez-dos [veces]-tres [veces]*, *una vez-dos [veces]*. This does not happen in the Romanian proverb, where both determined nouns are expressed: *o dată* 'the first time'-*a doua oară* 'the second time'. We

observe that the antonym sequence is the same in the five proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology, since the order is ascendant on the paradigm of numbers.

### **Proverb 3:**

E: Better be *first* in a village than *second* at Rome. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Más vale ser *el primero* en una/su aldea que *el segundo* en Roma. (S<sub>pronoun</sub>-S'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

R: Mai bine *cap* la sat decât *codaș* la oraș (lit. transl. 'Better a head in a village than a laggard in a town'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Mai bine în satul tău *fruntaș* decât *codaș* la oraș (lit. transl. 'Better a leader in your village than a laggard in town'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S ≠ R**

Comment: The equal relation of oppositeness is established between the English and the Spanish proverbs. The antonym sequence based on chronology is the same in both languages, sustaining Jones' theory based on chronology due to the ascendant order of the heteronyms. Which makes the difference is the Romanian language where a distinct relation of oppositeness is found. Even though the opposite terms in R and R1 can be interpreted as having the meanings of the heteronyms *the first-the last*, they are and remain antonyms. The CRO between the Romanian proverbs can be represented as follows: R ≈ R1 because R<sub>noun</sub> <=> R1<sub>noun</sub> and R'<sub>noun</sub> = R1'<sub>noun</sub>.

- *two-the third*, where *two* implies *the first* and *the second*:

### **Proverb 4:**

E: *Two* dogs strive for a bone, and *a third* runs away with it. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: Cuando *dos* pleitean, *un tercero* saca provecho. (S<sub>numeral</sub>-S'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S1: *Dos* en pleito, ganancia para *el tercero*. (S1<sub>numeral</sub>-S1'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

R: Când *doi* se ceartă *al treilea* câștigă (lit. transl. 'When two fight the third wins'). (R<sub>numeral</sub>-R'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: There is a totally equal relation of oppositeness in the three languages. The the antonym sequence is preserved in E, S, S1 and R, the opposite terms respecting the same order corresponding to 'from less to more' direction, which can be represented as follows: '(-) → (+)'. This order sustains Jones' antonym sequence based on chronology.

- *the first-the last*

### **Proverb 5:**

E: *The last* shall be *the first*. (E<sub>pronoun</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: *Los postreros* serán *los primeros*. (S<sub>pronoun</sub>-S'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

R: *Cei de pe urmă* vor fi *cei dintâi* (lit. transl. 'The last ones will be the first'). (R<sub>pronoun</sub>-R'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

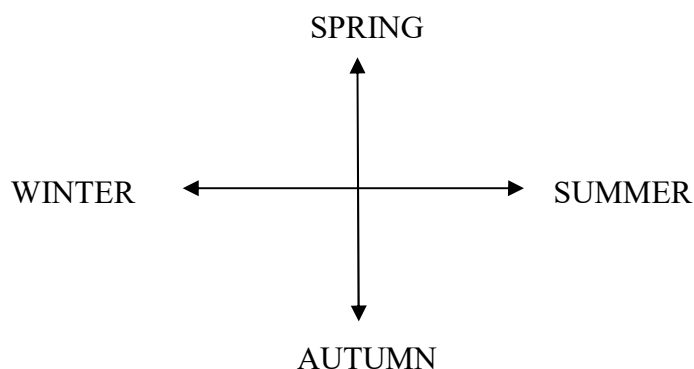
**CRO: E = S = R**

Comment: The same antonym sequence in the three proverbs contradicts Jones' theory based on chronology, since in the real world, *the first* stands before *the last*. All our opposite terms are pronouns, the R terms being pronominal locutions. The equality of the oppositeness

relations found in the three languages is due to the common biblical origin of the proverbs, i.e. *Matthew*, 19: 30.

### 2.6.5. Spring-summer-autumn-winter

The four seasons of the year paradigm is expressed by the following opposite pairs: *spring-autumn* and *summer-winter*. As seen in Part One, Chapter 3.4.6., these terms oppose perpendicularly (*spring-autumn*) and diametrically (*summer-winter*), as in the below diagram:



- *spring-autumn*

#### **Proverb 1:**

E: That which doth blossom in *the spring*, will bring forth fruit in *the autumn*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: Neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverbs have been found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, we notice that the pair of heteronyms is expressed by nouns preceded by the definite article *the*. The antonym sequence sustains Jones' theory based on chronology since, in our real world, *spring* precedes *autumn*.

- *summer-winter*

#### **Proverb 2:**

E: No *summer*, but has its *winter*. (SEV) (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Agosto y septiembre*, no duran siempre. (SEV) (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E ⇔ S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** Since no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus, our CRO is established between the English and the Spanish proverbs. We consider their relations of oppositeness equivalent due to the fact that the S terms imply the *summer* and *autumn* heteronyms, if we take into account the following definitions extracted from RAE:

- *verano*: "Época más calurosa del año, que en el hemisferio septentrional comprende los meses de junio, julio y agosto. En el hemisferio austral corresponde a los meses de diciembre, enero y febrero"<sup>262</sup>;

- *otoño*: "Época templada del año, que en el hemisferio boreal corresponde a los meses de septiembre, octubre y noviembre, y en el austral a la primavera del hemisferio boreal"<sup>263</sup>.

Even though, taking a look to our diagram above, *summer* and *autumn* are neither perpendicularly nor diametrically opposed, since they form part of our paradigm, they are heteronyms. Because, by their definitions, *summer* and *autumn* imply the *agosto* and *septiembre* terms, in this case we consider the two nouns denominating the eighth and ninth months of the year heteronyms, making the S oppositeness equivalent, not equal to the E one.

## 2.6.6. Morning-(noon-afternoon)-evening

### **Proverb 1:**

E: *Evening* red and *morning* grey help the traveller on his way; *evening* grey and *morning* red bring down rain upon his head. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

**Comment:** Neither Spanish nor Romanian equivalent proverbs have been found in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, we notice that the pair of heteronyms is repeated in the second part of the proverb, in fact it seems like we had two proverbs in one. Both appearances contradict Jones' antonym sequence related to chronology since, in the real world, *morning* precedes *evening*.

### **Proverb 2:**

E: An hour *in the morning* is worth two *in the evening*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: [-]

R: Un ceas *dimineața* plătește cât trei după *prânz* (lit. trans. 'An hour in the morning is worth three in the afternoon'). (R<sub>adv</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E (≠ S[-]) ≈ R**

**Comment:** The opposite nouns *morning-evening* form part of the adverbial locutions *in the morning-in the evening*. Because there is a slight difference between the second terms of the opposite pairs in E and R, namely E'<sub>adv</sub> ≠ R'<sub>adv</sub>, but E<sub>adv</sub> = R<sub>adv</sub>, we consider the E and R relations of oppositeness almost equal, because both opposite pairs are heteronyms. Moreover, we find the same antonym sequence based on chronology, accomplishing Jones' theory. Regarding Spanish, we found no equivalent proverb in the sources of our corpus.

<sup>262</sup> Available from <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=agosto>>.

<sup>263</sup> Available from <<http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=oto%C3%B1o>>.

## 2.6.7. Breakfast-(brunch-lunch-drunch-)supper

### Proverb 1:

E: Hope is a good *breakfast* but a bad *supper*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

**CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])**

Comment: We did not find any Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverbs in the sources of our corpus. As far as the English proverb is concerned, Jones' antonym sequence based on chronology is accomplished, since in our real world *breakfast* precedes *supper*.

\*See also 2.1.1., Proverb 4.

### Proverb 2:

E: Laugh before *breakfast*, you'll cry before *supper*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: He that laughs *in the morning*, weeps *at night*. (E1<sub>adv</sub>-E1'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: Tal que ríe *ahora*, a *cabo de rato* llora. (S<sub>adv</sub>-S'<sub>adv</sub>)

S1: Tú que riendo estás, *mañana* llorarás. (S1<sub>adv</sub>-0)

R: Cine *astăzi* râde, *mâine* plânge, că vremea e nestatornică (lit. transl. 'He who laughs today, weeps tomorrow, because the weather is unstable'). (R<sub>adv</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

R1: Râsul peste fire aduce plâns după fire (lit. transl. 'Laughter beyond measure brings weeping as to one's nature'). (0-0)

**CRO: E <=> S <=> R**

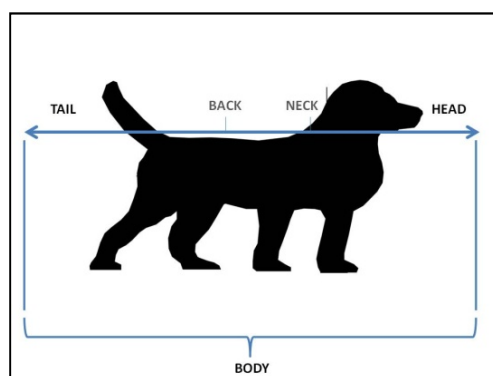
Comment: In order to understand the equivalence of the opposite relations in this case we consider necessary to comment each pair of opposites individually. The E pair is formed by the extreme terms of the set of heteronyms '*breakfast-brunch-lunch-drunch-supper*'. In the E1, the opposite pair is formed by the adverbial locutions *in the morning-at night*, whose components *morning-night* are the extreme terms of the set of heteronyms '*morning-noon-afternoon-evening-?night*'. An observation needs to be made here. In this case, the set of heteronyms is enlarged. We consider the set of heteronyms being formed by those terms related to day time, namely '*morning-noon-afternoon-evening*' (see 2.6.5. above), and *night* as forming a complementary pair with *day* (see 2.2.3): (*morning-noon-afternoon-evening*)<sup>day</sup>-*night*. Terms of S pair, formed by the adverb *ahora* and the adverbial locution *a cabo de rato* can also be considered heteronyms, if we interpret *a cabo de rato* = *después*. This way, we can think of our terms as being part of the heteronym set '*antes-ahora-después*'; with the mention that in this case our terms are not extremes of the group. Regarding S1, we observe that this variant is found in R. The peculiarity of the Spanish proverb is that it lacks the second term of the opposite pair, namely *today*, in order to have an equal relation of oppositeness with R. *Today* time reference in this case is implied by the Present Continuous form of the verb (*riendo estás*), but this is not sufficient for constituting an opposite pair. The R pair terms form part of the '*yesterday-today-tomorrow*' set of heteronyms, being not extreme elements. R1 variant contains no pair of heteronyms, just the pair of antonyms *laughter-weeping* previously analyzed. Our final CRO can be represented as follows: E (<=> E1) <=> S <=> R ≠ (S1 = R1 = [0]).

\*See also 2.1.12., Proverb 2.

## 2.7. PROVERBS INCLUDING UNCLASSIFIABLE OPPOSITES

From the more than 3.246 proverbs that form the corpus of our work, 70 could not have been classified into the six groups above. These proverbs are listed below and they contain pairs of words (written in *italics*) with a certain degree of oppositeness that was difficult to classify. For example, *mother-daughter*, *father-son* cannot be considered converses. If we apply the test of logical equivalence, we obtain the following: if 'X is the daughter of Y', it cannot be said that this is equivalent to 'Y is the mother of X' (it could be the father), and vice versa 'if X is the mother of Y' implies that 'Y is either the daughter or the son of X'. So, the complementarity is relative because if we deal with a concrete situation, meaning if we know that X and Y are females, then, 'if X is the daughter of Y' the vice versa is also true, so 'Y is the mother of X'.

The nouns *head* and *tail* are both meronyms of *body*. From this perspective, they can be considered heteronyms, being elements of the 'parts of the body' paradigm: *head-shoulders-hands-(...)-tail-etc.* But the context may lead to another interpretation of *head* and *tail*: on the one hand, they can be considered directionals, if we think of them as the *top* and *bottom* parts of the body, implying also *beginning-end*, and, on the other hand, they can be regarded as antonyms, if we place them on a horizontal axis (see the figure below). In this case, they are the extreme points of the axis, with intermediate terms between them (e.g. *back*, *neck*, etc.).



A similar situation is that of the pair *head-heels*, the only difference in this case being the fact that they refer to humans, not animals.

The proper nouns *Bacchus* and *Neptune* (proverb number 11 in our list) imply the oppositeness *wine-water*, *alcohol-water*.

The common nouns *cat-mouse*, *wolf-sheep*, *lion-mouse* also lead to various interpretations. They can be considered antonyms, if we understand them as improper opposites metaphorically enclosing the *superiority-inferiority* concepts. But they can easily be heteronyms, if we place them on the 'animal' paradigm.

*Christmas* and *Easter* can be related to the heteronyms *winter-spring* due to the time of year when they are celebrated, but also to *birth-death*, also heteronyms. But, if we take a closer look to their definitions (*Christmas*: "the annual commemoration by Christians of the birth of Jesus Christ on December 25"<sup>264</sup>; *Easter*: "the most important festival of the Christian Church, commemorating the Resurrection of Christ: falls on the Sunday following the first full moon after the vernal equinox"<sup>265</sup>), we observe that both proper nouns imply the 'life' concept, since Christmas is related to *birth* (= "the coming into existence of something"<sup>266</sup>) and Easter to *resurrection* (= "a supposed act or instance of a dead person coming back to life"<sup>267</sup>).

The nouns *moon* and *sun* imply the *night-day* concepts. Still, they were not included as improper opposites under this entry because of the variant '*Stars* are not seen where *the sun* shines' which excludes the 'either... or' relation between *night* and *day*.

The quantifiers *much* and *nothing* admit an intermediate term *all-much-(something)-few-nothing*, but inside the paradigm they appear in, one is an intermediate term (*much*), and the other is an extreme term (*nothing*). Therefore they do not accomplish the main requisite for two words to be considered opposites, i.e. that both of the opposite terms, either extreme or intermediate, should be placed, inside the paradigm, at equal distances from a common reference point (in our case, *something*). At the same time, they are logical contraries but not contradictories since the negation of one term is not equivalent to the opposite term. For example, *not much* does not mean the same as *nothing*. 'X is *much*' entails 'X is *not nothing*' and 'X is *nothing*' entails 'X is *not much*', but 'X is *not much*' does not entail 'X is *nothing*'.

In the list below, the 21 proverbs having the 'LEF' source indicated between parentheses are taken from Lefter's dictionary (see the *Corpus* section above) and are not counted in the 3.246 proverbs of our corpus. The rest of the proverbs are included in the 3.246 proverbs and their source is Flonta's dictionary (FLO).

<sup>264</sup> According to <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/christmas>>.

<sup>265</sup> According to <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/easter>>.

<sup>266</sup> According to <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/birth>>.

<sup>267</sup> According to <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/resurrection>>.



1. *Long* absent, *soon* forgotten. (LEF)
2. *Actions* speak louder than *words*.
3. He may bear *a bull* than hath *a calf*. (LEF)
4. It is a strange beast that hath neither *head* nor *tail*. (LEF)
5. Better *the head* of a dog (fox/mouse/lizard) than *the tail* of a lion.
6. Better *the head* of a pike than *the tail* of a sturgeon.
7. Better *the head* of an ass than *the tail* of a horse. (LEF)
8. Better be *the head* of an ass than *the tail* of a lion.
9. Better *the head* of the yeomanry than *the tail* of the gentry. (LEF)
10. *Blood* is thicker than *water*. (LEF)
11. *Bacchus* hat drowned more men than *Neptune*.
12. *One* beats the bust and *another* catches the birds. (LEF)
13. *One* man's breath *another's* death.
14. Fortune to *one* is mother, to *another* stepmother. (LEF)
15. *The body* is the socket of *the soul*. (LEF)
16. A little *body* often harbours a great *soul*. (LEF)
17. It is a bold *mouse* that breeds (builds/nestles) in the *cat's* ear. (LEF)
18. A blate *cat* makes a proud *mouse*.
19. What may *the mouse* do against *the cat*.
20. Two *cats* and a *mouse*, two wives in one house, two dogs and a bone, never agree in one.
21. A *cat* in gloves catches no *mice*.
22. That that comes of a *cat* will catch *mice*.
23. Who is born of a *cat* will run after *mice*.
24. When *the cat's* away, *the mice* will play.
25. The death of *wolves* is the safety of *sheep*. (LEF)
26. It is a foolish *sheep* that make *the wolf* his confessor. (LEF)

27. *Saying* and *doing* are two things. (LEF)
28. *Eat* at pleasure, *drink* by measure. (LEF)
29. *Children* are to be deceived with comfits, *men* with oats. (LEF)
30. *Men* fear death as *children* to go in the dark. (LEF)
31. Better *children* weep than old *men*.
32. *Children* are poor *men's* riches.
33. Heaven takes care of *children*, sailors and drunken *men*.
34. *The half* is more than *the whole*. (LEF)
35. *The half* shows what *the whole* means. (LEF)
36. *Hear* and *see* and be still. (LEF)
37. *A lion* may come to be beholden by *a mouse*. (LEF)
38. He that would *the daughter* win, must with *the mother* first begin.
39. *A light-heeled mother* makes *a heavy-heeled daughter*.
40. *A pitiful mother* makes *a scabby daughter*.
41. Take a vine of a good soil, and *the daughter* of a good *mother*.
42. Four good *mothers* have four bad *daughters*: truth, hatred; prosperity, pride; security, peril; familiarity, contempt.
43. *Mother-in-law* and *daughter-in-law* are a tempest and hail storm.
44. Like *father*, like *son*.
45. Like *father*, like *son*; like mother like daughter.
46. After a thrifty *father*, a prodigal *son*.
47. One *father* is enough to govern one hundred *sons*, but not a hundred *sons* one *father*.
48. *The bird* is known by his note, *the man* by his words.
49. *Boys* will be *men*.
50. *A child* may have too much of his *mother's* blessing.
51. Happy is *the child* whose *father* goes to the devil.

52. It is *a* wise *child* that knows its own *father*.
53. *The child* is *the father* of the man.
54. Praise *the child*, and you make love to *the mother*.
55. He that wipes *the child's* nose kisseth *the mother's* cheek.
56. Where *the dam* leaps over, *the kid* follows.
57. *Christmas* in mud, *Easter* in snow.
58. Green *Christmas* brings white *Easter*.
59. Dogs that put up *many* hares kill *none*.
60. You cannot serve *God* and *Mammon*.
61. A forgetful *head* makes a weary pair of *heels*.
62. *The moon* is not seen where *the sun* shines.
63. Who says *A* must say *B*.
64. More have repented *speech* than *silence*.
65. *Speech* is silver, but *silence* is golden.
66. He *commands* enough that *obeys* a wise man.
67. *Much* ADO about *nothing*.
68. They need *much* whom *nothing* will content.
69. He that promises too *much* means *nothing*.
70. That which proves too *much* proves *nothing*.

### 3. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS RESULTS

The first results refer to the number of the proverbs that made the object of our study. Thus, we revised **3.246 English proverbs**, from which **471 English head proverbs** (counting the 28 repeated ones, i.e. those proverbs which were incorporated in more than one class, namely 27 proverbs were included in two classes, while the proverb '*Fire and water are **good servants**, but **bad masters***' was integrated in three classes because it contains 3 pairs of

opposites) were analyzed, while 70 have been left aside and listed above under the Part III, 2.7. *Proverbs including unclassifiable opposites* section. The 471 English proverbs were analyzed together with their English variants, and also with (and in comparison to) their Spanish and Romanian equivalent proverbs. Thus, our study includes **1.602 proverbs**, a total amount resulting from the sum of: **649 English proverbs** (counting the repeated ones mentioned above) - 579 proverbs being the 471 English head proverbs with their English variants, plus the 70 unclassified proverbs included in Part III, 2.7, **631 Spanish proverbs** and **322 Romanian proverbs**.

The 471 English head proverbs were classified into **six groups**, according to the opposites they include. If we take a brief look at the English proverbs' classification according to the opposite words included in them (Table 14), it may be said that all of the six groups of opposites are more or less represented.

RANK	PROVERBS' CLASS	N° OF PROVERBS	PERCENTAGE
1	Proverbs including ANTONYMS	254	53,93%
2	Proverbs including COMPLEMENTARIES	75	15,92%
3	Proverbs including CONVERSES	43	9,13%
4	Proverbs including REVERSIVES	34	7,22%
5	Proverbs including HETERONYMS	33	7,01%
6	Proverbs including DIRECTIONALS	32	6,79%
TOTAL		471	100,00%

Table 14: Proverbs' class number (English)

From the six types of opposites the first one, namely that of the antonyms is the most productive, detaching considerably from the other groups (with 254 English proverbs) while the third one, that of directionals, is the less productive (with 32 English proverbs). The number of proverbs grouped under the pairs of opposite concepts corresponding to the six types of opposites varies considerably. For instance, under *goodness-wickedness*, 45 proverbs are grouped, under *greatness-littleness*, 31, under *bitterness-sweetness*, 24, under *warmth-coldness*, 4, etc. There are many cases when only one proverb has been found, e.g. *avarice-waste*, *glad-sad*, *dry-wet*, etc.

The following two ranking charts sum up the classification of the proverbs and illustrate the different productivity of the six types of opposites:

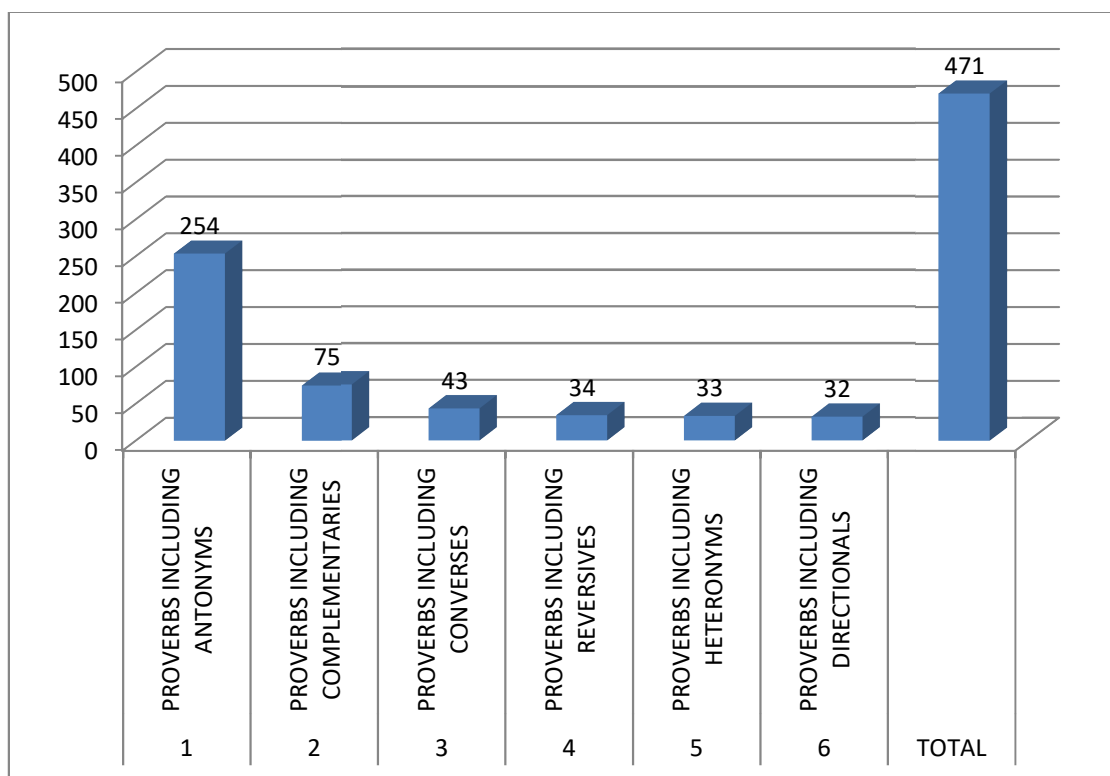


Table 15: Number of proverbs including opposites

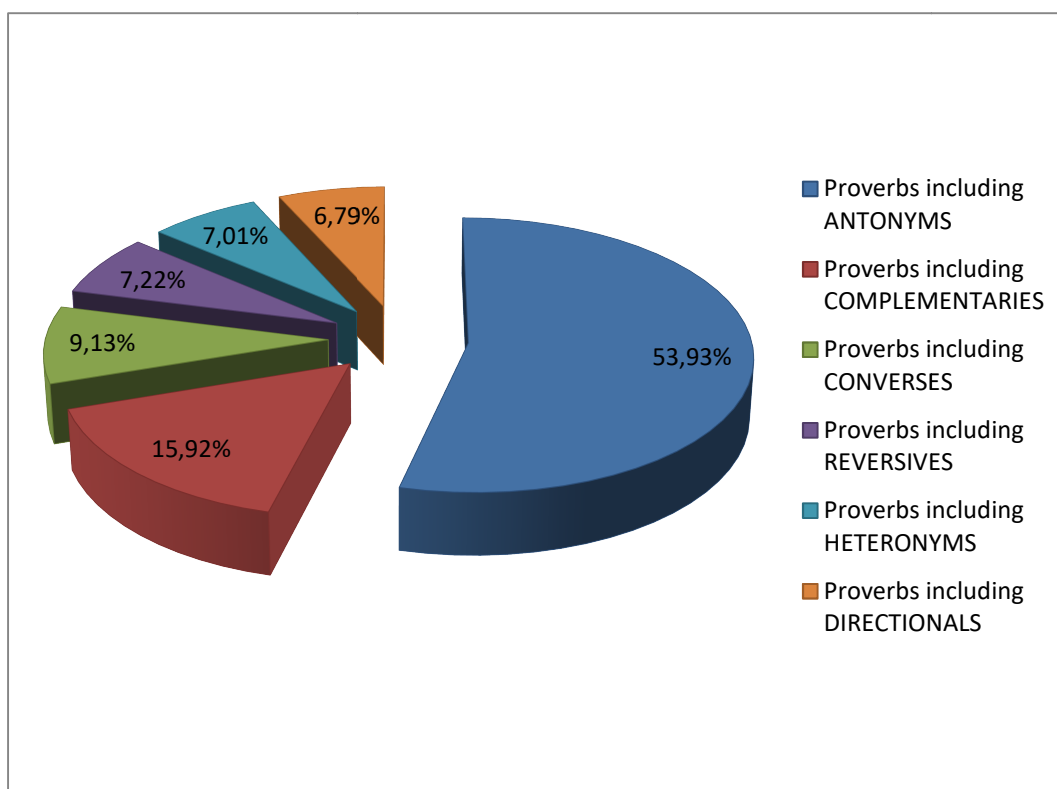


Table 16: Rates of proverbs including opposites

Next we present the number of the proverbs included in each of the six categories (in the order they appear in our study, not that of the ranking presented above), according to the opposite concepts under which each entry was recorded.

The productivity of the group of proverbs including antonyms reflects not only on their great number, but also on the amount of the opposite concepts according to which the corresponding antonymous terms were classified. Thus, the proverbs of this class were grouped under 32 opposite concepts. The most representative of these 32 pairs is *goodness-wickedness* with 45 proverbs. The most frequent pair of antonyms included in this opposite concept is *good-bad* (with 16 records), followed by *good-evil* (with 8 records). From the 32 opposite concepts, 10 include only one proverb, the rest being represented by more than 2 proverbs.

PROVERBS INCLUDING ANTONYMS			
	OPPOSITE CONCEPTS	OPPOSITE TERMS	NUMBER OF ENGLISH PROVERBS
1	Goodness-wickedness	<i>good-bad</i>	16
		<i>the best-the worst</i>	2
		<i>great-bad</i>	1
		<i>good-evil</i>	8
		<i>good-ill</i>	5
		<i>God-devil</i>	2
		<i>saint-devil</i>	2
		<i>angel-devil</i>	2
		<i>angel-beast</i>	1
		<i>good-sorry</i>	1
		<i>well-ill</i>	1
		<i>to do well-to do ill</i>	1
		<i>to heal-to hurt</i>	1
		<i>virtue-vice</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>

2	Greatness-littleness	<i>great-little</i>	14
		<i>mickle-little</i>	1
		<i>the greatest-the least</i>	1
		<i>the greatest-a little</i>	1
		<i>great-small</i>	8
		<i>big-little</i>	1
		<i>large-little</i>	1
		<i>tall-little</i>	1
		<i>widely-narrow</i>	1
		<i>giant-dwarf</i>	1
		<i>elephant-fly</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>
3	Bitterness-sweetness	<i>bitter-sweet</i>	2
		<i>bitterness-sweet</i>	1
		<i>sour-sweet</i>	5
		<i>sadness-gladness</i>	1
		<i>sorrow-joy</i>	2
		<i>sorrow-pleasure</i>	2
		<i>pain-pleasure</i>	3
		<i>grief-pleasure</i>	1
		<i>annoy-joy</i>	2
		<i>grief-joy</i>	1
		<i>gall-honey</i>	2
		<i>vinegar-honey</i>	1
		<i>venom-sweet</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>
4	Wisdom-foolishness	<i>wise-fool</i>	17
		<i>wise-foolish</i>	3

		<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Youth-oldness</b>	<i>young-old</i>	15
		<i>youth-age</i>	4
		<i>lamb-sheep</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Much-little and many-few</b>	<i>much-little</i>	14
		<i>many-few</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Friendship-enmity</b>	<i>friend-enemy</i>	11
		<i>foe-enemy</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>Richness-poverty</b>	<i>rich-poor</i>	4
		<i>mighty-poor</i>	1
		<i>riches-poor</i>	1
		<i>rich-poverty</i>	1
		<i>prosperity-adversity</i>	2
		<i>embroidery-rags</i>	1
		<i>courts-cottages</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>New-old</b>	<i>new-old</i>	10
		<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>10</b>	<b>Beauty-ugliness</b>	<i>fair-foul</i>	7
		<i>handsome-ugly</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>11</b>	<b>Short-long</b>	<i>short-long</i>	5
		<i>the shortest-the longest</i>	1
		<i>little-long</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>
		<i>to laugh-to cry</i>	2
		<i>to laugh-to weep</i>	4



12	<b>Laughter-cry</b>	<i>laughter-tear</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>
13	<b>Beginning-end</b>	<i>beginning-end</i>	4
		<i>beginning-ending</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>
14	<b>Love-hatred</b>	<i>love-hate</i>	1
		<i>love-hatred</i>	1
		<i>to love-to hate</i>	3
		<i>loved-hated</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>
15	<b>Warmth-coldness</b>	<i>warm-cold</i>	1
		<i>warm-cool</i>	1
		<i>heat-frost</i>	1
		<i>heat-cold</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>
16	<b>Fat-lean</b>	<i>fat-lean</i>	3
		<i>thick-thin</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>
17	<b>Admonition-praise</b>	<i>to admonish-to praise</i>	1
		<i>to blame-to praise</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>
18	<b>Light-heavy</b>	<i>light-heavy</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
19	<b>Lucky-unlucky</b>	<i>lucky-unlucky</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
20	<b>Open-shut</b>	<i>open-shut</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
21	<b>Crooked-straight</b>	<i>crooked-straight</i>	2

		Total	2
22	Storm-calm	storm-calm	1
		Total	1
23	Avarice-waste	thrifty-prodigal	1
		Total	1
24	Glad-sad	glad-sad	1
		Total	1
25	Strength-weakness	stronger-weakest	1
		Total	1
26	Dry-wet	dry-wet	1
		Total	1
27	Coward-valiant	coward-valiant	1
		Total	1
28	Labour-sloth	labour-sloth	1
		Total	1
29	Always-never	always-never	1
		Total	1
30	Quickly-slowly	quickly-slowly	1
		Total	1
31	All-nothing	all-nothing	1
		Total	1
32	Everybody-nobody	everybody-nobody	2
		Total	2
Total of English proverbs including antonyms			254

Table 17: Number of English proverbs including antonyms

The second in the ranking according to the number of proverbs (75 proverbs), the class of proverbs including complementaries also occupies the second position if we take into account the number of the 19 opposite concepts under which the proverbs were recorded. Thus, in this group, the *male-female* pair of opposites is the most productive (with 15 proverbs). Five opposite concepts were represented by only one proverb, the rest being better exemplified, from two up to nine proverbs.

PROVERBS INCLUDING COMPLEMENTARIES			
	OPPOSITE CONCEPTS	OPPOSITE TERMS	NUMBER OF ENGLISH PROVERBS
1	Male-female	man-woman	5
		men-women	4
		male-female	1
		uncle-aunt	1
		father-mother	1
		son-daughter	1
		Adam-Eve	1
		Jack-Jill	1
		Total	15
2	Gain-loss	to gain-to lose	3
		to win-to lose	2
		won-lost	1
		gain-loss	2
		success-failure	1
		Total	9
3	Day-night	day-night	8
		Total	8
4	War-peace	war-peace	8
		Total	8

5	<b>Health-sickness</b>	<i>health-sickness</i>	2
		<i>well-sick</i>	2
		<i>healthful-sick</i>	1
		<i>whole-sick</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>
6	<b>Absence-presence</b>	<i>absence-presence</i>	1
		<i>absent-present</i>	3
		<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>
7	<b>Just(ice)-u(i)njust(ice)</b>	<i>justice-injustice</i>	1
		<i>just-unjust</i>	1
		<i>right-wrong</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>
8	<b>Alive-dead</b>	<i>dead-living</i>	3
		<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>
9	<b>Black-white</b>	<i>black-white</i>	3
		<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>
10	<b>Human being-animal</b>	<i>man-beast</i>	1
		<i>men-beasts</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
11	<b>Truth-lie</b>	<i>truth-lie</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
12	<b>Heaven-hell</b>	<i>heaven-hell</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
13	<b>Affirmative-negative</b>	<i>affirmative-negative</i>	1
		<i>yes-no</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
14	<b>Soberness-drunkness</b>	<i>soberness-drunkness</i>	1
		<i>sober-drunk</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
15	<b>Human-divine</b>	<i>human-divine</i>	1

		<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>
16	In private-in public	<i>in private-in public</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>
17	In general-in special	<i>in general-in special</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>
18	Liberty-slavery	<i>liberty-slavery</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>
19	Taught-untaught	<i>taught-untaught</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>
	<b>Total of English proverbs including complementaries</b>		<b>75</b>

Table 18: Number of English proverbs including complementaries

Even though the last in our ranking according to the number of proverbs, the class of proverbs including directionals is not the less represented group as far as the number of the opposite concepts is concerned. Taking into account this criterion, it stands on the fifth place, which is the antepenultimate, with 8 opposite concepts, the most representative being the *up-down* pair (with 12 proverbs).

PROVERBS INCLUDING DIRECTIONALS			
OPPOSITE CONCEPTS		OPPOSITE TERMS	NUMBER OF ENGLISH PROVERBS
1	Up-down	<i>up-down</i>	1
		<i>brim-bottom</i>	1
		<i>top-bottom</i>	1
		<i>standing-fall</i>	1
		<i>to ascend-to descend</i>	1
		<i>to stand-to sit</i>	1
		<i>to raise-to lay</i>	1
		<i>to increase-to decrease</i>	1

		<i>climber-fall</i>	1
		<i>high-low</i>	3
		<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>
2	<b>Before-after</b>	<i>before-after</i>	1
		<i>early-late</i>	1
		<i>inthe beginning-in the ending</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>
3	<b>Before-behind</b>	<i>before-behind</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
4	<b>In-out</b>	<i>in-out</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
5	<b>At first-at last</b>	<i>at first-at last</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>
6	<b>Come-go</b>	<i>to come-to go</i>	4
		<i>to come-to go away</i>	2
		<i>to come-to go out</i>	1
		<i>to come-to pass away</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>
7	<b>Far-near</b>	<i>far-near</i>	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
8	<b>Right-left</b>	Right-left	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
	<b>Total of English proverbs including directionals</b>		<b>32</b>

Table 19: Number of English proverbs including directionals

The next group, that of proverbs including converses, occupies the same position, namely the third place, if we take into account the two aspects we have seen so far: the number of proverbs (in this case, 43) and the number of the opposite concepts under which the proverbs were classified. From the 12 opposite concepts of this group the *husband-wife* pair is the most productive with 12 entry-proverbs.

PROVERBS INCLUDING CONVERSES			
	OPPOSITE CONCEPTS	OPPOSITE TERMS	NUMBER OF ENGLISH PROVERBS
1	To give-to take/to receive	<i>to give-to take</i>	6
		<i>to give-to receive</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>
2	To buy-to sell	<i>to buy-to sell</i>	2
		<i>bought-sold</i>	1
		<i>the buyer-the seller</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>
3	To borrow-to lend	<i>the borrower-the lender</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>
4	Husband-wife	<i>husband-wife</i>	7
		<i>man-wife</i>	4
		<i>cock-hen</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>
5	Master-servant; mistress-maid	<i>master-servant</i>	6
		<i>master-man</i>	1
		<i>mistress-maid</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>
6	Question-answer	<i>question-answer</i>	3
		<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>
7	Master-scholar	<i>master-scholar</i>	2

		Total	2
8	Parent-child	parents-children	1
		Total	1
9	Creditor-debtor	creditor-debtor	1
		Total	1
10	Cause-effect	cause-effect	1
		Total	1
11	More-less	more-less	2
		Total	2
12	Better-worse	better-worse	1
		Total	1
	Total of English proverbs including converses		43

Table 20: Number of English proverbs including converses

As the previous category, the group of proverbs including reversives stands on the same position, namely the fourth place, from our two points of view: the number of proverbs (in this case, 34) included in this class, and the number of the opposite concepts under which the proverbs were classified (here, 9 opposite concepts). The most productive opposite concept in this case is represented by the following pairs: *to live-to die*, *to be born-to die*, *to give life-to kill* with a total of 14 proverbs.

PROVERBS INCLUDING REVERSIVES			
	OPPOSITE CONCEPTS	OPPOSITE TERMS	NUMBER OF ENGLISH PROVERBS
<b>1</b>	<b>To live-to die; to be born-to die; to give life-to kill</b>	<i>to live-to die</i>	8
		<i>to be born-to die</i>	5
		<i>to give life-to kill</i>	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>



2	To sow-to reap/ gather to	to sow-to reap	6
		to sow-to gather	1
		Total	7
3	To begin-to end	to begin-to end	1
		to begin-to make an end	1
		to commence/to begin-to finish	1
		Total	3
4	To go to bed-to wake up	to go to bed-to rise	2
		to lie down-to get up	1
		Total	3
5	To do-to undo	done-undone	1
		to err-to mend	1
		Total	2
6	To cover-to discover	to cover-to discover	1
		to conceal-to reveal	1
		Total	2
7	To lose-to find	lost-found	1
		Total	1
8	To open-to close	to open-to close	1
		Total	1
9	To put in-to take out	to put in-to take out	1
		Total	1
Total of English proverbs including reversives			34

Table 21: Number of English proverbs including reversives

Antepenultimate on the proverbs' number ranking, the group of proverbs including heteronyms stands on the last position according to the number of the opposite concepts under which the proverbs were recorded. It is interesting to remark that from the 7 opposite concepts none includes only one proverb, which happens exclusively in this case. The most productive

opposite concept is represented by *yesterday-today-tomorrow* with 9 entries including these pairs of opposites: *today-tomorrow* and *yesterday-today*.

PROVERBS INCLUDING HETERONYMS			
	OPPOSITE CONCEPTS	OPPOSITE TERMS	NUMBER OF ENGLISH PROVERBS
1	Yesterday-today-tomorrow	<i>today-tomorrow</i>	8
		<i>yesterday-today</i>	1
		Total	9
2	Fire-earth(-air)-water	<i>fire-water</i>	5
		<i>sea-land</i>	3
		Total	8
3	(birth-)Life-death	<i>life-death</i>	5
		Total	5
4	First-second-third(-...)-last	<i>the first-the second</i>	3
		<i>two-the third</i>	1
		<i>the first-the last</i>	1
		Total	5
5	Spring-summer-autumn-winter	<i>spring-autumn</i>	1
		<i>summer-winter</i>	1
		Total	2
6	Morning-(noon-afternoon-)evening	<i>morning-evening</i>	2
		Total	2
7	Breakfast-(brunch-lunch-drunch)supper	<i>breakfast-supper</i>	2
		Total	2
	Total of English proverbs including heteronyms		33

Table 22: Number of English proverbs including heteronyms

The following table summarizes the ranking of our proverbs according to the number of the opposite concepts under which they were classified:

<b>RANK</b>	<b>PROVERBS' CLASS</b>	<b>N° OF OPPOSITE CONCEPTS</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Proverbs including ANTONYMS</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Proverbs including COMPLEMENTARIES</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Proverbs including CONVERSES</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Proverbs including REVERSIVES</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Proverbs including DIRECTIONALS</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Proverbs including HETERONYMS</b>	<b>7</b>

**Table 23: Ranking of English proverbs according to the opposite concepts**

Regarding the formulae that represent the corresponding connections established among the relations of oppositeness found in the selected proverbs in our three contrastive languages, they are all shown in the table below. As it can be seen, the corresponding relations of oppositeness in the three languages (CROs) were transcribed through 32 distinct formulae (see the *Complete formula* column). Although they have been explained in the *Legend* chart (see Part Three, 1.4.), we considered necessary to include here their interpretation, for an easier and a better understanding (*Formula interpretation* column). Since our major interest is in the equality/almost equality/equivalence of the relations of oppositeness found in the three languages, the complete formulae have been reduced (see the *Reduced formula* column) to simpler forms in order to clearly illustrate the main relations between languages. The last column, i.e. *Frequency*, shows the number of the appearances of each formula. For example, the  $(E = S \neq R[-]) \times 119$  means that the CRO implied by this formula comes out 119 times throughout our contrastive study, that is in 119 cases we found equal relations of oppositeness in the English proverb and its Spanish counterpart, while no Romanian equivalent proverb was provided by the sources of our corpus.

	COMPLETE FORMULA	FORMULA INTERPRETATION	REDUCED FORMULA	FREQUENCY
1	$E = S \neq R[-]$	Equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish. No Romanian equivalent proverb.	$E = S$	119
2	$E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$	No Spanish and no Romanian equivalent proverbs.	$S = R = [-]$	95
3	$E = S = R$	Equal relations of oppositeness in English, Spanish and Romanian.	$E = S = R$	89
4	$E (\neq S[-]) = R$	Equal relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian. No Spanish equivalent proverb.	$E = R$	21
5	$E = S \neq R[0]$	Equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish. Zero relation of oppositeness in the Romanian proverb.	$E = S$	19
6	$E \neq S[0] \neq R[-]$	Zero relation of oppositeness in the Spanish proverb. No Romanian equivalent proverb.	$E \neq S$	19
7	$E \neq S[-] \neq R[0]$	No Spanish equivalent proverb. Zero relation of oppositeness in the Romanian proverb.	$E \neq R$	16
8	$E \approx S \neq R[-]$	Almost equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish. No Romanian equivalent proverb.	$E \approx S$	11
9	$E \neq (S[0] = R[0])$	Zero relations of oppositeness in the Spanish and the Romanian proverbs.	$S = R = [0]$	11
10	$E \Leftrightarrow S = R$	Equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish. Equal relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian.	$E \Leftrightarrow S = R$	9
11	$E = S \Leftrightarrow R$	Equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish. Equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian.	$E = S \Leftrightarrow R$	7
12	$E = S \neq R$	Equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish, different from the relation of oppositeness found in the Romanian proverb.	$E = S$	6
13	$E \Leftrightarrow S \neq R[-]$	Equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish. No Romanian equivalent proverb.	$E \Leftrightarrow S$	6
14	$E (\neq S) = R$	Equal relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian, different from the relation of oppositeness found in the Spanish proverb.	$E = R$	5

15	$E \Leftrightarrow S \Leftrightarrow R$	Equivalent relations of oppositeness in English, Spanish and Romanian.	$E \Leftrightarrow S \Leftrightarrow R$	5
16	$E (\neq S[0]) = R$	Equal relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian. Zero relation of oppositeness in the Spanish proverb.	$E = R$	4
17	$E \Leftrightarrow S \neq R[0]$	Equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish. Zero relation of oppositeness in the Romanian proverb.	$E \Leftrightarrow S$	3
18	$E \neq S \neq R[-]$	Different relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish. No Romanian equivalent proverb.	$E \neq S$	3
19	$E \neq (S = R)$	Equal relations of oppositeness in Spanish and Romanian, different from the one found in the English proverb.	$S = R$	2
20	$E \neq S[-] \neq R$	Different relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian. No Spanish equivalent proverb.	$E \neq R$	2
21	$E (\neq S[-]) \Leftrightarrow R$	Equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian. No Spanish equivalent proverb.	$E \Leftrightarrow R$	2
22	$E \neq S \neq R[0]$	Different relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish. Zero relation of oppositeness in the Romanian proverb.	$E \neq S \neq R$	2
23	$E \approx (S = R)$	Equal relations of oppositeness in Spanish and Romanian, almost equal to the relation of oppositeness in English.	$E \approx (S = R)$	2
24	$E \approx S \neq R[0]$	Almost equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish. Zero relation of oppositeness in the Romanian proverb.	$E \approx S$	2
25	$E \neq (S \Leftrightarrow R)$	Equivalent relations of oppositeness in Spanish and Romanian, different from the relation of oppositeness found in the English proverb.	$S \Leftrightarrow R$	2
26	$E \neq S[0] \neq R$	Different relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian. Zero relation of oppositeness in the Spanish proverb.	$E \neq S \neq R$	2
27	$E (\neq S[-]) \approx R$	Almost equal relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian. No Spanish equivalent proverb.	$E \approx R$	2
28	$E = S \approx R$	Equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish, almost equal to the one found in Romanian.	$E = S \approx R$	1

29	$E \approx S \approx R$	Almost equal relations of oppositeness in English, Spanish and Romanian.	$E \approx S \approx R$	1
30	$E \approx S \Leftrightarrow R$	Almost equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish, equivalent to the one found in Romanian.	$E \approx S \Leftrightarrow R$	1
31	$E \approx S = R$	Almost equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish, equal to the one found in Romanian.	$E \approx S = R$	1
32	$E \Leftrightarrow S \neq R$	Equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish, different from the relation of oppositeness found in the Romanian proverb.	$E \Leftrightarrow S$	1
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>471</b>

Table 24: Corresponding relations of oppositeness in the three languages (CRO) formulae

As it can be seen, the 32 formulae described in Table 24 are listed in descending order according to their frequency. We observe that  $E = S \neq R[-]$  is the most frequent formula appearing in 119 of the cases, followed by 95 cases in which the head-English proverb has neither Spanish or Romanian equivalent that could be found in the sources of our corpus, represented by the  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$  formula. Third on our top comes the best formula, i.e.  $E = S = R$ , meaning that, beside the fact that the English head-proverbs have equivalent proverbs in Spanish and Romanian, the relations of oppositeness these proverbs contain are equal. This perfect concordance appears in 89 cases. In the fourth place stands the  $E (\neq S[-]) = R$  formula, with 21 cases in which no Spanish equivalent proverb was provided by the sources of our corpus, while the relations of oppositeness found in the English head-proverb and its Romanian equivalent are equal. The following two formulae,  $E = S \neq R[0]$  and  $E \neq S[0] \neq R[-]$ , occupy the same position with a frequency of 19 appearances. They are both characterized by the fact that one of the English head-proverb's equivalents contains a zero relation of oppositeness due to the lack of one or both opposite terms. Number 7 formula -  $E \neq S[-] \neq R[0]$  - is very similar to the previous one ( $E \neq S[0] \neq R[-]$ ) but with less appearances, 16 instead of 19. We notice that the difference lies in the inverted situations of the Spanish and Romanian equivalents, with a '0' relation of oppositeness when they exist in the sources of our corpus. Regarding the formulae numbers 8:  $E \approx S \neq R[-]$  and 9:  $E \neq (S[0] = R[0])$ , we see again an equal rate, namely 11 appearances, but this is the only particularity these two formulae have in common.

The next two formulae -  $E \Leftrightarrow S = R$  (9 entries) and  $E = S \Leftrightarrow R$  (7 entries) - are very similar because they both include an equal and an equivalent relation of oppositeness. The 12<sup>th</sup> ( $E = S \neq R$ ) and the 13<sup>th</sup> ( $E \Leftrightarrow S \neq R[-]$ ) formulae share the same number of entries (six) and the fact that the relations of oppositeness that interest us are established in both cases between the English and the Spanish proverbs. Formulae numbers 14 ( $E (\neq S) = R$ ) and 15 ( $E \Leftrightarrow S \Leftrightarrow R$ ) have also the same frequency, i.e. five entries each. Moreover, the 14<sup>th</sup> one is almost equal to the 16<sup>th</sup> with the only difference that the latter includes a zero relation of oppositeness in the Spanish proverb.  $E \Leftrightarrow S \neq R[0]$  and  $E \neq S \neq R[-]$  formulae, corresponding to numbers 17 and 18, are connected only by the same frequency number, namely three. The following nine formulae (from 19 to 27) share identical number of appearances, i.e. two, being thus the most frequent rate in our table.

Last but not least, our formulae 28-32, unique by their one entry, are among the most important CRO formulae due to the equal and equivalent relations of oppositeness established between the English head-proverbs and their Spanish and Romanian counterparts.

In the previous table, we used different colours to group together formulae, or, more specifically, similar relations established among all or between two of our contrastive languages. Those formulae with a white background have been left aside because they include no equal, almost equal or equivalent relation of oppositeness between the English head-proverbs and their Spanish or Romanian counterparts. Most of them contain, in their reduced forms, the ' $\neq$ ' symbol for different relations of oppositeness between the corresponding languages in which such a relation of oppositeness exists, e.g.: formulae number 6, 7, 18, 20, 22, 26, while this symbol does not appear in any of the coloured background reduced formulae. Even though the '=' symbol can be found in the short forms of the second ( $S = R = [-]$ ) and the ninth ( $S = R = [0]$ ) formulae, its interpretation in these cases (no Spanish and no Romanian equivalent proverbs and zero relations of oppositeness in the Spanish and the Romanian proverbs respectively) leads us to the same decision of excluding them from our 'valid' formulae.

According to the similarity of the relations of oppositeness established between two or three of our languages, based on the reduced formulae, we reached the following results:

COLOUR	MAIN RELATION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
	Equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness in English, Spanish and Romanian	116	24,63%
	Equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish	167	35,46%
	Equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian	34	7,22%
	Equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness in Spanish and Romanian	4	0,85%
<b>TOTAL equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness</b>		<b>321</b>	<b>68,15%</b>

Table 25: Rates of equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness

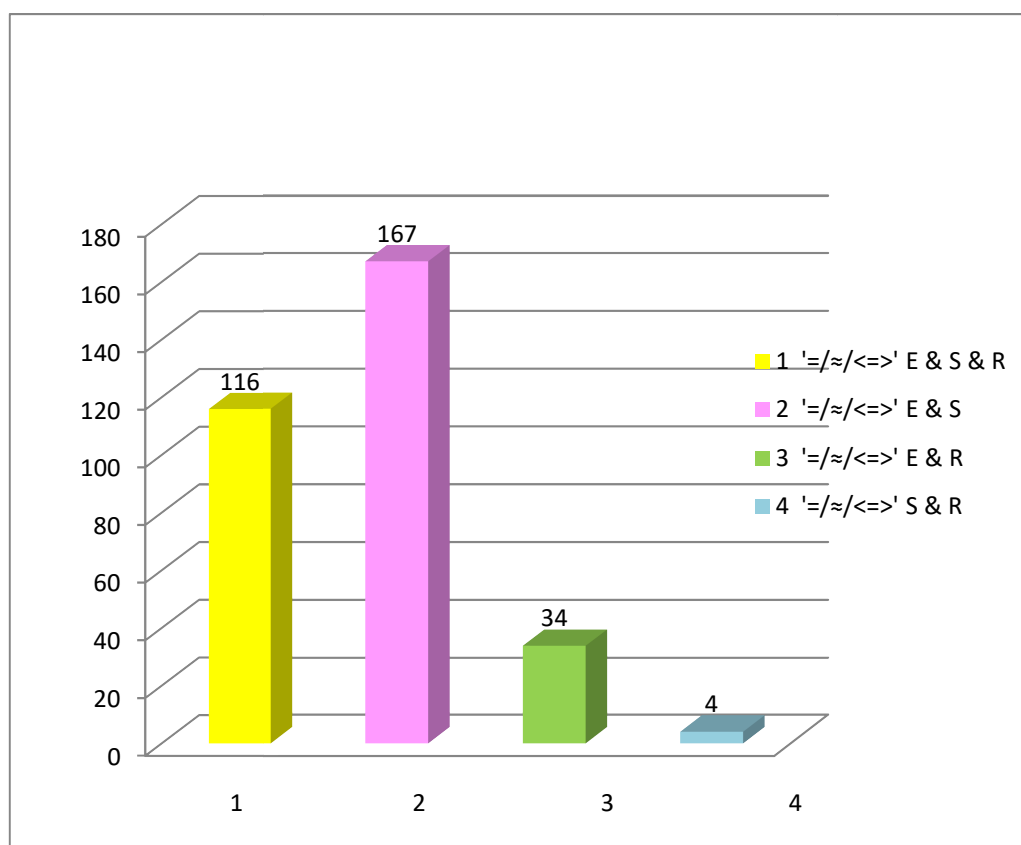


Table 26: Frequency of equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness

As it has already been said in different occasions, what interests us the most is the yellow zone, to be precise the equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness in English, Spanish and Romanian. 116 English head proverbs establish such relationships with their Spanish and Romanian counterparts, namely:



- 89 groups<sup>268</sup> of proverbs have equal relations of oppositeness in English, Spanish and Romanian ( $E = S = R$  - this is the ideal formula. In 25 cases the perfect equality is due to the common biblical origin of the proverbs);
- 9 groups of proverbs have equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish, and equal relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian ( $E \Leftrightarrow S = R$ );
- 7 groups of proverbs have equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish, and equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian ( $E = S \Leftrightarrow R$ );
- 5 groups of proverbs have equivalent relations of oppositeness in English, Spanish and Romanian ( $E \Leftrightarrow S \Leftrightarrow R$ );
- 2 groups of proverbs have equal relations of oppositeness in Spanish and Romanian, almost equal to the relation of oppositeness in English [ $E \approx (S = R)$ ];
- 1 group of proverbs has equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish, almost equal to the one found in Romanian ( $E = S \approx R$ );
- 1 group of proverbs has almost equal relations of oppositeness in English, Spanish and Romanian ( $E \approx S \approx R$ );
- 1 group of proverbs has almost equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish, equivalent to the one found in Romanian ( $E \approx S \Leftrightarrow R$ );
- 1 group of proverbs has almost equal relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish, equal to the one found in Romanian ( $E \approx S = R$ ).

It draws our attention the fact that the most representative set is the pink one, to be more exact, that of the equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish. Thus, 167 English proverbs contain similar relations of oppositeness to their Spanish counterparts. We have three variants: identical relations ( $E = S$ ) - 144 cases; almost equal relations ( $E \approx S$ ) - 13 groups of proverbs; and equivalent relations ( $E \Leftrightarrow S$ ) - 10 groups of proverbs.

The third position in our ranking is occupied by the green zone, i.e. that of the equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian, with 34 occurrences. The same three variants as in the previous case appear: identical relations ( $E = R$ ) - 30 groups of proverbs, being the most representative variant in this case, almost equal

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<sup>268</sup> By 'group of proverbs' we mean an English head-proverb with its English variants and its Spanish and Romanian equivalents, which make the object of the contrastive analysis that concludes to a CRO formula.

relations ( $E \approx R$ ) - 2 groups of proverbs, and equivalent relations ( $E \Leftrightarrow R$ ) - also 2 groups of proverbs.

With only 4 occurrences, the blue area occupies the last position in our ranking, representing the equal ( $S = R$  - 2 groups of proverbs) and the equivalent ( $S \Leftrightarrow R$  - 2 groups of proverbs) relations of oppositeness in Spanish and Romanian. To these four groups of proverbs we should add the 11 cases of similarity between the two languages, both containing zero relations of oppositeness ( $S = R = [0]$ ).

We have just seen that, from the 471 analyzed groups of proverbs, 321 (68,15%) are linked by at least one equal/almost equal/equivalent relation of oppositeness, combined in different ways (either the three languages together or two by two of them). This percentage (the blue area in Tables 27 and 28 below) represents more than a half of the total number of the analyzed groups of proverbs.

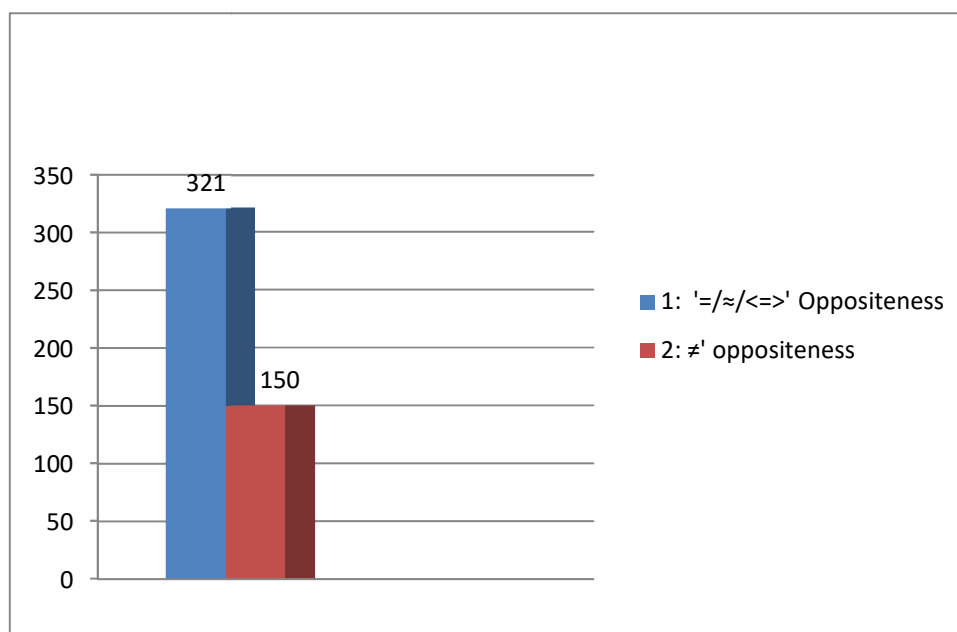
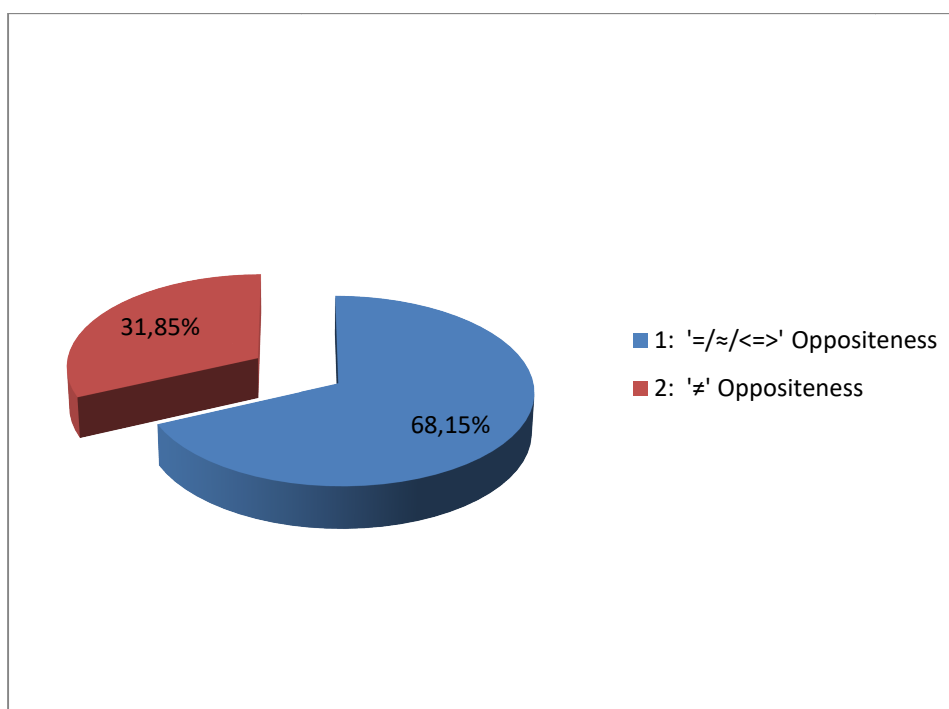


Table 27: Numbers of main relations of oppositeness



**Table 28: Rates of main relations of oppositeness**

The rest of 150 groups of proverbs (the red area in Tables 27 and 28 above) are all characterized by the fact that the relation of oppositeness found in the English head proverb is different from the Spanish and Romanian counterparts (when these exist). The difference is due to various causes, namely:

- no Spanish and no Romanian equivalent proverbs were found in the sources of our corpus  $\{E \neq (S[-] = R[-])\}$  - 95 cases;
- there is a zero relation of oppositeness in the Spanish proverb and no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus  $(E \neq S[0] \neq R[-])$  - 19 cases;
- no Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus and there is a zero relation of oppositeness in the Romanian proverb  $(E \neq S[-] \neq R[0])$  - 16 cases;
- there are zero relations of oppositeness in the Spanish and the Romanian proverbs  $\{E \neq (S[0] = R[0])\}$  - 11 cases;
- there are different relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish and no Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus  $(E \neq S \neq R[-])$  - 3 cases;
- there are different relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian and no Spanish equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus  $(E \neq S[-] \neq R)$  - 2 cases;

- there are different relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish while there is a zero relation of oppositeness in the Romanian proverb ( $E \neq S \neq R[0]$ ) - 2 cases;
- there are different relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian while there is a zero relation of oppositeness in the Spanish proverb ( $E \neq S[0] \neq R$ ) - 2 cases.

In the table below, the number and the percentages of the cases in which the equivalent proverb in one or both of the contrastive languages (Spanish and Romanian) is either missing or it contains a 'zero' relation of oppositeness, are presented:

[-] / [0] RELATION OF OPPOSITENESS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
No Spanish and no Romanian equivalent proverbs	95	20,17%
No Spanish equivalent proverbs	43	9,13%
No Romanian equivalent proverbs	158	33,55%
Zero oppositeness in the Spanish equivalent proverb	25	5,31%
Zero oppositeness in the Romanian equivalent proverb	42	8,92%
Zero oppositeness in both the Spanish and the Romanian proverbs	11	2,34%

Table 29: Frequency of 'no' or 'zero' relations of oppositeness

To put side by side English, Spanish and Romanian languages might seem surprising at first sight. Hearing about the present study, a Romanian philologist made the following remark: 'Spanish and Romanian, I understand, because they are both Romance languages, but what does English have to do with them?' Well, a similar issue was raised by John Simpson who, in the *Foreword* of Carbonell Basset's dictionary (2005: 11), confesses how he was surprised to find out that the proverb 'It takes all sorts to make a world' came from a 17<sup>th</sup> century translation of *Don Quixote* into English. The author himself declares:

I'm not sure why I wasn't expecting this: after all, English (at least since the Norman Conquest) shares much of its proverb heritage with the countries of continental Europe. (...) this European heritage of proverbs is strong. Many exist in parallel in a number of European languages, as the records of these languages show. Proverbs often arise as a response to the trials and tribulations of human existence, and the European experience meant that a proverb that was relevant to Spaniards, or to the French, may well be equally relevant to the English.

Although a Germanic language, let us not forget that English suffered a major influence from Latin (since part of Britain was under the Roman Empire in earliest times) and also from French (introduced into English as a result of the Norman Conquest in Middle Age, more precisely in 1066). In early Middle Ages, Latin was "the language of church and of education" while French was "the language of law and of the Norman rules" (McDowall, 1989: 41). Nowadays English vocabulary is approximately half Germanic (from the Saxons and Vikings) and half Romance (from French and Latin). By the same token, Hispania was also under Germanic invasions, the Visigothic domination lasting 300 years (from 409 to 711)<sup>269</sup>. This explains why, in our study, from the analyzed proverbs perspective, English and Spanish have so much in common, in spite of forming part of different language families. It also illustrates why the pink set of proverbs (that of the equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Spanish) is the most representative.

Normally, we would have expected the biggest rate to be represented by the blue set of proverbs, namely that of the equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness in Spanish and Romanian, because of the first degree kinship of these two tongues, both of them being Romance languages, having Latin as their common ancestor. Curiously, this did not happen. Moreover, it is the green set of proverbs, i.e. that of the equal/almost equal/equivalent relations of oppositeness in English and Romanian, which leads by far the blue one (again, a Germanic and a Romance languages).

Thus, we may say that the similarities of the proverbs in our three languages have socio-linguistic and historical causes. As we have seen, many of the proverbs linked by the E = S = R formula have the same biblical origin. Again, it is worth mentioning here the importance of Latin for the English language since the first English translation of the Bible was supervised by John Wycliffe (Wyclif, Wicliff) (1330?-1384 - EWED), an Oxford professor. He translated the Bible from Latin, finishing the work in 1396 (McDowall, 1989: 49). At the same time, as Luis Iscla (1995: XI) observes, "Latin has traditionally been a source for proverbs and aphorisms in science, medicine, law and philosophy. In addition, Latin writers collected and preserved many Oriental and Greek proverbs and sayings for posterity".

Apart from the common and/or intersected roots of the three languages that make the object of our research study, we must take into consideration another very important aspect,

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<sup>269</sup> According to Rafael del Moral (2002: 180).

namely the universality of the proverbs inheritance. As John Simpson observed (quoted in Carbonell Basset, 2005: 11), English shares a great part of its proverb legacy with the countries of continental Europe. Teodor Flonta is one of the paroemiologists who became aware of this reality, and his dictionary (2001) undoubtedly proves that thousands of English proverbs have their equivalents in five national Romance languages: French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Romanian. The other mentioned and used dictionaries that made the sources of our corpus are also the living testimony of the correspondence of English proverbs with counterparts from other languages such as German, Arabian, Polish, Provencal and Russian. This makes proverbs an indisputable world patrimony.

As seen in *Part Two* of our study, the proverb is usually interpreted as the expression of the outlook on world, on life. It is not at all weird or extraordinary to find the same or similar views of life at different peoples because, as Álvarez Curiel (2008: 88) points out, "las lenguas, las costumbres, los modos de vida pueden ser diferentes; pero los miedos, los anhelos, los tabúes de los hombres de cualquier tiempo o lugar han sido siempre los mismos". And, adds the author (2008: 134-135), "La conciencia, la ética, la moral y las costumbres constituyen un tejido común para el hombre de todos los tiempos sobre el que se han ido elaborando normas de conducta y de prejuicios sociales que modulan el comportamiento de la comunidad".

John B. Carroll (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 56) considers that it is not plausible the fact that the speakers of distinct languages have different concepts about the world, "in spite of the languages they speak". He believes that "there are more similarities than differences in the manner in which the linguistic codes symbolize concepts because these concepts are the result of the transactions made by the human society with a social and physical environment that has many uniformities throughout the world". Ovidiu Bârlea (quoted in Tabarcea, 1982: 36) observes that the Romanian proverb repertoire includes

many proverbs equivalent to the Latin ones, some of the former even seem to be the translation of the latter. No matter how tempting the hypothesis that we are in front of an inheritance transmitted at the same time with the language would be, we cannot exclude another hypothesis, that of an amazing independent creation, born out of the perception of the same reality.

Based on Carroll's theory and related to proverbs, Negreanu (1983: 57) comes with another assumption, namely that

Due to their long use, the paroemiological units of different languages polished themselves and acquired a very concise form. We think that the identity of proverbs belonging to distinct languages - the same proverb appears in many tongues, often

being a sort of a literary translation (...) - may be an argument which does not deny the hypothesis of linguistic relativity<sup>270</sup>, but reduces it.

Referring to the great number of equivalent paremiae included in his Romanian-English Dictionary of Proverbs, Virgil Lefter (1978: 6-7) declares himself not surprised by this fact since

It is unanimously accepted that the paroemiological literature is a very mobile field in which interferences and borrowings are very frequent. At the same time, it is worth mentioning that the analogies are also due to the influence of the Romance literatures (French, Italian, Spanish) on the English culture, mainly during the Renaissance period.

Sevilla Muñoz and Cantera Ortiz de Urbina (2001: 17) refer to the type of proverbs included in our analysis with the syntagm "universales paremiológicos", defining them as "paremias existentes", *mutatis mutandis*, "en las distintas lenguas de sentido e incluso, a veces, forma muy parecida". Tabarcea (1982: 36) uses a synonymous concept when talking about the "spiritul paremiologic universal" ('universal paroemiological spirit'), while Álvarez Curiel (2008: 133) gives those equivalent proverbs coming from different languages and cultures the name "refranes gemelos".

Trying to explain the universality of proverbs in his *Los refranes filosóficos castellanos* (1962), Pablo León Murciego<sup>271</sup> considers that the proverbs

están extendidos por todos los países y a través de los siglos, porque siendo la Humanidad una, una la conciencia universal, y uno el orden moral, unas han de ser, en todas partes, las leyes que presiden el raciocinio, unas la inducciones y deducciones y unas, por tanto, las normas que, basadas en la razón y en la experiencia, regulen los pensamientos y acciones de los hombres. De ahí la unidad prodigiosa que tiene ese idioma mental y ese código manual.

The same idea is reiterated by the Moroccan paroemiologist Boichta El Attar<sup>272</sup> who believes that "Los refranes, como expresión de una civilización, permiten dibujar el tipo de hombre o de sociedad de donde provienen. Pero lo que es expresión de una civilización, muchas veces es reflejo de toda la humanidad". At the same time Mircea Duduleanu-Pelendava (quoted in Avram, 2002: 10-11) remarks:

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<sup>270</sup> The hypothesis of the linguistic relativity refers to "the possibility of a language to imply a particular view and understanding of the world" (Negreanu, 1983: 56).

<sup>271</sup> Quoted in Álvarez Curiel (2008: 135).

<sup>272</sup> *Ibidem*.

Proverbs contain truth similarly or identically expressed at different peoples from wide geographical areas. This proves not only the homogeneity of the human thought on several levels, but also a strong closeness of the human spirit regarding the good relations and collaborations of peoples.

Of course, we must not ignore the fact that there are also unique proverbs, belonging exclusively to one language. Ion Dodu Bălan (quoted in Negreanu, 1983: 57) states that

There are proverbs which cannot belong but to a certain people because they were created in specific and particular historical circumstances, in a rigorously demarcated territory, within a totally specific life experience, expressing a personal spiritual universe with all the elements of a distinct ethno-psychology.

These are, in our case, those English proverbs linked with Spanish and Romanian by the  $E \neq (S[-] = R[-])$  formula, meaning that no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb exist, at least not in the sources of our corpus. The unicity and singularity of a proverb is relative, meaning that, in our case, the English head proverb is not always singular and alone in the international paroemiological world; sometimes it has counterparts in other language(s).

Example:

E: Bear with *evil* and expect *good*.

S: [-]

R: [-]

Italian: Soffri il male e aspetta il bene.

Another similar and eloquent example is "the strange coincidence which builds unexpected bridges over centuries and continents" (Tabarcea, 1982: 14) represented by the equivalence of the Romanian proverb 'A ars moara dar și șoarecii s-au dus dracului' (lit. transl. 'Not only the mill burnt but also the mice went to hell') with its counterpart Western African Wolof proverb 'Când arde coliba, plesnesc ploșnițele' (lit. transl. 'When the cabin burns, the bedbugs are bursting'). In the *Nota traducătorului* (Translator's Foreword) of Arnott's anthology (2010: 6), Radu Paraschivescu (coordinator of the Romanian edition) gives a series of such examples, namely international proverbs included by the author in his collection, "about the identity of which we could have sworn it was Carpathian" due to their Romanian equivalents:

E.g. 'Când pisica pleacă, șobolanul e stăpânul casei' (lit. transl. 'When the cat leaves, the rat is the master of the house') (Jamaican proverb).

'Când pisica nu-i acasă, joacă șoarecii pe masă' (lit. transl. 'When the cat isn't home the mice play on the table') (Romanian proverb).



'Cui nu mănâncă usturoi nu-i miroase gura' (lit. transl. 'He who does not eat garlic hasn't got a smelly breath') (Israeli proverb).

'Nici usturoi n-a mâncat, nici gura nu-i miroase' (lit. transl. 'He neither ate garlic nor his breath smells') (Romanian proverb).

'Cu timpul, hoțul de ouă ajunge hoț de cămile' (lit. transl. 'In time, the egg stealer becomes a camel stealer') (Iraki proverb).

'Cine fură azi un ou mâine va fura un bou' (lit. transl. 'He who steals an egg today, tomorrow will steal an ox') (Romanian proverb).

This almost perfect equality raises the following question which Tabarcea (1982: 14-15) launches rhetorically: "Can we even talk about a proverb having its origin in a certain language or in a particular people if there is always a possibility of discovering a parallel proverb in a culture which it is impossible to prove any filiations with?" At a more profound thought, it is true that, as Sbarbi (quoted in Álvarez Curiel, 2008: 135) says, "sucesos de idéntica o parecida índole, ocurridos en distintos países, han dado como resultado sentencias muy semejantes en el fondo, con corta diferencia en la forma".

To resume, we can say that the similarity or equality of oppositeness in the proverbs in our three languages is based on the similarity/equivalence of the corresponding proverbs; which is reduced basically to the origin of those proverbs. On one hand, we have those with biblical origin, on the other hand, those coming mainly from Latin and crossing times through translations. And there are also those proverbs born out of the same perception of reality of different peoples, trespassing borders and cultures. Mieder (1993: 12-13) also makes reference to some of these aspects:

There is no doubt that many of our proverbs originated in classical antiquity. (...) A large number of proverbs from various ancient languages and cultures entered the Latin language and eventually reached many of the vernacular languages when medieval Latin proverbs were being translated. Proverbs like 'One hand washes the other', 'Love is blind', and 'A sound mind in a sound body' all followed this path and became translated proverbs in many languages. In fact, these classical proverbs are today some of the most widely disseminated proverbs, some of them enjoying international currency. Biblical proverbs went the same route, and such proverbs as 'Man does not live by bread alone' (*Matthew*, 4: 4), 'Pride goes before the fall' (*Solomon*, 16: 18), 'It is better to give than to receive' (*Apostles*, 20: 35) are known in dozens of languages.

#### 4. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS CONCLUSIONS

Apart from the numerical results presented in the previous section, several main conclusions can be drawn from our contrastive analysis:

(1) Beside the great number of proverbs containing pairs of ‘pure opposites’ (that are the expression of the contradictory or contrary notions they imply), there are also proverbs including pairs of the so called ‘impure opposites’ that encapsulate in their meaning a more elementary opposition (see, for example, 2.1.1., Proverb 22; 2.1.2., Proverb 23, etc.).

There are some opposites that correspond to neither of the two types of notions. Still, they frequently appear in a contrast situation because they have in their semantic spheres certain correlative contrary features. In this case, the oppositeness is not the result of the relation between the designated notions. It spreads from the relation established between some opposed features implied by the opposite words. For example, *day-night* imply ‘maximum *light*’ feature versus ‘minimum *light*’ feature; *summer-winter* imply ‘warmth-coldness’; *morning-evening* imply ‘the *beginning* of the day’ versus ‘the *end* of the day’, etc. Analysing such words, it may be said that we have to deal with oppositions based on some connections produced in the speakers’ mind when hearing one term of the pair. In this way, the *day* notion is connected to the *light* notion, and the *night* notion to the *darkness* notion. Naturally, a certain connection based on contrast is produced in the speakers’ linguistic conscience between the two notions: *light* and *darkness*. In cases like this, the contrary features are projected on the semantic spheres of the correlative terms in such a way that the oppositeness relation between them is accepted by the majority of the speakers of the language as a matter of course opposition which gets the linguistic norm status.

When the contrary features of two terms refer only to one part of their semantic spheres, and the speakers do not accept their oppositeness as a norm, we have to deal with ‘contextual (or occasional) opposites’ (Sîrbu, 1977: 57). They are called ‘contextual’ because they are closely related to context. Only in certain contexts these opposites get antonymous values as a consequence of the fact that, according to the speakers’ intentions, the contrary features are placed on opposite sides. They oppose themselves not according to their proper meaning, but according to their figurative meaning conditioned by the linguistic context.

The great power of context, in this case represented by proverbs, confirms or gives generally two opposite terms an antonymic status. Thus, we have seen that a proverb context

can not only project the relation of oppositeness of two terms, moreover it can also create those opposite terms. For example, words like *Adam-Eve*, *Jack-Jill*, *the first-the second*, *angel-beast*, *elephant-fly*, etc., logically and ontologically only imply an ordinary opposition but, due to the proverbs they appear in, they become antonymic terms in those contexts. As Bârlea (1999: 143) points out, analyzed exclusively within a context, these kinds of words

change their logical-semantic basis, often shifting their complementary-conversive category into a contradictory one, and the latter into a contrary one. Words like these enter the daily use and are inherited as such (...) over centuries, no matter what the speakers' mentalities and the linguistic structures are.

Contextual opposites can also be considered, for example, *head-tail*, *actions-words*, *men-children*, etc. (see the group of proverbs 1-70 under 2.7. *Proverbs including unclassifiable opposites above*). It may be said that some contextual opposites can appear only once, in a certain context, expressing a unique situation, for example *honey-poison* (see 2.1.12., Proverb 1 - R1). When opposite pairs like this become frequent in the language, they may get to be pure opposites (for example *head-tail*, which appears pretty frequent in English proverbs - see Proverbs 4-9 under 2.7. section).

(2) Taking into account the great number of the proverb-groups with similar relation of oppositeness (the 68,15%), we notice that most of the opposite terms are the same for our three languages, but there is also a smaller percentage where each language preserves its characteristics. Moreover, we can talk about 100% equivalent proverbs, in the three languages (example 1) or only in the two of them (example 2):

Example 1:

E: A *good tree* cannot bring forth *evil fruits*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: No puede el *buen árbol* llevar *malos frutos*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Nu poate *pom bun* să facă *roade rele*. (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

Example 2:

E: Young *saint*, old *devil*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: De joven *ángel*, viejo *diablo*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

(3) In some cases the similarities appear not only at the logical and semantic levels, but also at the morphological and grammatical ones. For instance, if we take a look to the

following examples, we notice that in each group of proverbs the opposite terms have the same morphological class and identical grammatical functions:

Example 1:

E: *Evil* communications corrupt *good* manners. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Las *malas* conversaciones corrompen las *buenas* costumbres. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Adunările cele *rele* strică deprinderile cele *bune*. (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

Example 2:

E: No *pleasure* without *pain*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: No hay *alegría* sin *tristeza*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: No hay *placer* sin *desplacer*. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Nu e *plăcere* fără *durere*. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

Example 3:

E: *Many* are called, but *few* are chosen. (E<sub>pronoun</sub>-E'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

S: *Muchos* son llamados, y *pocos* los escogidos. (S<sub>pronoun</sub>-S'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

R: *Mulți* chemați, *puțini* aleși. (R<sub>pronoun</sub>-R'<sub>pronoun</sub>)

Based on the lexical-grammatical point of view presented in Part I, Chapter 3.1 and in Part II, Chapter 3.3, and taking into account the Tables 4-9 presented in Part III, we see that all the morphological classes are represented inside the English head proverbs, being the nouns, adjectives and verbs the most representative pairs of opposites. We even find NELU proverbs, namely those proverbs including "non-equivalent language units" (e.g. *Adam-Eve*, *Jack-Jill*), as Irene Goshkheteliani (Pamies Bertrán, 2011: 282) names them. For example:

E: When *Adam* delved and *Eve* span, who was then a gentleman? (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Cuando *Adán* cavaba y *Eva* hilaba, la hidalguía, ¿dónde estaba? (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

E: Every *Jack* must have his *Jill*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: There is not so bad a *Gill*, but there's as bad a *Will*. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-E1'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Tal para tal, *María* para *Juan*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

(4) There are cases when the English head proverb and its Spanish and/or Romanian equivalents have identical structure, sharing for example the same characteristic of the verb ellipsis:

Example 1:

E: The father *a saint*, the son *a devil*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: De padre *santo*, hijo *diablo*. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

**Example 2:**

E: Young *saint*, old *devil*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: De joven *ángel*, viejo *diablo*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

(5) In most of the analyzed cases the antonym sequence proposed by Jones (2002: 120-137) and presented in Part I, chapter 3.5.9, is the same in almost, if not all the proverbs of a group (see the three examples provided above). We saw that Jones' antonym sequence is preserved in most of the cases, taking into account all the factors that he analyses (see examples below): morphology - the root term appears before the derived opposite one. (example 1); positivity, the most frequent in our analyzed proverbs, the positive opposite term precedes the negative one (example 2); magnitude - the term implying 'more/bigger' size stands before its opposite (example 3), chronology - the sequence of the opposite terms is in concordance with the chronological order in the real world (example 4), gender - the 'masculine' term precedes the 'feminine' one (example 5), phonology - the shorter opposite term comes first (example 6), idiomaticity - those antonymous pairs developing a semi-idiomatic status, contradicting the positivity criterion (example 7).

**Example 1:**

E: Extreme justice is extreme injustice. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: *Much* law, *little* justice. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Justicia* extrema, extrema *injusticia*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: [-]

**CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]**

**Comment:** There are equal relations of oppositeness in E and S, E1 being different because the pair of opposite it includes is formed of antonyms (see 2.1.9.), not of complementaries. We note a complete similarity between English and Spanish due to the antonym sequence and to the fact that both second opposite terms are prefixed with the negative prefix *in-*. Thus E'<sub>noun</sub> = [*in*-(E<sub>noun</sub>)] = [*in*-(S<sub>noun</sub>)] = S'<sub>noun</sub>. The root term stands before the prefixed one, which sustains Jones' theory based on morphological derivation. We also note that our opposite nouns are determined by the same adjective, i.e. *extreme/extrema* (see the underlined words). No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

**Example 2:**

E: A *good* tree cannot bring forth *evil* fruits. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: No puede el *buen* árbol llevar *malos* frutos. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Nu poate pom *bun* să facă roade *rele*. (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** Like most of the cases of proverbs with common biblical origin (here, *Matthew*, 7: 18), this group is also characterized by equality of the three relations of oppositeness. This equality relies on: the identical opposite terms, all of them being adjectives with equivalent determiners (see the underlined nouns); the same antonym sequence, in concordance with Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term stands before its opposite.

### Example3:

E: Children when (they are) *little* make parents fools, when (they are) *great* (they make them) mad. (E(a)<sub>adj</sub>-E(a')<sub>adj</sub>, E(b)<sub>noun</sub>-E(b')<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Hijos *chicos*, chicos dolorcillos, hijos *mayores*, grandes dolores. (S(a)<sub>adj</sub>-S(a')<sub>adj</sub>, S(b)<sub>adj</sub>-S(b')<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Copii *mici*, griji mici, copii *mari*, griji mari (lit. transl. 'Little children, small worries, great children, great worries'). (R(a)<sub>adj</sub>-R(a')<sub>adj</sub>, R(b)<sub>adj</sub>-R(b')<sub>adj</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** Note that the English proverb as well as its Spanish and Romanian equivalents contains two pairs of opposites. It is interesting that S(a)<sub>adj</sub> = S(b)<sub>adj</sub> and S(a')<sub>adj</sub> ≠ S(b')<sub>adj</sub>, meanwhile R(a)<sub>adj</sub> = R(b)<sub>adj</sub> and R(a')<sub>adj</sub> = R(b')<sub>adj</sub>, and the structure of S is the same of R. As far as magnitude is concerned, the bigger size term stands after its opposite in the case of the six pairs of antonyms, which sustains Jones' theory. Regarding the differences, there is one pair, namely E(b)<sub>noun</sub>-E(b')<sub>noun</sub> (*children-parents*), which stands apart from the other five due to the morphological class of its terms and to the distinct relation of oppositeness between them, both being converses.

### Example 4:

E: Love is sweet *in the beginning* but sour *in the ending*. (E<sub>adv</sub>-E'<sub>adv</sub>)

S: El amor *entra* con cantos y *sale* con llantos. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Cosquillas y amores, *empiezan* con risa y *acaban* con dolores. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Cu cât mai dulce limba dragostei *la început*, cu atât mai amară pe *la sfârșit* (lit. transl. 'The sweeter the love language in the beginning, the bitterer in the ending'). (R<sub>adv</sub>-R'<sub>adv</sub>)

**CRO: E (<=> S) = R**

**Comment:** In the Romanian equivalent the relation of oppositeness is expressed by the same adverbial locutions as in the English proverbs, so there is an equal relation between E and R. As far as the Spanish variants are concerned, in this case the opposite relation is expressed by two different (not synonymous) pairs of verbs, namely *entrar-salir* (in S) and *empezar-acabar* (in S1). In this case S1 pair is treated as directional pair, not as a reversive one (as seen at 2.5.1.) because they are opposite terms on the axis of time, having the same subject which is also the reference point. Thus, our CRO formula can be represented as follows: E (<=> S <=> S1) = R. With regard to the antonym sequence, we observe that it is the same in all proverbs and it sustains Jones' theory based on chronology, since, in the real world, *the end* surely stands after *the beginning*, in order to *exit* one should first *enter*; and in order to *end* something one should firstly *begin* it.

### Example 5:

E: Marry your *son* when you will, your *daughter* when you can. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Casa a tu *hijo* cuando quieras y a tu *hija* cuando puedas. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

S1: Casa *el hijo* cuando quisieras y *la hija* cuando pudieras. (S1<sub>noun</sub>-S1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: *Însoară* când vrei, *mărită* când poți (lit. transl. 'Marry [your son] when you want, marry [your daughter] when you can'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

R1: *Însoară-ți fiul* când vrei, *mărită-ți fata* când poți (lit. transl. 'Marry your son when you want, marry your daughter when you can'). (LEF) (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

**CRO: E = S = R**

**Comment:** The equality of the relations of oppositeness in the three languages is based on the fact that, except R, all opposite terms are singular nouns; their order is the same in all proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on gender, since the 'masculine' term stands before the 'feminine' one.

### Example 6:

E: Love is a *sweet bitterness*. (LEF) ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

E1: Love is a *sweet torment*. ( $E1_{\text{adj}}-E1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: No hay *amor sin dolor*<sup>273</sup>. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: *Amar sin padecer*, no puede ser. ( $S1_{\text{verb}}-S1'_{\text{verb}}$ )

S2: Amor, amor, malo *el principio y el fin* peor<sup>274</sup>. ( $S2_{\text{noun}}-S2'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: Unde-i *dragoste* e și *ceartă* (lit. transl. 'Where there's love there's quarrel'). ( $R_{\text{noun}}-R'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R1: Fără *mânie* nu-i *iubire* (lit. transl. 'There's no love without anger'). ( $R1_{\text{noun}}-R1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R2: Orice *fericire* are a ei *nemulțumire* (lit. transl. 'Happyness has its discontent'). ( $R2_{\text{noun}}-R2'_{\text{noun}}$ )

**CRO:  $E \Leftrightarrow S \Leftrightarrow R$**

**Comment:** We observe that  $E \approx E1$  because  $E_{\text{adj}} = E1_{\text{adj}}$  while  $E'_{\text{noun}} \neq E1'_{\text{noun}}$ , but  $E'_{\text{noun}}$  and  $E1'_{\text{noun}}$  are synonymous in this case, they both imply the same *bitterness* concept. Except S2 where we find a pair of opposites expressed by directionals, which has nothing to do with our English head pair, S, R, R1 and R2 contain pairs of impure opposites expressed by common singular nouns that encapsulate the same *sweetness-bitterness* concepts, namely:  $S_{\text{noun}}$  (*amor* 'love') =  $R_{\text{noun}}$  (*dragoste* 'love')  $\Leftrightarrow$   $R1'_{\text{noun}}$  (*iubire* 'love')  $\neq$   $R2_{\text{noun}}$  (*fericire* 'happyness');  $S'_{\text{noun}}$  (*dolor* 'pain')  $\neq$   $R'_{\text{noun}}$  (*ceartă* 'quarrel')  $\neq$   $R1_{\text{noun}}$  (*mânie* 'anger')  $\neq$   $R2'_{\text{noun}}$  (*nemulțumire* 'discontent'). The S1 opposite verbs can also be considered impure opposites implying the same concepts. Except R1 (and excluding S2 because of its different type of oppositeness), the antonym sequence is the same in all of our proverbs, sustaining Jones' theory based on positivity, since the positive term precedes its opposite.

### Example 7:

E: A just *war* is better than an unjust *peace*. ( $E_{\text{noun}}-E'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S: Más vale buena *guerra* que mala *paz*. ( $S_{\text{noun}}-S'_{\text{noun}}$ )

S1: Mejor es *guerra* clara que *paz* fingida. ( $S1_{\text{noun}}-S1'_{\text{noun}}$ )

R: [-]

**CRO:  $E = S \neq R[-]$**

**Comment:** We observe equal relations of oppositeness in the English and the two Spanish proverbs. All the opposite terms are singular common nouns. The antonym sequence is the same in the three proverbs, contradicting Jones' theory based on positivity, since it is the negative term that stands first, but accomplishing Jones' theory of idiomacity. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

We also need to mention here that the antonym sequence is usually preserved in the three languages (example 1) or in combinations of two (example 2), even though it contradicts Jones' theory:

### Example 1:

E: *Evil* communications corrupt *good* manners. ( $E_{\text{adj}}-E'_{\text{adj}}$ )

S: Las *malas* conversaciones corrompen las *buenas* costumbres. ( $S_{\text{adj}}-S'_{\text{adj}}$ )

R: Adunările cele *rele* strică deprinderile cele *bune*. ( $R_{\text{adj}}-R'_{\text{adj}}$ )

R1: Exemplele *rele* strică moravurile *bune*. ( $R1_{\text{adj}}-R1'_{\text{adj}}$ )

<sup>273</sup> In Sevilla Muñoz (2001: 117), the variant of this proverb is: 'Donde hay *amor*, hay *dolor*'.

<sup>274</sup> This proverb could also be included in the next group (Proverb 4: 'Love is *sweet* in the beginning but *sour* in the ending'). Since Flonta only incorporates it in the Proverb 3 group, we respected this association.

### CRO: E = S = R

Comment: The equal relation of oppositeness found in the three languages is due to the common biblical origin of the proverbs, namely *I Corinthians*, 15: 23, and also to the fact that all opposite terms are adjectives with the same antonym sequence (the negative term preceding the positive one). Because of this, the antonym order contradicts Jones' theory based on positivity.

#### Example 2:

E: Of *evil* manners spring *good* laws. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: De *malas* costumbres nacen *buenas* leyes. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

S1: Las *buenas* leyes son hijas de las *malas* costumbres. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-S1'<sub>adj</sub>)

R: [-]

### CRO: E = S ≠ R[-]

Comment: What draws our attention is the reversed antonym sequence of S1 compared to its E and S equivalents. It is this variant which sustains Jones' theory based on positivity, since in the other two proverbs the negative term precedes its opposite. Except this difference, the relations of oppositeness in the three proverbs are equal. Thus E = S = S1; E<sub>adj</sub> = S<sub>adj</sub> = S1'<sub>adj</sub> and E'<sub>adj</sub> = S'<sub>adj</sub> = S1<sub>adj</sub>. We also note that all the Spanish opposite terms have the same form, being feminine plural adjectives. No Romanian equivalent proverb was found in the sources of our corpus.

There are also cases when Jones' antonym sequence is preserved in the head English proverb, even though it has no Spanish or Romanian equivalent *paremia*:

#### Example:

E: He that hopes not for *good*, fears not *evil*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: [-]

R: [-]

### CRO: E ≠ (S[-] = R[-])

Comment: The sources of our corpus provided no Spanish or Romanian equivalent proverb. In the English *paremia* we notice that the positivity antonym sequence proposed by Jones is accomplished, namely the positive term precedes its opposite.

(6) When one or both of the opposite terms is/are affixed, this characteristic is usually common to more than one language. E.g.:

#### Example 1:

E: *Lucky* at cards/play, *unlucky* in love. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: *Unlucky* in love, *lucky* at play. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Afortunado* en el juego, *desgraciado* en amores. (S<sub>adj</sub>-S'<sub>adj</sub>)

#### Example 2:

E: Extreme *justice* is extreme *injustice*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: *Justicia* extrema, extrema *injusticia*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)



Example 3:

E: What's *done* cannot be undone. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: Things *done* cannot be undone. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: No se puede desandar lo *andado*. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Lucrul *făcut* nu se mai poate desface. (R<sub>adj</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

(7) The three languages have a predilection for the metaphorical use of opposite terms, giving birth to different figures of speech, the most frequent here being paradox and oxymoron.

Example:

E: He changes *a fly* into *an elephant*. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

S: Hacer de *una pulga* un *elefante*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Face din *țânțar* *armăsar* (lit. trans. 'He changes a mosquito into a stallion'). (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

R1: Face *musca* cât *cămila* (lit. trans. 'He makes the fly as big as a camel'). (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

R2: Mincinosul cu de-a sila face *musca* cât *cămila* (lit. trans. The liar, by force, makes the fly as big as a camel'). (R2<sub>noun</sub>-R2'<sub>noun</sub>)

(8) In some cases the oppositeness is established not only at the logical semantic level, but also at the grammatical one, involving verb tenses, morphological classes, number category, etc.

Example:

E: Men know where they *were born*, but not where they *will die*. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Se sabe donde *se nace*; pero no donde *se muere*. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

(Where we have E<sup>Past</sup>-E'<sup>Future</sup> and S<sup>SimplePresent</sup>-S'<sup>SimplePresent</sup>, at the same time in the English proverbs we find third-person plural verbs while in the Spanish one the verbs are impersonal).

(9) There are 27 cases in which the English head proverb contains more than one pair of opposites, the same phenomenon appearing also in the equivalent paremiaes.

Example:

E: Children when (they are) *little* make parents fools, when (they are) *great* (they make them) mad. (E(a)<sub>adj</sub>-E(a')<sub>adj</sub>, E(b)<sub>noun</sub>-E(b')<sub>noun</sub>.)

S: Hijos *chicos*, chicos dolorcillos, hijos *mayores*, grandes dolores. (S(a)<sub>adj</sub>-S(a')<sub>adj</sub>, S(b)<sub>adj</sub>-S(b')<sub>adj</sub>)

R: Copii *mici*, griji mici, copii *mari*, griji mari (lit. transl. 'Little children, small worries, great children, great worries'). (R(a)<sub>adj</sub>-R(a')<sub>adj</sub>, R(b)<sub>adj</sub>-R(b')<sub>adj</sub>).

(10) There are polysemous words that form pairs of opposites with various terms, e.g. *man* 'an adult male human' versus *woman*, and *man* 'human being, either male or female' versus *beast*.

Example:

E: Six hours' sleep for *a man*, seven for *a woman*, and eight for a fool.

E: If the adder could hear, and the blindworm could see, neither *man* nor *beast* would ever go free.

(11) There are words that establish a relation of oppositeness with various words, these being synonyms, e.g. *good* makes a pair of opposites with *bad*, *evil* and *ill* (where *bad*, *evil*, and *ill* are synonyms).

Example:

E: There is no book so *bad*, but something *good* may be found in it.

E: Bear with *evil* and expect *good*.

E: *Good* words and *ill* deeds deceive wise and fools.

(12) Taking into account proverbs' typology from the thematic perspective, we may say that there is a great variety of the groups presented in Part II, Chapter 3.1, well represented in the three languages, for example:

- legal proverbs:

E: Extreme justice is extreme injustice. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>noun</sub>)

E1: *Much* law, *little* justice. (E1<sub>adj</sub>-E1'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: *Justicia* extrema, extrema *injusticia*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

- medical proverbs:

E: Diseases *come* on horseback, but *go away* on foot. (E<sub>verb</sub>-E'<sub>verb</sub>)

S: Las enfermedades *llegan* a caballo y *se van* a pie. (S<sub>verb</sub>-S'<sub>verb</sub>)

S1: Las enfermedades *llegan* a galope y *se van* al paso. (S1<sub>verb</sub>-S1'<sub>verb</sub>)

S2: Las enfermedades *vienen* al galope, y no *se van* ni al trote. (S2<sub>verb</sub>-S2'<sub>verb</sub>)

S3: A caballo y de prisa *viene* el mal, y a pie y cojeando *se va*. (S3<sub>verb</sub>-S3'<sub>verb</sub>)

S4: Los males *entran* por arrobos y *salen* por adarnes. (S4<sub>verb</sub>-S4'<sub>verb</sub>)

R: Boala *vine* cu poșta și *se întoarce* pe jos (lit. transl. 'Disease comes by mail and goes back on foot'). (R<sub>verb</sub>-R'<sub>verb</sub>)

- weather proverbs:

E: In *fair* weather prepare for *foul*. (E<sub>adj</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

S: Comprador veterano compra lo de *invierno* en *verano*. (S<sub>noun</sub>-S'<sub>noun</sub>)

R: Omul cuminte își cumpără *vara* sanie și *iarna* car (lit. transl. 'The wise man buys his sleigh in the summer and his wagon in the winter. (R<sub>noun</sub>-R'<sub>noun</sub>)

(13) Throughout our analysis we have seen that pretty often the English head proverb, and sometimes its Spanish and/or Romanian equivalents had more than one variant:

Example:

E: *A fool* may give a *wise* man counsel. (E<sub>noun</sub>-E'<sub>adj</sub>)

E1: *A fool* may sometimes speak to the purpose. (E1<sub>noun</sub>-0)

S: Muchas veces *el necio* dice un buen consejo. (S<sub>noun</sub>-0)

S1: De un hombre *necio* a veces buen consejo. (S1<sub>adj</sub>-0)

R: Să-ți aduci aminte de cuvintele *nebunului*. (R<sub>noun</sub>-0)

R1: *Cel înțelept* de la *cel nebun* multe află și învață. (R1<sub>noun</sub>-R1'<sub>noun</sub>)

As Hernando Cuadrado (2010: 173) points out, the existence of such variants may be explained by the fact that

Los refranes, dada su transmisión oral a lo largo del tiempo, a veces presentan variantes, debidas a imperfecciones inconscientes en la reproducción del modelo o a modificaciones conscientes. Ciertos refranes, podadas con el tiempo sus ramas al ser repetidos por muchas bocas, han conservado únicamente el tronco robusto de su idea fundamental. También los hay que, por el contrario, amplían el texto por sedimentación, corrigiendo su primitiva significación. Las modificaciones con frecuencia corrigen o amplían la primitiva significación del refrán.

(14) There is obviously a common repertoire of proverbs shared by English, Spanish and Romanian languages and cultures. In all the cases we have analyzed in this study, the similarity (often equality) of the triplets is given by the meaning of the proverbs, the main idea, the message expressed by them; sometimes to the meaning, the same structure, form, and/or lexicon bring a plus to this resemblance. Therefore, we can do nothing but agree with Maurice Molho's statement (quoted in Álvarez Curiel, 2008: 133), according to which a great number of proverbs "poseen un sello internacional y se encuentran de forma idéntica, o ligeramente cambiados, entre los pueblos más antiguos como entre los más modernos". Let us take as an example the following well-known proverb present in various languages, which again illustrates, if still needed, proverbs' universality and their value of a cultural patrimony of humanity, long-lasting and crossing temporal and spatial borders:

Latin: Una hirundo non efficit ver.

English: One swallow does not make a summer.

Spanish: Una golondrina no hace verano.

Romanian: Cu o floare nu se face primăvară.

French: Une hirondelle ne fait pas le printemps.

Italian: Una rondine non fa primavera.

German: Eine Schwalbe macht noch keine Sommer.

In this group of equivalent proverbs we observe two coincidences: the protagonist which is a bird (*swallow*) in all languages, except Romanian where it is a plant (*floare*

'flower'), but the fauna and flora go usually hand in hand; and the temporal reference point, which is a season (*spring* in Latin, Romanian, French and Italian, and *summer* in English, Spanish and German) in all languages.

(15) Beside the similarities found in our contrastive languages which imply that the three linguistic communities share paroemiological elements based on identical or analogous conceptualizations and perspectives, we must not forget those cases where, instead of similarities, differences were found in English, Spanish and Romanian. This fact often proves the peculiarity and individuality of each tongue given by the manner in which each people metaphorically structures its language.



## FINAL REMARKS

*"Dacă nu ar exista limba, nu ar fi cunoscute  
nici binele, nici răul, nici adevărul și nici  
minciuna, nici satisfacția și nici decepția.  
Limba face posibilă înțelegerea tuturor  
acestora. Meditați asupra limbii..."  
(The Upanishads<sup>275</sup>)*

Language is the most important instrument of communication. The process of communication is especially based on language skills. To emphasize communication skills is to emphasize language in use, not for its own sake, but to achieve a functional purpose.

Students need to know how a message is properly expressed and understood. Knowing the relations between words has an important role in achieving the communicative functions of language. Therefore, the teacher should be permanently concerned with finding and applying the most efficient way of teaching English vocabulary and, of course, the semantic relations between words. In this process, antonymy can play an important role, being a useful tool in lexicon acquisition, especially for students of English or Spanish as a foreign language. It is easier to learn/identify the meaning of a new word if associated to its opposite.

Teaching oppositeness in context may be an easier way for the students to understand and keep in mind this type of semantic relation. The interest towards opposites in context seems very appropriate since these cannot be conceived just as simple static schemes in the abstract system of language.

Apart from the great source of contexts provided by literature, proverbs represent a rich potential that has to be exploited. As it has been pointed out before, proverbs are very

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<sup>275</sup> Quoted in Bucă (1976: 146). Translated from Romanian: "If it weren't for language, we would know neither good, nor bad, neither truth nor lie, neither satisfaction nor deception. Language makes possible the understanding of all these. Reflect on language!"

important in language, reflecting people's wisdom and culture. Proverbs could be an important and useful background for the study of opposites. They usually express general truth, they are easier to understand, they make students know better their own culture and beliefs (if they study their own language) or to see the differences and the similarities with other traditions (if we are talking about teaching English as a foreign language).

Regarding the importance of paroemiological studies, Sevilla and Cantera's (2001: 16-17) observation about Spanish can be easily extrapolated to English and Romanian tongues:

Aumenta considerablemente el número de docentes y estudiantes de español, así como el de los traductores e intérpretes que tienen el español como lengua de trabajo; todos ellos necesitan obras paremiológicas de consulta bien para la enseñanza/aprendizaje del español como lengua materna o extranjera bien para solucionar rápidamente posibles problemas traductológicos causados por alguna paremia española hallada en un texto o proferida en una conferencia.

As far as opposites are concerned, our whole life is based on contrary concepts, phenomena, cyclical variations, etc. (*day-night*, seasons, days of the week, *light-darkness*, etc.), so their importance is unquestionable. As Lyons (1977: 271) says,

It is (...) a fact, of which the linguist must take cognizance, that binary opposition is one of the most important principles governing the structure of languages; and the most evident manifestation of this principle, as far as the vocabulary is concerned, is antonymy.

Opposite words are used by the speakers of a language and appear in figures of speech having a powerful effect. Take for example the quotations of two important personages:

A verbal discussion may be *important* or *unimportant*, but it is at least desirable to know that it is verbal. (Sir G. Cornell Lewis)  
For one word a man is often deemed to be *wise* and for one word he is often deemed to be *foolish*. We ought to be careful indeed what we say. (Confucius)  
(quoted in Ogden, 1989: 209)

Metaphorically, we can compare language with our society where antonyms are the political parties, proverbs, the rural tools used also in the urban area, where neologisms usually govern, synonyms are the other citizens, some of them polysemic (with two or more faces), not to mention the rhetorical devices, which surround us everywhere: paradoxes, oxymora, metaphors, irony, rhetorical questions...

The present study could be a step in applied lexicography. It could be the starting point for making a new dictionary of proverbs based on types of semantic relations between words,

like antonymy, synonymy, polysemy, etc. Our analysis of different proverbs (which represent the context of various types of opposites) proves the complexity of the relations of oppositeness established between the respective antonymous terms. We have seen how these opposite terms imply and exclude one another, attract or reciprocally decline. Sometimes we have seen how these opposite terms are closely related, designating the same notions, or, on the contrary, how they contradict or designate completely different notions. We have also seen impure opposites, or terms becoming opposites helped by the context they appear in.

According to the frequency that some pairs of words with a certain degree of oppositeness appear with (for example *head-tail*), new pairs of opposites could be established as a norm in language. This, of course, requires a rigorous investigation to see if on the speakers' linguistic consciousness these words really function as opposites.

One of the aims of our study was to emphasize the importance of antonymy and proverbs in language and in vocabulary teaching. Obviously, we also consider the research of both topics as being essential.

Antonymy has a "unique fascination" as Cruse (quoted in Jones, 2002: 1) noted. It is obvious that we live with and are surrounded by antonyms, they are omnipresent. Just think of an ordinary day of our everyday life. Most people awake, turn the light on, get off the bed, ..., put their clothes on, go out for work, hop on/off the bus, sit down, stand up, and so on. Then they go back home, take their clothes off, get into bed, turn the light off, fall asleep, etc. Our entire life is based on reversed activities implying opposites of different kinds. We turn the TV on and off, we see or hear good and bad news every day, we use hot and cold water, *Black and White Nivea* deodorant, we wear perfumes like *Ange ou demon* or *Littlebig* jeans, we have a left hand and a right hand, we are sad or happy, short or tall, black or white, rich or poor, we have bitter or sweet memories, and the list can go on and on. So, as Jones (2002: 181) states, "it is no exaggeration to say that antonyms are a ubiquitous part of everyday language and culture".

Proverbs are an important corpus in the history of a language, since they contain and preserve old words, meanings, idioms, syntagms, etc. which cannot be found in nowadays language. This converts proverbs in an undisputable, not only linguistic but also social and cultural, legacy of humanity because, as Muntean (1967: xxxix) states, "the proverb core is a powerful reflex of human personality, of man's destiny in time and space". As Mieder observes,



We can poke fun at proverbs, we can ridicule them, or we can parody them, but eventually we are all governed by their insights to some degree. Proverbs and their wisdom confront us daily, and modern people seem to have a clear idea of what proverbs are, what they express, and what they can do for us.

Moreover, paraphrasing Hînțescu (1985: 34), we can say that proverbs provide us "comfort on the sad days, advice in the doubt hours, and pleasure on the joyful moments". And, to conclude in a humorous tone, we may say that Stephen Arnott's words (2010: 10) are worth remembering: "The man who tickles himself can laugh when he chooses".

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*"Nullum esse librum tam malum, ut non aliqua parte prodesset"*<sup>276</sup>  
Pliny the Younger (*Epistulae*, III, 5)

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<sup>276</sup> Translation from Latin: 'No book was so bad but that some good might be got out of it'.

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## APPENDIX

### ***METARREFRANERO***

*"Dice la primera parte de un refrán y otro contesta  
con la segunda parte como si respondiera a una  
letanía de la misa o el rosario y aunque lo repiten  
todo cada año hacia la misma época, o incluso  
cada día, la repetición no parece aburrirles, y  
hasta la enuncian como el descubrimiento de  
un tesoro ignorado de la sabiduría. -  
Agua por san Juan... - dice uno.  
E inmediatamente otro añade:  
- Quita aceite, vino y pan...".  
(Antonio Muñoz Molina - *El viento de la luna*<sup>279</sup>)*

### **PROVERBS ABOUT PROVERBS**

A good maxim is never out of season.

A proverb can't be judged. (Russian proverb)

A proverb is to speech what salt is to food.

A proverb is worth a thousand words.

A proverb never tells a lie. (Lebanese proverb)

A proverb says what a man thinks. (Swedish proverb)

All the good sense of the world runs into proverbs.

Common proverb seldom lies.

Every proverb is a truth.

Mad folks and proverbs reveal many truths. (American proverb)

Nothing can beat a proverb.

Old proverbs are the children of truth. (Welsh proverb)

Old saws speak truth.

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<sup>279</sup> Cited in Gómez-Jordana Ferary (2012: 13).



One single proverb is worth a thousand pieces of advice. (Turkish proverb)

Proverbs are the children of experience.

Proverbs are the daughters of daily experience. (Dutch proverb)

Proverbs are the wisdom of the streets.

Proverbs cannot be contradicted.

The old saying cannot be excelled.

The old saying, long proved true, shall never be belied.

The proverb is an ornament to language. (Persian proverb)

The proverb is never out of season.

The proverb is salt to speech. (Arabian proverb)

The proverb puts spice to speech. (Somali proverb)

The wisdom of the proverb cannot be surpassed.

Though the old proverb be given up, it is none the less true.

What everyone says is true.

Wise men make proverbs and fools repeat them. (Scottish proverb)

### **REFRANES SOBRE REFRANES**

Afanes y refranes, herencia de segadores y gañanes.

Cien refranes, cien verdades.

Con un refrán puede gobernarse una ciudad.

Coplas y refranes, del polvo nacen.

Cuando el refrán viejo habla, deja caer una acera de casas.

De refrán y afán, pocos se librarán.

De refranes y cantares tiene el pueblo mil millares.

Decir refranes es decir verdades.

El que se viere solo y desfavorecido, aconséjese de los refranes antiguos.

En cada refrán tienes una verdad.

En tus apuros y afanes, pide consejo a los refranes.

Gente refranera, gente embustera.

Hay más refranes que panes.

Hombre refranero, hombre de poco dinero.

Hombre refranero, medido y certero.

Hombre refranero, poca carne en el puchero.  
La persona que es curiosa, tiene un refrán para cada cosa.  
Los pobres tienen más coplas que ollas, y más refranes que panes.  
Los refranes de los viejos siempre salen verdaderos.  
Los refranes no engañan a nadie.  
Los refranes son depuradas verdades.  
Los refranes son evangelios chiquitos.  
Los refranes son hermanos bastardos del Evangelio.  
Los refranes te darán consejo y alivio en tus afanes.  
Los refranes viejos son evangelios pequeños.  
Los refranes viejos son profecías.  
Los refranes viejos todos son sentencias.  
Más refranes hay que panes; y cuando no tengo pan, pido consuelo a un refrán.  
Más vale un refrancete que libros siete.  
Más vale un refrancito que diez libros.  
Mujer refranera, mujer puñetera.  
No hay refrán que no diga una verdad; y si una no, es porque dice dos.  
No hay refrán que no sea verdadero.  
No hay refrán viejo que no sea verdadero.  
Para todo tiene refranes el pueblo; el toque está en saberlos.  
Quien habla por refranes es un saco de verdades.  
Quien refranes no sabe, ¿qué es lo que sabe?  
Refrán de tiempo remoto, evangelio corto.  
Refrán de los abuelos es probado y verdadero.  
Refrán de los abuelos, breve evangelio.  
Refrán viejo, nunca miente.  
Refranes antiguos, evangelios chicos.  
Refranes de viejas son sentencias.  
Refranes heredados, evangelios abreviados.  
Refranes más que panes; y letanías, más que días.  
Refranes que no sean verdaderos y febreros que no sean locos, pocos.  
Refranes y consejos, todos son buenos.  
Saber refranes, poco cuesta y mucho vale.  
Si con refranes y no con leyes se gobernara, el mundo andaría mejor que anda.

Si los refranes fueran ley que se cumpliera, mejor el mundo anduviera.  
Tantos refranes, tantas verdades.  
Todos los refranes habían de estar escritos con letras de oro.  
Todos los refranes son verdaderos.  
Todos los refranes trabajan.

### **PROVERBE DESPRE PROVERBE**

Orice proverb este cuvânt adevărat.  
Despre lucruri mărunte proverbe mari.  
Cei neștiutori să învețe proverbele, iar cei care le știu să-și reamintească de ele cu plăcere.  
(Proverbs from the Ancient Rome).  
A vorbi prin proverbe se potrivește bătrânilor. (Proverb from the Ancient Greece).  
Nu există proverb care să nu fie adevărat.  
Peticește necazul cu proverbe.  
Proverbul spune adevărul.  
Proverbele sunt înțelepciunea străzilor. (Proverbs from England).  
Proverbele sunt giuvaerele popoarelor.  
Proverbul nu poate minți.  
Fiecare proverb e profet în țara lui.  
Proverbul este o prismă de lumină ale cărei reflectări se răspândesc pretutindeni.  
Proverbele au apărut înaintea cărților. (Proverbs from France).  
Proverbele sunt cartea de aur a popoarelor.  
Proverbele nu greșesc.  
Proverbele sunt copiii existenței.  
Proverbele se numesc proverbe, pentru că sunt dovedite. (Proverbs from Italy).  
Cu un proverb se poate conduce o cetate. (Proverb from Spain).  
Casa nu se construiește fără colțuri și vorba nu se spune fără proverb.  
Proverbele nu sunt distruse de secolele care se scurg.  
Un proverb bun nu nimerește în sprâncene, ci direct în ochi.  
Zicala este floarea, proverbul este rodul. (Proverbs from Russia).  
Proverbul este sarea vorbirii.  
Proverbele sunt lămpi ale cuvintelor. (Arabian proverbs).

Conciziunea este respirația vie a proverbului. (Proverb from Israel).

Apa de ploaie nu are sare; proverbele nu conțin minciuni. (Proverb from Mongolia).

Proverbul l-a născut / Omul priceput. (Proverb from Romania).



## Never-Ending Love Story...

### În loc de încheiere...

Verbally I dwell in a two-story linguistic house. Let us say that on the ground floor I have placed my Spanish language and where I keep the traditions, feelings, attitudes, fears, hatred, love and memorized poetry that I have been hoarding all my life. Upstairs, I have the English language and tradition, the history, literature, feelings and likes and dislikes, and also the poetry I have committed to memory, that this tongue has fostered during my life. And I go up and down often, running away or hiding in either one of them. When I become angry with Spaniards for whatever reason, I take refuge and solace upstairs, and vice versa, of course. I might even have a linguistic split personality, who knows. But I even have a garret where I have stored linguistic odds and ends: French, Catalan, bits of German and Latin, a smattering of Portuguese. Sometimes I visit the attic and dust these languages and brush them up a bit and lament the lack of time to really bring them up to date. To own this house is, I think, a blessing and I am very thankful for it. I try to imagine those who cannot take refuge in another to see the world from a different point of view. A pity because all languages are sources of ceaseless wonder. (Carbonell Basset, 2005: 265).

Reading Carbonell Basset's *Apologia pro Lingua Sua* quoted above, which, *por cierto*, I enjoyed *muchísimo*, I have suddenly become aware of my 'incestuous' situation. I was born in Romania, thus Romanian language is my unconditional love, we are bound for ever. One moment, in early adolescence as I recall, English entered my life and became my first love. That adolescent love *que se queda clavada en tu mente y en tu corazón* and there is no way that you can take it out. We got engaged and, by the time I graduated English and Romanian Philology, it had turned into my spouse. Afterwards we eloped to Spain and there it was, Romanian's sibling - the Spanish language. We got closer and closer each day and I began to love it as much as I loved English. The harder I tried, the more difficult it became for me not to commit adultery... We still live *in pecado*, me and the three of them: Romanian, English and Spanish. And we have some special friends that we invite over from time to time: Latin - which I knew when I went to college, French - my mother introduced it to me, she studied it at University, and German - which I also met when I came to Spain, even though, unfortunately, we did not get too close<sup>280</sup>.

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<sup>280</sup> I used the Spanish words *ad-hoc*, just as they came to my lips, not being especially looked for.

An adulterous relationship, yes - I admit -, but not a harming one, a happy family, which enables me to wander throughout different countries and cultures whenever I feel like it. In spite of this, I am far from considering myself a trilingual person because - just as in the case of a spouse whom you never get to know completely -, languages always keep some mysterious drawers shut, spaces that need to be open in order to discover the treasures locked up in them. How I do feel, nevertheless, is very lucky that I had the chance to meet and know these languages and become a little bit more than simple acquaintances.